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Contents

Editorial Statement

This issue contains two peer reviewed essays and two Comments. These pieces deal with issues of Culture and Identity in various settings, as does the Extended Review, crucially provides the necessary contextualisation necessary for moving these discussions forward.

The first essay, 'Failure is not an Option: Parental Expectations of Nigerian Voluntary Immigrants to the United States' by Dolapo Adeniji-Neill, analyses these issues in the context immigration and its consequences. The author seeks an explanation for the success in education attributed to new African immigrants to the United States, and their children. Dr. Adeniji-Neill investigates the relationship among three factors: parental expectations; socio-cultural experiences; and (adult) children's internalisation of their parents' aspirations for them. The conclusion is that Nigerian culture has a strong influence on the upbringing and fulfilment of expectations for the children of the participants. It is important to note that these debates have focused in the past on the performance of children of 'West Indian' immigrants to the United States in the mid-twentieth century.

The second essay, 'Class Status and the Construction of Black Masculinity' by Trevor B. Milton, looks at the issues of Culture and Identity in the context of Black Masculinity. Milton argues, 'Black Masculinity and its attributes are decreasingly influenced by one's racial designation and are more influenced by class status'. He identifies the spread of these attitudes across racial boundaries and links 'poor opportunity structure' with limitations on the expression of patriarchal male power. This linkage raises fundamental questions about the centrality of patriarchy in the United States and other Western countries, which pride themselves on their commitment to gender equality, at least in principle. The separation of racial designation and class status for analytic purposes in this essay raises questions about the utility of such an approach in societies organised on the basis of structural racism.

The Comment piece by David L. Brunsma and Priya Dua, 'The Structure and Process of Racial Identification of Multiracial Infants in the United States: A Research Note', analyses the ways in which that new parents of multiracial babies classify their six to twenty-two-month old infants. The authors found a range of categorisation among parents with differing ethnicity identifications, and conclude that these illustrate 'the nature of race relations, processes of racialization, the structure of racial stratification, and the enigmatic relationship between racial identity and racial identification'.

Thomas J. Keil and Jacqueline M. Keil's 'The Characteristics of the Congressional District and Tea Party Victories in 2010', analyses the centrality of racial identity in the origins, character and successes of the Tea Party in the United States' 2010 mid-term elections. Keil and Keil examined the webpages of 137 Tea Party backed candidates to determine the commonalities and differences in their campaign materials on their websites. They were not surprised to find the positive effect of percentage White on the electoral success of the Tea Party candidate but were by the absence of an effect of status, especially in terms of income and unemployment levels. They conclude that:

> 'In some sense, then, the 2010 election was a racial referendum – a reaction by Whites who wanted to 'take back' 'their country' from the usurpers who had won the 2008 election.... There is a sense among White voters that Whiteness has been devalued as a form of social capital by Mr. Obama's election and that Blacks, especially, as well as other minorities are receiving disproportionate benefits from his administration'.

The Extended Review by Antoinette L. Allen is a review essay on *Acting White: The Curious History of the Racial Slur* by Ron Christie. This fits it with the theme of Culture and Identity in that Christie argues

that there is a Black mindset that:

> 'prides itself on victimization, government quotas to move ahead, cultural self-exclusion, and disdain for self-identity and, most tragically, acceptance of mediocrity and inferiority, where performing well academically is akin to a black child's acting white'

Allen provides a detailed review of Christie's thesis. Reading it in conjunction with the other pieces in this issue will provide a clear contextualisation of the arguments and facilitate critical discussion.

Essays

Failure is not an Option: Parental Expectations of Nigerian Voluntary Immigrants to the United States

by Dolapo Adeniji-Neill, PhD, Adelphi University

Class Status and the Construction of Black Masculinity

by Trevor B. Milton, State University of New York- College at Old Westbury

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Failure is not an Option: Parental Expectations of Nigerian Voluntary Immigrants to the United States

Dolapo Adeniji-Neill, PhD

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the socio-cultural and educational contexts of parental expectations of Nigerian voluntary immigrants to the United States. Immigrant or voluntary minorities are people who have migrated essentially of their own volition to the United States, or any other nation, because they seek more economic mobility, or a better life in general, and/or political freedom (Ogbu, 1995). This case study sought an explanation for the success in education attributed to these new African immigrants and their children. This study investigated the relationship among three factors: (a) parental expectations,
(b) socio-cultural experiences, and (c) (adult) children's internalization of their parent's aspirations for them. The method of inquiry included phenomenological analysis on data collected through participants' topical life-histories (Giorgio, 1985). The results of the study represent the Nigerian immigrants' worldviews: a folk theory shaped by their cultural and life experiences. The common threads running throughout their responses are 'education is the number one priority,' 'hard work,' 'effort begets luck,' and 'failure is not an option.' Nigerian culture had a strong influence on the upbringing and fulfillment of expectations for the children of the participants.

Parental expectations are various beliefs, assumptions, and aspirations that relate to, but are not limited to, the relationship of students to faculty, curriculum, discipline, culture, acculturation, and family composition as they contribute to children's school achievement. These beliefs and assumptions usually motivate parents to encourage their children's success in school (Carden, 2005; Foner, 2009; Li, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Seginer, 1983; Waters & Sykes, 2009; Zhou, 2009). Research on immigrant families has shown that immigrant status increases parental expectations (Ogbu, 1995; Li, 2004; Zhou, 2009). Studies by Patrikakou (1997) and Ethington (1991) suggest that parental expectations and student perceptions of parental attitude were essential in influencing students' academic expectations, thereby raising their academic achievement level. Englund, Luckner and Whaley (2004) found that parental expectations appear to be different from other definitions of parental involvement because parental expectations are beliefs, whereas, other measures of parental involvement center on actual behaviors, such as attending parent-teacher conferences or helping with homework. It is important to distinguish between these two types of constructs when looking into parental influences on academic achievement or attainment. Li; Foner; Waters and Sykes and Zhou posit that interpersonal expectations play an essential role in everyone's life, and that parental expectations are universal. However, expectations may undergo some fundamental changes when people reside in a different culture from that in which they were born, due to the influences of the host culture. This was evident in the responses of the participants of this study (see discussion).

Statistics from the US Census Bureau (2000) indicate that many voluntary immigrants from Nigeria came to the United States with college degrees, and earned postgraduate degrees while in the United States. The United States Census data indicated that Africans also have the highest educational degrees of any immigrant group in the United States, with even higher levels of educational completion than the Asian American 'model minority'. In addition, educational success of the African immigrants goes beyond the first generation (Johnson, 2005). This is very fortunate for the host country, but it contributes the Nigeria 'brain-drain'. In 1997, 19.4 per cent of all adult African immigrants in the United States held a graduate degree, compared to 8.1 per cent of adult Whites and 3.8 per cent of adult Blacks in the United States, respectively (see Table 1). This information suggests that America has an equally large achievement gap between Whites and African voluntary immigrants as they do

Table 1.

English Fluency and Education of U. S. Immigrants

Areas	US population	All immigrants	African immigrants	Asian Americans	Europe, Russia & Canada	Latin, South America & Caribbean
Not fluent in English	0.6%	30.5%	7.6%	23.4%	11.5%	44.0%
Less than high school	17.1%	39.1%	12.1%	21.2%	23.5%	57.4%
College degree	23.1%	23.3%	43.8%	42.5%	28.9%	9.1%
Advanced degree	2.6%	4.2%	8.2%	6.8%	5.8%	1.9%

Source: US Census, 2000.

between White and Black Americans ("African Immigrants in the United States ..... 1999-2000).

Income levels

According to the 2000 US Census, income levels among African immigrants are typically higher than Black Americans. This can be attributed to the higher education levels. However, Africans still earn on average less than Asian and European Americans with similar or lower levels of education, suggesting ongoing discrimination (Hersh, cited in Wolf, 2007). Most recent Nigerian immigrants came to the United States to pursue educational opportunities in both undergraduate and post-graduate institutions. Nearly all of these immigrants came from the southern part of the country. They are mostly the Igbo and Yoruba ethnic groups. Due to Nigeria's economic woes, many did not return to Nigeria after they completed their educational goals and began to raise their families as first generation American citizens. US Census Bureau data show a 368% increase in the Nigerian population in the United States from 1990 to 2000, with a numerical increase from 35,300 to 165,481. It is estimated that the current population of African immigrants is over 600,000. Many immigrants from Africa live in major cities in the United States. Countries with the most immigrants to the US are Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt, Somalia, and South Africa. Some of them came from Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, and Cameroon. Many migrated here for a better economic and political life.

Research questions

This study examines, in particular, how socio-culturally and psychologically lived experiences affect parental expectations in education and their children's internalization of such expectations. My overarching research questions are: (1) What are Nigerian voluntary immigrants' parental expectations for their children's education? (2) What role do socio-cultural contexts play in Nigerian parents' expectations for their children's education? (3) How have the adult children of Nigerian immigrants internalized their parents' expectations?

Literature Review

Educational expectations, parental involvement, and parenting styles represent specific value systems that can be transmitted to the child and may be expected to influence the children's educational attainment (Pearce, 2006). Regarding these values, when education is seen as a path to social mobility, more energy is devoted towards academic achievement and attainment (Ogbu, 1995; Pearce, 2006; Zhou, 2009). These beliefs and assumptions usually motivate parents to encourage their children's success in school (Carden, 2005; Li, 2004; Seginer, 1983; Zhou, 2009). Research on immigrant families has shown that voluntary minority status increases parental expectation (Ethington, 1991; Li; Ogbu). A study by Patrikakou (1997) suggests that parental expectations and student perceptions of parental

attitude were essential in lifting students' academic expectations, thereby raising their academic achievement levels.
Cultural context affected the nature of the correlation between student achievement and parent-student discussion about school (Desimone, 1999). Several research studies document strong relationships between achievement and parent-child communication and the parent-child relationship (Becher, 1984; Eccles & Harold, 1993; Lee, 1994; Muller, 1993; Sui-Chu & Williams, 1996). However, a comparison across models found that student-reported discussion was a significantly better predictor for Whites than for Asians, Blacks, or Hispanics and for middle-income students compared with low-income students.

In their research (Epstein, 1995; Halle, Kurtz-Costes & Mahoney, 1997; Li, 2004; Losh & Tavani, 2003; Moss & St. Laurent, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Stevenson & Baker, 1987) show that the attitude parents display relating to expectations for school achievement have significant impact on their children's behavior. Moreover, Stevenson & Lee (1990) indicate that parents who believe that their children's performances are determined by their abilities tend to participate less frequently in their children's school careers than those parents who believe their children's performance is determined by effort.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Black-White gap in standardized scores narrowed by some 20%, while the 1990s saw this trend reverse and the gap again widen. Research on the achievement gap and racial inequality cited cultural and structural elements as factors. This discourse remains primarily focused on the persistent Black-White gap across the spectrum of achievement and attainment. Although Chinese Americans have been recognized as a minority group that has achieved and attained at a higher level, it is important to also note that African immigrants are currently out-performing Whites and all other immigrants to the United States (Le, 2007; Rimmer and Arenson, 2004; United States Census, 2000). By gaining a better understanding of the factors that aid some foreign-born Africans in realizing academic success, we can identify methods for ameliorating the situation among underachieving groups.

A great deal of qualitative research has explored achievement among Chinese Americans (e.g., Li, 2004; Pearce, 2006; Siu & Feldman, 1995; Zhou, 2009). However, while both structural and cultural explanations from this perspective inform our understanding of the context of Chinese American educational achievement, quantitative studies have not come down conclusively on either side of the structural-cultural debate. The general area of achievement has received considerable attention in the literature, with various studies focusing on achievement (Pearce, 2006; Pearce & Lin 2005; Portes & Zady, 1996), achievement loss (Alspaugh, 1998; Alspaugh & Harting, 1995), and the achievement gap (Chen, C & Stevenson, 1995; Chen, X., 1996; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1991). Recent literature has also given considerable attention to school transitions (e.g., Alspaugh, 1998; Eccles, Wigfield, Midgley, Reuman, MacIver & Fieldlaufer, 1993; Pearce, 2006). Alspaugh and Harting (1995) cite sociostructural factors as explaining achievement loss and dropout rates. Success of new minorities in the education field, although not conclusive, may be attributed to cultural and sociocultural factors. Various studies have focused on achievement and attainment (Pearce, 2006; Pearce & Lin, 2005; Portes & Zady, 1996). Parental expectations in students' educational success have also been explained through the frameworks of cultural capital theory and socio structural theory (Bourdieu, 1977a; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Pearce, 2006). Waters (2000) studied the success of West Indians in contrast to many African Americans; she found that the sociocultural reality of American race relations and economic disadvantage is similar within both communities among the working class and poor immigrants. And that the barriers the poor and working class immigrants face soon dampen the enthusiasm and belief of education as the engine to success. On the contrary, Pearce notes that, America has changed in fifty years concerning structural changes that advance greater economic, educational, and social parity among all members of our society. Groups like African Americans and Latinos/as have made

greater progress than students in all fields, especially in the field of education.

Cultural explanations for parental expectations used in this study assume that parental beliefs and values are crucial to immigrant students' educational achievement. Culture defines people and their affiliation to groups; a break from culture represents a break from one's community and identity (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kim, 2004; Pearce 2006; Zhou, 2009). Cultural factors may allow individuals to excel, or they may also serve as deterrents (Portes & Zady, 1996). Researchers have cited cultural resources that include hard work, frugality, and entrepreneurship of non-English speaking immigrants from Europe as responsible for their successes (Sowell, 1981); this is also true of Nigerian immigrants in this study. Cultural explanation in this study identified the elements in the immigrant culture that enable achievement. It also identified less beneficial elements of the culture; this is not to apportion blame to the families in this study, but to identify factors that are both positive and negative that support parental expectations in students' education. In this study all participants acknowledged that there are tensions inherent to being a new comer in a country as well as racism but, despite these negative factors, they were able to succeed in their chosen endeavors. I would also posit that indigenous education as lived experiences influenced the parent participants of this study because they consistently referenced this during the interviews.

Indigenous Education in Africa (How lived experiences of participants influence their parental expectations)

Onwauchi (1972) states that, in all societies every child is endowed with an innate quality of mind and body. The child acquires education through the process of socialization and the cultural mode of behavior. He defines culture as 'the sum total of the integrated learned behavior patterns characteristic of members of a society'. Culture is the people's way of life, their social organization, and economic patterns, including feelings shared by members of the community. Culture is learned, not biologically inherited. People are products of their culture. It is through the pursuit of cultural norms and values that individuals give meaning to their lives. Norms and values are socially standardized concepts of what is acceptable and what is unacceptable. These differ from place to place. When two cultures meet, it is understandable that this will result in some changes to both cultures; however, the new cultural values born of the marriage of the two must be properly adjusted to existing cultural fabrics in the other to be fully beneficial. Several studies (Mbiti, 1990; Menkiti, 1984; Onwauchi, 1972; Tedla, 1992; Wiredu, 1977) indicate indigenous African learning is inseparable from the peoples' daily lives. Indigenous education plays a vital role in the transmission of values that Africans consider essential in experiencing life in a holistic way. This is critical to the African's way of life; therefore, indigenous education is not divorced from traditional African religious thought and values. Thus for Africans, the educational institution is not separate from life. There is no distinction between formal, non-formal, and informal education. The entire community is ever engaging in continuous learning and teaching. In this light the Western concept of *education* does not conform to African reality.

Method

This research is anchored in the philosophy of phenomenology as established by Husserl (1913) and, the European philosophers Sartre, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, who were also in the forefront of phenomenological studies of existence. Phenomenology as defined by Husserl is the study of how people describe things and experience them through their senses. The assumption was we only know what we experience by attending to perceptions and meanings that awaken our consciousness (Patton, 2002). The American psychologist Amedio Giorgio was instrumental in developing empirical phenomenological methods. He defines phenomenology as 'the study of structure and the variations of structure, of the consciousness to which any thing, event or person appears' (Giorgio, 1975, p.72). In phenomenological inquiry the reflection of lived experience is necessarily recollective: it is reflection on experience that is already passed or lived through (Van Manen, 1990, pp. 9-10). Since the purpose of this study is to make meaning out of the lived experiences of the Nigerians living in the United

State, the phenomenological method was appropriate.

I employed the life history mode of inquiry in conducting interviews and collecting data, and analyzing the psychological meaning of descriptions of lived experiences provided by the participants (Giorgio, 1985; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). I gathered data from interviews, life histories, participant observation, field notes, and journals. An open-ended question interviewing method was also utilized. This is a well-documented research method that allows the voice of the participant to be heard and helps uncover reality beneath the surface (Riessman, 1993). The data findings were then analyzed through descriptive analysis (Chenail, St. George, Wulff, Duffy & Charles, 2008; Giorgio, 1975); thematic and connective organization of data and interpretation of results followed (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 2002; Seidman, 2006).

Participants

Cresswell (1998) states, 'the purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in a qualitative study' (p.118). Patton (2002) notes poor sampling may threaten the trustworthiness of the findings; he also suggests that purposeful selection of participants allows the sample to be information rich. The participants consisted of eight Nigerian voluntary immigrant families and their adult children residing in New York, Vermont and Michigan: (N = twenty, Men = seven, Women = thirteen, including five adult children). The main criterion for participants in the study was that the Nigerian parents be voluntary immigrants and have adult children who have gone through the United States' educational system. The method of selection of the subjects was by 'network' sampling, where one participant leads to another. This method has its strengths and weaknesses. It is not a random sampling technique, and therefore attempts to test hypotheses with statistical measures, and to generalize the findings to a larger population, cannot be done with scientific validity. It is not suitable for statistical analysis, and therefore survey-type questions are inappropriate. The network sampling technique is suitable for interviewing in-depth, observations, case histories, and for life history interviews as used in this study. The method is naturally limited to a small number of subjects.

Results

Research Question 1: What are Nigerian Voluntary Immigrants' Parental Expectations for their Children's Education?

I have chosen in this section to let the participants speak for themselves, and have selected some of what they say to represent the result of the study. This section touches on participants' experiences as they impact their parental expectations for their children's education and answers research question 1. Parent participants cited many contributing factors based on their culture, including the fact that they themselves have to work hard and the children see them as role models. They expect hard work in return from their children, and they enforce it even more when it comes to their children's education. These parents believe that education is the key to success. They appear not to be seeking perfection or prescribed jobs for their children. They all expressed the desire for a better life for their children than they had had. They wanted the 'American Dream' for their children on the child's own terms. The only stipulation was, whatever they choose to do, they must do well. The participants are represented by their initials rather than giving them pseudo names:

> It is all about education, education and education!!! Education is the key to success. I would like them to do better than what I have achieved educationally today. I would like them to get white-collar jobs. Good paying jobs. I would like them to be lawyers and doctors or simply have good paying jobs. (BM)

His wife, 'AM,' concentrated more on the process and the role of schools in helping children achieve their educational goals:

Table 2

Participants' demographic data

Letter codes	Age	Education	Occupation	Length of time in the United States (years)
BM (F) AM (M) 2 Daughters 1 Son	50 44 19^ (in college), 13, 17	Education includes post secondary school certifications (F) Baccalaureate Teaching Certification and other job specific certifications (M)	Production supervisor (F) Teacher/Social Worker (M)	6
BE (F) (Widowed) 4 Daughters	61 32 ^ 30 28 27	*PhD. ^* PhD *MD BA BA	State Bio Engineer Medical Doctor	38 All children born in US.
SB (M) (Separated) 1 Daughter	44 17	BsN.	Nurse	 1
BO (M) O (F) 3 Daughters Or (18) EO (29)	53 67 33^, 29, 18^	*B.A. *RN, *MS ^*BA, MA	Business Anesthetist ^Asian languages/ Business	35 40 All children born in US.
MU (Single parent) 3 Daughters 1 Son	60 38,36,26 32	*RN All are pharmacists	Nurse	36 All children born in the US. except the last daughter.
SN 2 Daughters 1 Son	58 23, 22, 19	PhD (All are in college)	Consulting Engineer	18
OA (F) SO (M) 3 Daughters	49 45 19^, 17, 14	*PhD *BA (^ In college.)	Criminologist Counselor/ Social Worker	25 24 All children born in the US.
SA 3 sons	55 18, 20, 21	*MD (All are in college)	Medical Doctor	48 All children born in the US.

Note. M = Mother F = Father * = degree or certification obtained in the United States
^ = Adult child interviewed

> I expect the school to get them ready for college. Encourage them to study more and know what to do. Teachers should not discourage them by saying that they can't do the work.
>
> It is very important for them to do well because we are a long way from home. We cannot come all these miles to fail. Failure is not an option. (BM)

'SB,' a single mother, and 'BE,' a widower, expressed their expectations as follows:

> My expectation was and is that she should go as high as possible with whatever she chooses to do. I would like her to be self-sufficient and not have to depend on her husband financially. (SB)
>
> When I talk about my children, my wife Elizabeth was a key instrument in this. When we started working with our children, there were no plans. Everything was spontaneous. We wanted to give them so much but we had very little. (BE)

Even though 'BE' had said he and his wife had no plans for the children, but as the interview progressed it was apparent that their plans began to enfold. They had successfully raised four girls - a medical doctor, two PhDs, and the last with a Master's degree; all had attended, or were still attending, Ivy League colleges. What is evident in this data is that the parents felt they were doing nothing special to push their children into achieving, and yet their actions and their involvement at home and school appear to have communicated their wishes to the children.

On the question regarding the participants' personal expectations for their own children's education, hard work is the common thread:

> He needs to be recognized in a profession so that he can be self-sufficient. I want my children to have no regrets or say, 'I wish I had done this in school' . That is my expectation, nothing more. (BE)

> Our expectation in Yoruba culture is for our children to live a better life than us. We want them to be successful, independent, and self-sufficient: to attain an education and to find a good wife or good husband, to have good children, live a good life, and to be able to remember home, where we come from. (SO)

> My hard work and the Nigerian experience of hardship have influenced my children. It was a good thing that I relocated them to Nigeria for a period of time. They really got a taste of Nigeria tradition and ways of life. I talk to my children from time to time. I speak to them about men. I tell them if they are educated and self-sufficient they will get more respect from their prospective husband. (MU)

> We attend all of their school programs, and encourage them to participate in as much as they can in school-extra-curricular that really has paid off for them...so our expectation of them is simply letting them know that knowledge is power and they have to get good grades. (OA)

> Defining achievement for our children. It is about what they learn in the process. Life-long learning is the issue, not grades. The achievement has to be the ability to be a life-long learner. (BO)

> I let her know that education is the key to success in life. If she is educated she will get a higher position in life and be respected. If she knows what she is doing, no one can manipulate her. As they say, 'knowledge is power.' She understands my expectations now. (SB)

Conveying Expectations to Children

Expectations are beliefs that are informed by culture and tradition. How they are conveyed to children is important. In this study it was observed that the parents model the behavior that they want their children to emulate. They also verbalize their hopes and aspirations for the children as often as possible. They support their children's endeavors, sometimes at great length; and they

provide the children with the environment that nurtures and supports them.

> They can see for themselves. Like she says *[his wife]*, there is a lot more opportunity here, and the opportunity is free. When everything that is free, there is a lot of responsibility. We tell our kids, whatever you want to achieve is possible, if you put the effort into it. (OA)

> BO: 'We are not rigid; things can change; but the children must give us a plan of action regarding their studies.'

> I tell my children about my work situation, and about growing up in Nigeria. I also give them examples of people I know who have done well in life through education. I let them know that I admire those who have succeeded against all odds. (AM)

> BM: 'I tell them they have to study hard to make the grade. Success doesn't come without hard work.'

Research Question 2: What Role do Socio-Cultural Contexts Play in Nigerian Parents' Expectations?

Immigrants' expectations are influenced by personal beliefs and life experiences from their country of origin as well their current home. The new cultural environment usually heightens the expectations of immigrants, bringing up the desires and hopes they nourish and the reasons they moved from their country of origin. Here are excerpts regarding acculturation from some of the participants in this study:

> Between the children and us there is a cultural lag. We have to tread lightly or we will lose them. We have to try to accommodate them some because this culture is different from the one we were raised in. For example, one of my friends, Omo e kan dide nle lojo kan lokeru oni ohun nkuro nile nitori Baba ohun ti le ju. *[Translation: His daughter decided he was too strict, and left home.]*

> Omo *[Translation: she was]* 17 or 18 years in the last year of high school. Baba sun sun sun. Sugbon o pada wa ile. *[Translation: Her dad cried and cried - she returned home after a year or so.]* She later went to U of M. That will show you our cultural differences with our children. If we don't manage things very well they will see us as too strict or too mean. These generations are so different from us. I don't know what we can do. But some of us are successful in managing them.

> One of the things we did to engrain some of our culture in our children was to send them to Yoruba school here in Michigan. They learned that when they greet me they have to bow as a sign of respect. When they wake up in the morning they must greet me. They cannot just walk through me. (SO)

> Parental involvement is extremely important. I am talking about active involvement, like she said *[his wife]*. So, as you monitor their academic success, you have to monitor their behavior and whom they are socializing with. (OA)

> As I studied the data, I came to the understanding that a 'culture of education' runs through the participants' households. This theme was voiced as follows:

> I grew up in Nigeria some 55 years ago. I came from a [polygamous] family like most of our communities at home. My parents were influential to my education; they were not only guiding me but also dictating to me as to the importance of education and how important it was to our lives. There were 17 children in the family; my mother had six.

> You are the favorite child of the house if you are academically bright.

You are the favorite son of your mother if you study and do well in your exams, especially for those of us who came from polygamous homes. My father had three wives so it depended on the day we brought our report home that we knew who was a good mother or who was a bad mother. So how you do at school becomes a reflection of your mother in our household.

Effort has a lot to do with educational achievement. (SO)

The participants were asked how experiences from their country of origin helped to form their expectations.

My expectations for their education are culturally induced. It is part of our expectations in Nigeria that our children lived better life than us. We want for them a more peaceful life and a more result-oriented life. (SO)

It's goes back to our culture, too. The Nigerian kids born in America have a conflict of cultures. They have an American mind set and they have a Nigerian mind set. (OA)

In Nigeria, children take their parents' advice and try to live up to that. Of course, in our current environment this is not so. We are faced with a lot of obstacles. This was the Nigerian culture. I grew up with that culture; now here, this is an obstacle. (SB)

Research Question 3: How Have the Second-Generation Adult Children of Immigrants Internalized their Parents' Expectations?

At the beginning of each interview, I instructed the second-generation participants that I had some questions about their parents' expectations and school achievement. I asked them to feel free to talk about anything, and that our interviews were not meant to judge; rather, they were a way to triangulate their parents' role in helping them to achieve academic success. Below are some of the responses:

Basically, in anything we do they just want us to try our hardest, no matter what we do. It's never really been about the grades, but the effort. I always know I have to try my hardest, not that I always do. If they notice that I don't, that's when the problems occur. This is my third semester in the university. Last semester I got one C+. It was never an issue about the C+ as far as that I tried hard enough, but what my problem is. Whenever they ask about school, I tell them one class is giving me problems. So, even though I got a C+, it didn't bother them because I was telling them why. I am typically an A student, but when I do have a bad grade, it's never about the bad grade but how much effort. (LO)

They have explained to me that in order to succeed in this world, you need to work hard academically and it is completely up to me to decide my path of success. My parents explained to me that when they went to school, it was extremely difficult for them and that I should appreciate that due to the changing times I should fully utilize all of the resources provided for me. They continued, that with hard work come great rewards. I did not acknowledge this at first, but when I started school I realized that people that worked hard in school received things such as certificates and other awards. Knowing this, I wanted to not only make my parents proud, but myself as well. Receiving awards only proves that the hard work one invests is being recognized. (WM)

Education was a priority. I don't think it was explicit. They were not telling me that you have to study and get all A's and stuff. It was more just implicit. I don't think I remember ever been told. They had high expectations.

I was self-motivated. I never needed intervention; I studied on my own.

I don't think it was ever an issue in high school. But in college, there was pressure to get into a more technical field. I was an engineer. I remember thinking that I just wanted to do business, but I remember my mom saying: "No, you need to go into engineering." And I could remember my dad

saying: 'let her do whatever she wants'.

I guess it wasn't like such a big deal to me so I did engineering *[laughs]*. Now I am back to business. I will be done with my MBA in June. (NO)

Education was priority number one as far as our parents were concerned. Education was the most important thing for us. We had to perform well in school. If we had any problems at school, our parents would always come to the school to talk to our teachers. They tried to make sure that we could improve our performance and to know what was holding us back. By the end of every school year we were performing on top for the most part. (EE)

I think my parents' expectations for me was just right. They praised me when I did well, and they understood when I do badly. It's never been an issue. They always understand. I think I'm harder on myself than they are. On a personal level, I always want to do well. I think I'm harder on myself. Our expectation is similar. I always attend classes and try my hardest. (LO)

The expectations that I have for myself may be a little bit greater than that of my parents because I want to be able to go above and beyond my elements. (WM)

I would say my parents' expectations for me were just right. As far as I can remember from kindergarten, if we did well on a project our parents would give us a sticker or put our names on a board where everyone could see it; that always felt good. As a young person, I wanted to do well and my parents wanted me to do well. They had high expectations for us but they went about it in an encouraging way. Even though their expectations were too high they were encouraging.

I think they *(parents)* always wanted more. They always yelled at us, 'do this do that!' They wanted us to do excellent work at school. And when they had guests they were always bragging about how well we were doing. I would say to myself, 'They are bragging now, and when the guests leave and we slip in any way, we are going to be in trouble.' The problem is that once you have achieved a goal they set for you, they set another one. It is never ending. You feel like you will never satisfy them. There is always more that can be done. (EE)

Discussion and Conclusion

Parental Expectations and Academic Achievement

Parental expectations of the participants for their children's education in the United States, as evidenced by interview responses, developed over time and are rooted in their Nigerian upbringing and culture, overlaid with their adaptation to their new American culture. Participants' responses give credence to my developing theory that the parental expectations for their children's academic achievement in the US come about through a blend of cultures. The second-generation have a conflict of cultures. (OA): 'They (the children) have an American mind set and they (the parents) have a Nigerian mind set.'

All participants indicated they had demanding jobs that helped them care for their families. It is evident from this study and those reviewed earlier, that achievement is related to socioeconomic status, as well as parental involvement. Demographic data of the participants (see table 2) indicate that that they are middle class. All had to work hard to attain this status and they commented that they did so to make sure that their children had a good education; a few moved into the suburbs where there were better schools.

All parents mentioned that they were involved with their children's homework assignments when they were young; as the children grew they became more independent, needing their parents' direct help on homework assignments less and less. Meanwhile, the 'homework ethic' had been fully ingrained in all the students, and this translated to success in school. Parents reported that all

their children are self-motivated because they had taken the time to do the necessary groundwork while the children were small. They maintained discipline, gave them love, and showed them how to achieve success through their own hard work and the telling and retelling of stories about family members and friends who had done well through education.

The parents interviewed not only expect that children rise to their expectations; they also enabled the children in these endeavors. 'AM' (a parent) notes:

> I help them meet my expectations by helping them get to school on time, and being supportive of their educational endeavors. I get in contact with teachers often to build relationships with them.

The narratives from the participants indicate that Nigerian values drive the responses. Achievement is defined as not only getting good grades, but in becoming a respected citizen of good character. 'HO' states:

> Defining achievement for our children is very simple for us. If they have done the best they can, then they have succeeded. It is not about grades; it's about what they learn in the process.

Among the many factors that were credited with helping their children succeed, the parents reported that they closely monitored their children's school work, made sure they did their homework, and encouraged them to make good friends and to associate with people who were likely smarter than themselves.

The study reveals that the primary objective of the parents is defining achievement for their children. Once this foundation has been laid, parents then proceed to leverage their means of communicating with and supporting their children in school and in the community. The results also indicate that immigrant Nigerian parents have successfully transmitted to their offspring a specific value-system that they believe influenced their children's educational attainment.

The Socio-Cultural Context of Parental Expectations

Based on the reports from participants, traditions from the Nigerian culture have not been lost in the parenting of the children. According to Yoruba tradition, a person's life is guided by the concept of 'omoluabi' or 'personhood,' meaning one is not a human being just because s/he was born. You have to earn the right to personhood. How you do this is by proving yourself on several levels, including hard work, succeeding in whatever vocation you choose, and emphasizing the importance of family ties and obligations. The Yoruba tradition expectation stipulates that one is responsible for one's brothers and sisters and they are obligated to reciprocate in return. In Nigeria- there is no welfare system; the family and the community are responsible for each other's welfare. As reflected in the responses of the participants, indigenous education is a process that starts at birth and is continuous until death. Learning is inseparable from the people's daily lives. When things began to change in Nigeria due to the arrival of Western education, many parents saw to it that their children upheld the new cultural values while respecting the indigenous values; a new way of becoming an 'omoluabi' was born.

In reviewing the participants' responses it is evident they have been substantially influenced by the Nigerian heritage as well as American culture. There are connecting threads through the three generations (grandparents in Nigeria, their children as the participants in this study, and the grandchildren, most of whom were born in the United States, and all were educated in the US). Among the responses of the grandchildren in the United States we can identify commonality with the grandparents in Nigeria. Common characteristics include: 'education is the priority,' 'hard work,' 'high expectations,' 'do the best you can,' and 'support and encouragement from the family.'

Berry (1997) hypothesized that regarding acculturation strategies in plural societies, cultural groups

and the individual members in both dominant and non-dominant situations must grapple with the issue of how to acculturate. Strategies to navigate these issues are usually a dance between cultures and the people involved. This is borne out by the expressed feelings of the participants in this study. Berry continues:

> The issues involved are cultural maintenance (to what extent are cultural identity characteristics considered to be important and their maintenance strived for); and contact and participation (to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves) (p. 9).

The participants in this study have chosen an integration option of acculturation (Berry), which is to participate in the larger network of their new country by doing what it takes within the boundaries of their original country's culture dictum. They are maintaining active interests in both the original culture (Nigeria) as well as participating fully in the new culture's larger society.

Second-Generation Internalization of their Parents' Expectations

A number of factors are identified which bear on the performance of the immigrants' children born and educated in the United States. All the children in the study were high achievers in US schools, up through their college and postgraduate years. All are from educated families (See table 2 for education status of participants). These factors and the informal and common sense beliefs or folk theory (Furnham, 1988) of the parents shape these families and their realities. The characteristics of American culture that support academic achievement include progressive school programs, extracurricular activities, educational resources, opportunities for women, college financial aid, a laissez-faire mode of child rearing, and opportunities for choices in education and career. Although cultural conflicts exist, they are usually resolved. On the issue of second-generation children's internalization of their parents' expectations, they unanimously believe that they agree with their parents' expectations, even though it was hard at times to conform to them.

Research Limitations

In qualitative study, the researcher is an instrument of data collection (Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Patton, 2002). This can be an asset as well as a limitation. The choice of data collection strategies may lessen the likelihood that this research can be generalized to all Nigerian groups, let alone Africans as a whole. The number of participant is small; this is in keeping with most qualitative studies. Thus, this research is exploratory and will lead to additional questions and directions of study. A quantitative study of this subject is highly encouraged. A quantitative or qualitative study on the subject may also be carried out with non-voluntary immigrant population who are not the subject of this study.

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Class Status and the Construction of Black Masculinity

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Abstract
Black Masculinity—as a subfield of Gender Studies—is tailored to study the typical behaviors of African American males. Literature on this subject claims that stereotypical characteristics of Black men have been shaped by centuries of racial subjugation and response to economic oppression. I contend in this article that Black Masculinity and its attributes are decreasingly influenced by one's racial designation and are more influenced by class status. Entering the twenty-first century, behavioral attributes typically associated with Black Masculinity—such as violent compulsion and criminality, frequent womanizing, and homophobia—are more closely linked to class than to race. Growing racial tolerance and media access to Black culture has allowed for the spread of these attributes across racial boundaries. Considered intolerable to progressive American society, these behaviors tend to surface when poor opportunity structure limits the expression of patriarchal male power.

Masculinity and the Construction of Black Identity

The most popular representations of 'gender'—a social construct engineered out of the toolkit of culture—tend to be determined by the dominant institutions of a given society. Like race, many mistakenly assume that the behavioral attributes of gender are born out of biological impulse. We often fail to realize that the conventions associated with masculine or feminine expression are determined for us by our society, and not by genetic predisposition. Pierre Bourdieu claimed that the:

> social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality.....(T)he biological differences between the sexes.....can thus appear as the natural justification of the socially constructed difference between the genders. [1]

Masculine expectations—especially in a traditional patriarchal society—often obligate men to exhibit strength, aggressiveness, dominance over women, and sometimes violent superiority over other men. Outside of the past one hundred years, most societies accepted patriarchal dominance as part of the natural order. 'The division between the sexes appears to be 'in the order of things,' as people sometimes say to refer to what is normal, natural, to the point of being inevitable.' [2]

Within the sociological study of gender, Black Masculinity—masculine attributes ascribed to African American[3] men—insinuates more exaggerated forms of patriarchal expression. For scholars of this subfield, aggressiveness, sexual domination, and violent superiority are said to be magnified in African American men. These embellishments of masculine attributes are shaped by a long heritage of enforced racial stereotypes, media interpretations of race and poverty, and contributions to gender identity by political leaders.

Many scholars[4] within this subfield would claim that the characteristics of Black Masculinity are uniform amongst all African American males, and these attributes are a continuous response to institutionalized racism and economic oppression. I contend in this article that in the twenty-first century, the behaviors associated with Black Masculinity are more shaped by class status and therefore these behaviors are not uniform amongst all African American men. In fact, one could argue that there is a wide range of behavioral subgroups within Black Masculinity.

Black Masculinity—as a measurable set of conventions—has traditionally included the most dangerous

and nihilistic forms of patriarchal expression. As is described by Robert Staples in *Black Masculinity*, the Black male's 'cultural image is usually one of several types: the sexual superstud, the athlete, and the rapacious criminal.'[5] In general, twentieth-century scholars agreed that the attributes of Black Masculinity included a magnified sexual appetite, a penchant for violent dominance, hostility towards homosexuality, and a 'cool' attitude in the face of economic or intellectual inferiority. Those who subscribe to these notions expect Black males to exhibit violent criminal behavior and an extraordinary desire for sexual conquest over women. This image has been propagated in US entertainment media—including movies, music, and television shows—for decades. The Black male as a criminal, 'pimp/player,' or violent antagonist are all commodified characterizations of African American men in the popular American lexicon.

Without question, these widely viewed stereotypes were born out of centuries of institutionalized racial subjugation and the simultaneous fascination and fear of these attributes by White Americans. As a media commodity, Black men embody both the most feared and desired category of manhood in American society. As explained by Richard Majors and Janet Billson in *The Cool Pose*:

> Denied access to mainstream avenues of success, they have created their own voice. Unique patterns of speech, walk, and demeanor express the cool pose. This strategic style allows the black male to tip society's imbalanced scales in his favor.[6]

What Majors and Billson call the 'cool pose' allows a person with no physical capital to possess a form of cultural capital. Especially in the American entertainment industry, African Americans have historically been the architects of new styles of dress, attitudes, and slang.

America's fascination with Black forms of expression began in the nineteenth century with the caricatures displayed in Minstrel Shows, which often featured White actors dressing up in 'Black face' in order to act out the worst stereotypes of African American slaves. Minstrel Shows date back to the 1830s and eventually became the most popular form of American entertainment in the post-bellum 1870s. Although the notion of 'savage Africans' dates back to seventeenth century tales of European exploration of Africa, the Black stereotypes that remain today have their roots in the fear perpetuated during the Reconstruction Era of the United States.

The most popular Vaudeville acts in the late nineteenth century included the decades-old characters of Jim Crow, Mr. Tambo, and Zip Coon, who embodied the perceived intellectual inferiority, laziness, and gluttony of African American slaves. [7] White audiences of Vaudeville and Minstrel shows preferred the non-threatening characterizations of African Americans over the more dangerous stereotypes. Thus, began the conceptualization of the 'good negro' (safe negro) and 'bad negro' (more dangerous).

As working class White Americans adjusted to Reconstruction Era America after slavery, many promoted the stereotype of the violent/ rapacious Black male in order to justify the solidification of legal segregation in the 1890s. African American men were equated with animals: physically strong, sexually unrestrained, and intellectually inferior. Further, as African Americans attempted to position themselves in the late nineteenth century industrial economy, tales of Black criminality began to grow exponentially.

Backed by the scientific community at the height of the Social Darwinist Era, many believed that the evolution of the African male was headed toward sexual barbarism. As noted by Arthur Saint-Aubin, 'whereas superiority was to be linked to skull size and intelligence, inferiority was to be linked to sexuality.'[8] The myth of the 'Black Rapist' fed the American psyche and still feeds notions of Black male hyper-sexuality to this day. Many of the Black Codes (laws in the American South solely directed at African Americans) between 1890 and 1960 made it illegal for African American men and White

women to have any physical contact.

As the myth of the hyper-sexual Black male grew throughout the twentieth century, many African American men began to embrace it and a large proportion of US society slowly began to grow a curiosity for it. Record companies during the Jazz and Rock 'n' Roll eras sought African American artists that were 'cool and safe,' but often audiences still found them to be mysterious and dangerous. According to bell hooks in her book *We Real Cool*:

> By the end of the seventies the feared yet desired black male body had become as objectified as it was during slavery, only a seemingly positive twist had been added to the racist sexist objectification: the black male body had become the site for the personification of everyone's desire . . . Many black males are simply acquiescing, playing the role of sexual minstrel.[9]

Because the American audience has a curiosity for the exotic, many African American men today take advantage of these stereotypes. As is noted by Staples:

> A review of the record of White beliefs about black sexuality casts in bold relief the view that "for the majority of White men, the Negro represents the sexual instinct in its raw state."[10]

Obsession with Black male genitalia dates as far back as the writings of Aristotle[11] and continues to bolster conceptions of Black male sexuality today.

Of all the Black male stereotypes created over the last 150 years that of the violent criminal has been methodically cultivated, commodified, and outright embraced by US society. In the 1960s, Black Masculinity was reshaped by the newly acquired political power of the Civil Rights Era. Notions of the 'good negro' (or obedient/deferential negro) were purposefully destroyed and replaced with a more defiant/revolutionary representation. The 1960s-70s played a pivotal role in the creation of this violent male identity. Specifically, the combination of the media's portrayal of the antagonistic Black Power Movement, and record crime rates in African American neighborhoods, created feared images of African American men.

Government forces—in particular, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) —found the image of the revolutionary Black male to be too threatening to national security, therefore, they acted to dismantle most Black Power organizations in the 1970s. Concurrent with FBI policies, economic forces drove African American neighborhoods deeper into poverty. The destruction of Black leadership—combined with depression-level conditions in poor neighborhoods—left a void in Black male identity that would later be filled (for some) with narcissistic self-preservation and violent undertakings. As Christopher Lasch would argue in *The Culture of Narcissism*, in the wake of a failing economy, US culture in general was turning toward selfish pursuits.[12]

As the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements screeched to a halt in the 1970s, cultural identity in the Black community began to take on new directions. With a void in mainstream Black leadership, Black identity fractured along class lines. Political gains won during the Civil Rights Era no longer confined middle-class Blacks to northern industrial ghettos and economically depressed rural southern settlements. William Julius Wilson in his book *When Work Disappears* noted that the 'black flight' from urban ghettos allowed some African Americans to seek enclaves of people with similar economic backgrounds, while worsening the conditions of those left in segregated neighborhoods.[13]

Economic fracturing of African American communities also propagated a split in racial identity. Upwardly mobile African Americans sought to live out Martin Luther King's 'dream' of mainstream equality by attempting to shed the previous stereotypes. This desire was decades old. As was said by Mark Anthony Neal in *New Black Man*:

> Image-making among elite black men dates back to the early twentieth century when black men like W.E.B Du Bois, Alan Locke, and others began to circulate terms like the "talented tenth" and the "new negro" in an effort to challenge racist depictions of black folk, but black men in particular.[14]

Grounded in the ethos of 'self-love,' the Black middle class sought to establish an identity based on economic achievement.

Poor and working class African Americans, on the other hand, had seen their opportunity structure worsen as they took a direct hit by mass deindustrialization. Black identity in poorer communities followed the attributes of masculine patriarchal domination as a response to economic subjugation. Many saw embracing negative stereotypes as a form of empowerment and self-realization. American media latched onto these representations as they confirmed stereotypes of old and catered to a growing interest in viewership.

The use of violence, as it is connected to Black male identity, became the norm for the protection of one's person and property by poor urban men in the 1980s and 1990s. Traditional American patriarchal norms encourage men to seek some form of dominance over others, whether that dominance is sexual, economic, or physical. When all other forms of dominance are limited, manhood often calls for the expression of power, even if that power is gained through violence. According to Majors and Billson:

> Violence [at the end of the twentieth century] has become a readily available and seemingly realistic tool for achieving these critical social rewards; it is in this sense that violence can even become a form of achievement when everything else has failed.[15]

For working class and working poor African American men at the end of the twentieth century, the combination of historical racial oppression, mass economic abrogation, and continued media celebration of patriarchal gender socialization cemented the stereotypes of Black Masculinity that remain in the twenty-first century.

The Commodification of Black Stereotypes

Today, within the context of American popular culture, violence, homophobia, and hyper-sexuality—though considered by many to be undesirable—are fashionable commodities for many young boys of all races. Old modes of patriarchal domination are being bought and sold in mainstream action movies, Hip Hop music, 'gangsta' films,[16] and even primetime television programming.

Certain attributes of Black Masculinity—what many label as 'ghetto'—were not embraced until the 1970s, as was seen in 'Black exploitation'[17] films. Black gangsta culture (celebrating African American male criminals as heroes) was born out of small films such as *Superfly* (1972) and *The Mack* (1973), but they were not typically viewed outside of Black audiences. As working class African Americans sought new identity construction in the 1970s, these films offered a template. But some segments of the Black community criticized these films for profiteering from negative stereotypes.

Like Black films of the 1970s, Hip Hop music is often chastised for latching onto the most damaging Black stereotypes and reproducing them for mass consumption. Natalie Hopkinson and Natalie Moore emphasize in *Deconstructing Tyrone* that this relationship between mass media and Black identity creates a conundrum for African American entertainers. 'We're stuck either "correcting" old images of black masculinity or remaking them for profit.'[18] From the days of Blues singer Bessie Smith and her hit record *Me and My Gin* (1920) to the present, African American entertainers have had to grapple with whether to embrace these stereotypes in order to gain wealth, or risk financial failure by staying 'true' to themselves.

Hip Hop—America's most commercially successful 'Black music'—initially gained interest outside of African American communities in the 1980s. This innovative art form offered a range of genres, including dance music, love songs, and 'conscious records,' as Rap artists spoke out against poor conditions in urban ghettos. 'Conscious' records were a mini-revival of the pride preached during the Black Power Movement. Platinum-selling artists such as Chuck D (of Public Enemy) encouraged Black pride and self-love, all while believing that giving into negative Black stereotypes was a way of 'selling out'. At the time, to 'sell out' meant that a Black artist would willfully pantomime Black stereotypes for financial gain.

Throughout the 1980s, Hip Hop primarily remained a 'Black music' until the release of a ground-breaking album in 1989. Niggas with Attitude's (N.W.A.) *Straight Outta Compton* put record companies on notice as young suburbanites thirsted for a radically different type of music. Something about the nihilistic tales as portrayed by N.W.A. appealed to young White male audiences.

Obscured by the neo-Afro centric energy in Hip Hop, 'gangsta' Rappers believed that by foregoing the smiling, dancing, and non-controversial language of the stereotypical 'safe negro', they were staying true to African American goals of self-realization. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, gangsta Rappers ended up embracing the decades-old stereotype of the violent 'rapacious' Black male. As gangsta Rap gained popularity in the 1990s, Hip Hop as a whole became commercially viable. The commodification of gangsta culture drove other genres of Hip Hop deeper into obscurity and set the 'pop' standards for today.

Hip Hop artists in the 1990s did not garner much success until they began to attract a large White audience; and White audiences wanted it 'gangsta'. Such breakthrough albums as Dr. Dre's *The Chronic* (1992, EMI Distribution) were a hit among White youth. Even though Rappers continued to talk about the dangerous conditions of urban ghettos, White youth could relate to the endangered aspects of US patriarchal culture: desire for material wealth, dominance over women, and violence as a respected means to an end. Outside of Hip Hop, 1990's American pop culture preached equality for women, sensitivity for men, and tolerance for all forms of race, color, and sexual orientation. In a peak era of political-correctness and multi-culturalism, gangsta Rap offered an opportunity for young boys to experience the more classical attributes of patriarchal masculinity.

In the 1990s, Hip Hop's definition of Black manhood began to narrow. In her book *Hip Hop Wars*, Tricia Rose lamented, 'Since the mid to late 1990s, the social, artistic, and political significance of figures like the gangsta and street hustler substantially devolved into apolitical, simple-minded, almost comic stereotypes.'[19] Moving away from the ideals of the 1960's Black Power Movement—and instead borrowing from the legends of early twentieth century Italian-American gangsters—gangsta Rappers combined the attributes of nineteenth century patriarchal masculinity with the party music of the 1970s-80s. Rose contends that these images of the Black male are 'exaggerated and distorted by a powerful history of racial images of black men as 'naturally' violent and criminal'[20] .

Gangsta Rap preached the requisite use of violent capital as the only means of maintaining masculine domination. For example, New York City-based Hip Hop group *Mobb Deep* emphasized the necessity to use violence—and not just talk about it—in their hit single *Shook Ones part II* (1995). In this song, Mobb Deep spoke directly to other Rap artists whom they believed were 'fake criminals'. The use of violence—particularly with handguns—became essential for street credibility and subsequent entrance into the Hip Hop industry. This also solidified the suggested use of violence as a singular path to manhood for working poor African American boys.

Defiant attitudes — as portrayed in 1960's Black Masculinity — were reshaped into defiance against

legal codes in the 1990s. Empowering oneself included rebelling against all structures of power, even if it served no political purpose. Suddenly, the most negative stereotypes of what was considered to be 'ghetto' were being celebrated by 'keeping it real'. As stated by Cora Daniels in *Ghetto Nation*:

> An argument could be made that this pride, this embracing of everything we are, the good as well as the bad, is somehow an aggressive way to erase feeling marginalized, which in the end can be an empowering act.[21]

This commercialization of 'ghetto' has resulted in new fashions and has contributed to new trends in "cool" Black posturing.

For the young male audience who can most relate to Rap artists, gangsta Rap creates a new template for manhood. Sexual dominance over women, get-rich-quick schemes, and the willingness to use violence to protect one's reputation became a foundation for Black male identity by the mid-1990s. Gangsta Rap eliminated the 'safe negro', and as a result, many became concerned about the nihilistic consequences of Hip Hop's role models.

It is precisely Hip Hop's rebellious nature—without clearly defined political objectives—that attracts Hip Hop's greatest critics. 1990's stalwart Tupac Shakur preached the loosely construed ethos of 'thug life', which many interpreted as a lifetime dedication to lawbreaking behavior. The 'thug' became a staple in Hip Hop after the 1990s and often celebrated an acquired criminal record. Had Tupac had more time to articulate its meaning before his death in 1996, 'thug' could have been a call to eradicate old modes of identity formation.

Gangsta Rappers had an outlet to express violent frustration, but lacked the templates for politically-correct intonation. Many of Hip Hop's critics therefore viewed the music as dangerous to youth. Proponents of Hip Hop, view this critique as misguided. As is said by Eric Michael Dyson in *Know What I Mean?*:

> It's true that those who fail to wrestle with Hip Hop's cultural complexity, and approach it in a facile manner, may be misled into unhealthy forms of behavior. But that can be said for all art, including the incest-laden, murder-prone characters sketched in Shakespeare's Macbeth and King Lear.[22]

More important in Hip Hop—from the 1980s to present—is the illumination of problems effecting urban ghettos. 'At its best, hip hop gives voice to marginal black youth we are not used to hearing from on such topics.' [23]

Of course, to claim that Hip Hop is dangerous is to incite the argument that 'life imitates art'. As said by Rose: 'The criticism that hip hop.....causes violence relies on the unsubstantiated but widely held belief that listening to violent stories or consuming violent images *directly* encourages violent behavior.'[24] According to the thinking of 'life imitates art' critics, a culture with so many violent media outlets should produce a record number of violent criminal imitations. It is short-minded to say that music has a direct correlation to violent behavior, but to assume that Hip Hop has no influence on working poor African American boys would fail to recognize that widely publicized role models do offer a guide for manhood in communities that lack real male role models.

Popular media outlets continue to perpetuate old notions of Black Masculinity even as they are no longer influenced by legalized racism and institutions dedicated to racial superiority. As a result, acceptable forms of Black masculine expression have continued to narrow. As said by Byron Hurt in his film *Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes*, for young African American men who've grown up listening to Hip Hop: 'It's like we're in this box. In order to be in that box you have to be strong; you

have to be tough; you have to have a lot of girls.....you have to dominate other men, other people.'[25]

For young men who choose to embrace manufactured norms of Black Masculinity, there are obvious consequences. Ritualistic movement up the status ladder of Black Masculinity requires competent violent expression, domination over women, and domination over men who don't measure up. The real consequences tend to go beyond the individual. According to Athena Mutua in *Progressive Black Masculinities*: 'Black men's embrace of ideal masculinity not only hurts black women, but also hurts black men and black communities as a whole.'[26]

A popular theme when discussing 'Black male crisis' is the topic of racial disparity in prisons.[27] One could claim that Black masculine status positioning contributes to the large number of incarcerated African American men. But as I will illustrate in the following section, one's race is less of an indicator of potential criminal behavior than is class status. African Americans do comprise 40 per cent of incarcerated men, but more important, 62 per cent of the prison population in the United States comes from households that are below the poverty line.[28] As we progress through the twenty-first century, we have to recognize the influence of class as being more important than race.

The Influence of Class in the Construction of Black Masculinity

As the stereotypical attributes of Black Masculinity have been a part of the American psyche for more than two centuries, I argue that African American males who behave according to these stereotypes do so because of the influence of class status. In fact, I also argue that White's of similar class status are more likely to live by the attributes of this exaggerated patriarchal masculinity than are middle class African Americans.

As was argued by William J. Wilson in *The Declining Significance of Race*, since the de-legalization of racism during the Civil Rights Era, African Americans are experiencing a greater diversity in economic class status than ever before in US history. 'There are clear indications that the economic gap between the black underclass and the higher income blacks will very likely widen and solidify.'[29] Prior to the 1950s, almost half of all African Americans lived below the poverty line. Today, it is less than one-quarter. And as African Americans begin to experience a divergence in class situation, this will also spell differences in cultural expectations of masculinity.

Although institutionalized racism created many of the stereotypes for Black male identity, current socioeconomic forces are more influential in pushing segments of the African American male population toward the stereotypes of the past. While we might view Black Masculinity as a purely racial phenomenon, violence, homophobia, hyper-sexuality, and criminality are more closely linked to class than one's racial designation. Working class and working poor families across racial boundaries tend to lean more heavily on patriarchal norms—i.e. the father/husband as the breadwinner—while upward class mobility has allowed many middle and upper class men and women to 'free' themselves of these norms. A wealthy man, for example, does not need to exert violent force in order to demonstrate his dominion over others. For a working poor man, violent capital and womanizing may be the only forms of power that he has left to exert.

The masculine traits that characterize Black Masculinity are more pronounced as one descends the economic ladder. The disproportionate amount of African American men in prison may just be a byproduct of class situation. According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, 'over 20 per cent of young African American men live in poverty compared to 18 per cent of Hispanic men, 12 per cent of Asian men, and 10 per cent of White men.'[30]

If we look at two different African American cohorts with different class situations, there is a wide disparity in criminal activity. Take for example in the New York City metropolitan area, the borough of

the Bronx has one of the largest concentrations of African Americans in the city (43 per cent) and one of the highest crime rates per 1,000 residents (9.8).[31] The Bronx as a whole has a median household income of $35,080 per year.

Hempstead, a suburban town in the New York metropolitan area, has an even larger African American population (53 per cent), but a lower crime rate per 1,000 residents (5.64). This may be in part due to the higher class situation, as the median household income for Hempstead is $45,234.[32]

According to Wilson, as racial subjugation has been 'substantially reduced,' this has allowed for greater divisions in Black culture.[33] In 2004, African American actor and comedian Bill Cosby made some controversial remarks while distancing himself from the working poor stereotypes of Black Masculinity. At an appearance at the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition & Citizenship Education Fund's annual conference, he was quoted as saying:

> You've got to stop beating up your women because you can't find a job, because you didn't want to get an education and now you're (earning) minimum wage. You should have thought more of yourself when you were in high school, when you had an opportunity. [34]

Much of Cosby's commentary was directed at poor African Americans. Those who embody these stereotypes often reference the continued lack of political power and disenfranchisement in poor African American communities. Cosby addressed this by saying, 'it is almost analgesic to talk about what the White man is doing against us.....it keeps you frozen in your hole you're sitting in (sic).' [35]

Middle class and upper class African Americans chastise Black youth for their failings. One way of moving up the status ladder is to vehemently negate and reconstruct the stereotypes of old. As is said by Athena Mutua:

> Elitist comments reflecting class position—perhaps inadvertently—blame the poor for their own poverty and though directed specifically against poor blacks, also suggest that black people in general are to blame for their own oppressed conditions. They thereby reinforce both classist and racial stereotypes.[36]

Even in the upper-echelons of the Black community, African American youth are faced with the exploration of Black Masculinity at some point.

Across class lines, African American adolescents often wrestle with these attributes as they are discovering their own personal identity. In her book *Why Are All of the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?*, Beverly Daniel Tatem claimed that young boys following the expectations of Black Masculinity are not choosing stereotypical 'black posturing' because of racial assumptions alone; rather, theirs is a choice compelled by bridging the maturity gap between childhood and adulthood in adolescence:

> As children enter adolescence, they begin to explore the question of identity, asking "Who am I? Who can I be?" in ways they have not done before. For Black youth, asking "Who am I?" includes thinking about "Who am I ethnically and/or racially? What does it mean to be Black?" [37]

For middle class African American boys, criminal or deviant behavior tends to fade with age.

The exploration of Black Masculinity does not always lead to criminal behavior. Even amongst adolescents, crime is more closely linked to class. The US Department of Justice's *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 2006 National Report* claims that 'juvenile law-violating behavior is (more so) linked to family structure and to school/work involvement.' [38] According to the report, African American and White youth had similar murder rates, and rates of sexual assault were greater for White youth. Over the past decade, race has become less of a factor in juvenile delinquency as contact with the work world weighs more heavily:

> Juveniles who were neither in school nor working had a significantly greater risk of engaging in a wide range of problem behaviors—using marijuana and hard drugs, running away from home, belonging to a gang, committing a major theft or serious assault, selling drugs, and carrying a handgun. [39]

As American culture is becoming more racially tolerant—and White youth have greater access to Black culture—the deviant behavior that is typically associated with Black Masculinity is a palpable choice for young boys across racial boundaries.

The combination of class and race make the assimilation of Black Masculinity more conceivable to particular youth. Many Black male role models in popular media preach these attributes as the norm, and therefore send mixed signals to young African American boys attempting to construct their own identity. For African American boys growing up in poor communities, class expectation and racial expectation converge to amplify the most precarious patriarchal norms. Respect and honor are important working class values, but these have to be earned. Without a strong opportunity structure, young boys in disadvantaged neighborhoods often seek honor and respect through illegal routes and the use of violent capital.

The successful path for middle class youth—good grades in school and well-paying employment, for example—are often not available or do not produce the same social rewards as illegal activity. Poor youth often encounter peer pressure to be truant from school, to use illegal drugs, and to engage in violent grand-standing. Although deviant—and in many instances criminal—this path promises wealth, a bounty of popularity and respect, and a chance at real power over nihilistic surroundings.

Within a scarce opportunity structure, traditional patriarchal expressions of masculine dominance are limited to violence and illegal means of obtaining wealth. Mass incarceration, joblessness, and men's diminishing role in the available services economy—according to Phillipe Bourgois' *In Search of Respect*—can feel like 'an assault on (one's) masculine dignity.'[40] 'Hustling' can make an uneducated working-class man 'feel like a man' again, as he can assert his violent capital over other community members.

As is seen in popular media representations of urban criminal underworlds, the drug trade promises wealth, women, and, most importantly, higher social status amongst one's peers. In a society in which status stratification is an inevitable byproduct of capitalist desire, one can turn others' fear of violence into fast wealth, and as a result, earn street respect. In New York City's most disadvantaged neighborhoods, the use of violent capital (or the ability to make good on threats if necessary) has become the norm among certain young boys. The most impoverished neighborhoods in New York are either majority African American or Hispanic or a combination of both, and a particular type of masculinity has come to define what it means to be a young boy of color growing up in one of these neighborhoods.

The desire for patriarchal masculine expression in African American and Hispanic neighborhoods is often overlooked in the study of juvenile delinquency. Many talk about the racial disparity in the US prison system, but equally as disconcerting is the gender disparity. Young boys represent ninety two per cent of all youth detainees. This is more of a reflection of the struggle with twenty-first century cultural identity than of any biological differences between men and women. When legitimate means of success are off the table, men typically seek the more attainable rewards of what bell hooks calls 'imperialist, White-supremacist capitalist patriarchy'[41].The pressure to 'act like a man' means more than paying family bills and has more detrimental implications on one's future than simple physical altercations. For African American adolescents, living up to traditional expectations of manhood has the potential to result in life imprisonment.

A Study of African American Youth in New York City

In 2008, I conducted qualitative interviews with ten African American youth from New York City to discuss the impact of the aforementioned social pressure on young boys. I chose five boys and five girls from some of the most economically depressed areas of the city. In the name of anonymity and confidentiality, I will provide them pseudo-names in this article. In separate interviews, I spoke with 'Byron', of the Edenwald neighborhood of the Bronx; 'Darryl', of the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn; 'Antonio', of the Morris Park neighborhood of the Bronx; 'Ivy', of the Hollis neighborhood of Queens; 'Jessica', of the Kingsbridge neighborhood of the Bronx; 'Felix', of the Mott Haven neighborhood of the Bronx; 'Tariq', of the Harlem neighborhood of Manhattan; 'Brianna', of the Fort Greene neighborhood of Brooklyn; 'Sheryl', of the St. Albans neighborhood of Queens; and 'Tanisha', of the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn.

I wanted to engage them in a conversation about manhood and womanhood, and whether there was any more social pressure on young boys to act out any of the typical behaviors of Black Masculinity. I had initially asked them, 'What does it mean to be a 'man' ('woman')?' 'In your mind, what does this person have?' 'How is he (she) seen by other community members?' Most of the respondents had older working class notions of manhood. Seventeen year old Byron claimed that a man is 'someone who is fully responsible. A man should be responsible for everything. He got enough to be comfortable. He gets along with everyone. A man should have a job, apartment, a car, and he should finish his education.'

Nineteen year old Antonio claimed 'a man should be able to support his family. A man should have his own living situation. His own job where he can maintain himself. He doesn't need a kid or a woman, but as long as he has enough to take care of himself.' Eighteen year old Tariq claimed that a man 'gets respect from others. He takes care of himself and family in good and bad times. He has a good paying job. He got his own place. He's doing what he has to do.' Seventeen year old Felix said that a man is 'someone that can provide for himself'.

The young girls on the other hand had a much more modernized take on womanhood. In a traditional patriarchal structure, men are expected to work and women are expected to be caretakers of family and home. But many of these girls made more modernized claims. Nineteen year old Ivy said that when she thinks of the ideal woman: 'I think of stability. She is financially and emotionally independent.' Seventeen year old Brianna claimed that 'a real sister will not show her body, but she uses her intelligence. It's about your heart and your mind. Where your head is at (*sic*). A real woman is independent, but not afraid to ask for help.'

The girls focused on education and independence as keys to womanhood. Eighteen year old Jessica claimed that a 'real woman is college educated. She knows what she wants. She takes care of herself respectfully and doesn't judge others. No man is disrespectful towards her.' In a sense, many of the young girls claimed that womanhood involve the ability to distance oneself from dependence on men.

In the United States, and in New York City in particular, there is a growing achievement gap between young women of color and young men of color. African American women in particular are earning more college degrees, have higher employment rates, and—in the New York metropolitan area—are earning more per capita than their male counterparts. I asked my respondents to address this issue by asking them: 'Why is it that young women in communities of color seem to be having more success in college and the work world compared to young men?'

Many of the boys spoke about women's success as a response to oppression. Byron claimed, 'Since history, women have been down-graded (*sic*). Now they stepping up to dismiss the myths. Women

are tired.' Felix explained that girls have more pressure on them to do well in school, 'The things they go through are different. In order for girls to fit in, they have to do well in school. Guys try to fit in by making money.'

For both the boys and the girls, much of this achievement gap was blamed on the failings of young men. Tariq claimed that 'Men are just trying to hang out. They live to others expectations.' Brianna lamented, 'Guys have unrealistic fantasies. They all want to be Rappers.' Like Brianna, seventeen year old Sheryl believed that media had too much of an influence on young boys when she explained that:

> Young men, they don't have fathers. They don't know how to become a man. All they know is the Rappers on television they try to emulate. Women want to be seen as a woman.

Throughout these interviews, I recognized that the young girls believed they had more freedom to shape the outcome of their futures, and therefore this could lead to more realistic success. They were in a position to forego older patriarchal norms, while the young boys were still trying to find their place in an opportunity structure that does not allow for the same type of success as generations past. I asked each of the teens whether there was 'social pressure on young boys to 'act' a certain way.' Byron explained:

> Everybody wants to be macho. That's not manhood. The father figures out here might be street hustlers. And there are a lot of families without fathers. The mother can guide the daughter but can only do so much for the son.....Most of the young men out there are out looking for a father figure.

The majority of the respondents agreed that young boys are limited in their choices for gender identity. Jessica explained, 'They do what they do to look cool. They do it to have bragging rights. Boys think adulthood doesn't start until thirty.' Felix was adamant in his description of the pressure on boys:

> Guys have way more pressure on them. They can't even go to school and get good grades. Guys function on envy. Who's doing what. Who's got the flyest girl. Who's got the nicest car.

Antonio also acknowledged that having material success is more important than educational success:

> When it comes to the 'Hood', it's showing off what you got even if you don't got it. Even if you don't have a dollar in your pocket but you look like a million bucks, that's what's important.

Sixteen year old Tanisha recognized the function of role models in generating this pressure: 'It's more pressure on them because they're guys. It's not okay, though. Some see stereotypes and think it's the only alternative.'

Overall, the young boys were trying to fit themselves into the working class norms of old. They believed that men should be providers and should have the ability to support their families. The means of doing so was up for interpretation, and therefore could lead to illegal methods of obtaining wealth. The end goal is to gain wealth and display that wealth in order to garner respect and intrigue women. Even Ivy acknowledged that 'for boys, there is pressure to act like the top dog. For girls, they're out there looking for the top dog.'

Most of the respondents recognized the lack of positive role models for boys, particularly in poor African American communities. When asked about their ideal man or woman, most of the girls made references to their aunts, mothers, or sisters, while the boys tended to look towards male celebrities. The boys and the girls believed that many of the boys from their communities lacked father figures, and this left the door open for more misguided interpretations of what manhood entails.

Conclusions

African American boys growing up in the United States have a wide range of choices for gender identity; but these choices narrow as one begins to move down in class status. The behavioral attributes typically associated with Black Masculinity—aggressiveness and criminality, womanizing, and homophobic attitudes—are more tied to class status than family tradition or biological determinism. As racial tolerance and greater access to Black culture build up in the twenty-first century, the attributes of Black Masculinity are becoming more widely available and compatible to poor and working class youth of all races.

For working poor youth, encouragement to be involved in criminal activities appears to come from all directions, whether from the diminished expectations of society or the social pressures of local peer groups. According to Elijah Anderson in *The Code of the Streets*:

> For these young people the standards of the street code are the only game in town. The extent to which some children—particularly those who through upbringing have become most alienated and those lacking in strong conventional social support—experience, feel, and internalize racist rejection and contempt from mainstream society may strongly encourage them to express contempt for the more conventional society in turn.[42]

Black Masculinity is attractive to many youth searching for male identity. American society professes that these behaviors guarantee immediate social rewards amongst one's peers. From a young age, African American boys in particular are taught that they have been marginalized for centuries and that there is no reason for them to believe that this marginalization has ended.

A common sense reaction to these values is to forgo a legitimate world that does not accept them and to commit crimes as an act of defiance, or as a means of sustenance. Anderson calls this behavior 'oppositional culture'. Robert Merton would call this 'retreatism'[43], while Mitch Duneier refers to this as an 'extreme form of retreatism, rather than a form of resignation'[44]. In this case, Black Masculinity is a form of retreat away from politically correct norms and toward a more accepting deviant subculture. As this type of masculine expression is a class-generated phenomenon, it is also a by-product of the lack of progress made in changing masculine codes, in general. For the past several decades, women have worked hard to redefine 'femininity' and 'womanhood', while 'manhood' has conceptually remained stagnant. According to Athena Mutua:

> Men, though often having greater access to more material resources and opportunities, arguably may be much more limited in their human expression of themselves because they have more narrow traits, roles, and messages about how to be from which to draw on in constructing their identities.[45]

Young men have their work cut out for them in trying to undo patriarchal norms of the past while simultaneously gaining social acceptance from their peers.

For adolescents, 'cool' is often measured by one's willingness to engage in delinquency. This is even true of middle class kids. Cora Daniels wondered:

> Why does ghetto have such pull? Why would kids going to a school rich enough to give them laptops still feel the need to thug it out on the corner or pull a knife on a classmate?[46]

Even among middle-class adolescents, seemingly nonsensical acts of violence occur with unexpected frequency.

Take, for example, the young boys in Garden City, New York (a wealthy suburb of New York City) who,

on one warm June night in 2009, decided to act out the then-famous video game *Grand Theft Auto IV*. Ranging in ages from fourteen to eighteen, these six boys walked the streets of Garden City and committed acts of assault, robbery, burglary, menacing, and two attempted auto thefts. When they were caught and asked why they did it, they simply said that they were 'bored.'[47] These boys were White and Asian teens from typical middle-class homes with stable family structures. They were not intoxicated or high on drugs. Analysts and politicians alike jumped to blame the video game and violent music, while none considered the social rewards the boys could gain amongst their peers. As it turned out, these boys were unpopular at their respective schools and were seeking to obtain status.

For young boys in lower economic strata, the pressure to be delinquent is magnified. The boys whom I interviewed in 2008 had internalized old working class patriarchal notions of manhood. They saw money as the means to all other social ends. They believed that if you possess large amounts of money, society rewards you in kind: you get the girls; you get the respect; you get 'nice' things. If the average drug dealer in New York City can make up to $5,000 a week [48], and the average car thief can make $10,000 a week, some see these behaviors as worth the use of violent capital, even if it goes against their principles.

But for all boys testing the waters of criminality, race is the least predictable factor in juvenile delinquency. According to a 2009 report composed by the New York State Office of Children and Family Services (the New York agency that houses incarcerated youth), 'offense history, childhood maltreatment, prior receipt of child welfare services, and family environment were associated with heightened risk for adult antisocial behavior for both boys and girls'[49]. Many of these factors are indicators of class structure rather than racial identification.

For young African American men in general, there is likely to be a separation from the attributes of Black Masculinity, especially as they climb the economic ladder. A new template is lacking, yet many authors have suggested directions for new Black manhood. Mark Anthony Neal, in particular, suggests that the 'New Black Man' should 'resist.....being inscribed by a wide range of forces and finding a comfort with a complex and progressive existence as a black man in America'[50]. Mutua expands upon that progressivity by calling the future of Black manhood 'progressive black masculinity='. This includes not only resisting racial domination, but more importantly, resisting often ignored patriarchal domination of women.

The subfield of Black Masculinity as a whole is in flux. The behaviors associated with this field will remain for some time as long as boys are raised to prove their manhood through physical dominance and aloofness to danger. Essentially, as more African Americans join the ranks of the middle and upper classes, what we know of as Black Masculinity may eventually be called Working Poor Masculinity. The working class elements—such as the ability to provide for oneself and one's family—will always be a part of the foundation; but poor economic conditions will incite the more criminal components. Eventually, racial designation connected to these behaviors will be so blurred so as to remove the racial labels altogether.

Endnotes

1. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.
2. Bourdieu (ref. 1, p. 11).
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Comment And Opinion

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THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF RACIAL IDENTIFICATION OF MULTIRACIAL INFANTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A RESEARCH NOTE

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ABSTRACT
Building upon previous work, this research note reports results from a replication of Brunsma (2005) using a nationally-representative sample of six to twenty two-month old infants from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Birth Cohort (ECLS-B) to explore the structure and processes of racial identification of multiracial infants. The variation in parental racial identifications of mixed-race infants is described and the identifications in the three most common majority-minority interracial couplings – White/Asian, Black/White, and White/Multiracial – are predicted using logistic and multinomial logistic regression models. The results are compared to the original study (Brunsma, 2005) and briefly discussed.

Introduction

Over the past few decades, scholarship on the multiracial population in the United States has focused on understanding the complex structures of identity formation, negotiation, and maintenance for multiracial people. A great deal has been found. Multiracials' diverse racial identities are: negotiated in social interaction (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001), tied to phenotype, appearance, and skin tone (Herman, 2004; Rockquemore & Arend, 2004), articulated through frames of racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Spencer, 2006), intersectionally coupled with gender (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2004; Gillem, 2000), class (Brunsma, 2005; Herman, 2004; Roth, 2005), sexuality (Mahtani, 2007), parameterized by systems of classification (Brunsma, 2006; Roth, 2005), and sown in institutional (Brunsma, 2005; Harris & Sim, 2002; Renn, 2000) and, importantly, familial (Qian, 2004; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Roth, 2005) socialization.

Much of the extant literature focuses on adolescents, young adults, or adults – rarely do studies look at these processes in children. In 2005, Brunsma reported the results of a study that sought to begin to understand the social structure of parental racial identification of their young children. In that ground-breaking study, Brunsma concludes:

> The seeds of 'honorary whiteness' and multiraciality are sown first in the formations, mediated in the family and other socialization processes and into identities and politics, culture and symbols, meaning and contestation…it may be, as I am suggesting, that they are seeing the structure of resource distribution, the racialized and pigmetized racial hierarchy, and the link between the two, *and beginning to distance their children from the bottom of that hierarchy*. (Brunsma, 2005, p. 1151, emphasis is ours)

If these conclusions have merit (see also Twine, 1996), we wanted to see whether or not the 'seeds' are sown much earlier than the early elementary school years – in infancy.

There has not been a great deal of work on the racial identification of infants, and even less on multiracial children (see Brunsma, 2005; Qian, 2004; Roth, 2005). The extant research on the racial identification of infants follows three basic contours: studies on its impact on transracial adoption (see Lythcott-Jones, 1994, Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008), studies on its implications for epidemiology (Hahn, 1999)

and health research/clinical practice (see Gravlee & Sweet, 2008). A central axis upon which these studies turn, implicitly or explicitly, is racial identification practices of parents. However, research that has empirically assessed the structure of multiracial infants' racial designations is nonexistent and key questions still remain, like: what social variables help us understand how a mother or a father makes decisions about the racial identification of their mixed-race infants? Like Brunsma (2005), this note focuses on racial identification as a dependent variable. More precisely on the ways that new parents of multiracial babies classify their six to twenty two-month old infants. Focusing on infants, rather than older children or adolescents, has real potential to instruct us on the patterns in parental identifications, for these identifications are less likely to be influenced by the children's preferences.

The Structure of the Racial Identification of Young Multiracial Children

Using a nationally-representative sample of four - six year old children in the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K), Brunsma (2005), tested hypotheses that grounded the process of parental designation in several forces. First, via the norm of hypodescent he expected that the parents of White/non-White mixed-race children will identify their children with the non-White designation. Second, he surmised that multiracials might be using a multiracial or White designation to distance themselves from minority groups and/or to occupy a more privileged social location. Given this, the parents of White/non-White mixed-race children will identify their children away from the minority designation – a process of reverse hypodescent. Third, parents of minority-minority multiracial children would choose the racial designation that is the least negatively valued in American society. Finally, drawing upon research on the impact of class on racial identity among young adults, Brunsma (2005) assumed that class would affect parents' racial identifications of their mixed-race children – the higher the class the more likely 'multiracial' and/or 'White' and with the designation carrying the least negative societal valuation. Additional contextual hypotheses were offered regarding the role of the racial composition of various social networks - the more predominately minority the context, the more likely parents will identify their multiracial children with the minority designation.

The findings, in general, aligned with these hypotheses in several ways. First, while many of the parents of four - six year old majority/minority multiracial children followed norms of hypodescent, there was a great deal of variation in these results. In fact, Brunsma (2005) found that minority/minority multiracial children's parents as well as Latino multiracial children's parents showed evidence of a general movement away from minority identification, and, in particular, a movement away, from norms of hypodescent. He concluded that, at the end of the twentieth century, parents of multiracial children were involved in a significant process of 'reverse hypodescent.' Second, given the racial hierarchy in the United States and parental recognition of how resources and opportunities are distributed within this hierarchy, Brunsma (2005) reported these parents are, very early, moving their children away from minority identification to more 'neutral' categories of existence – 'multiracial' and, in some cases, 'White'. This general process was impacted by socioeconomic status, except among Black/White mixed children. Third, there was tentative evidence that minority contexts influenced parents to label their children in the direction of the minority identification as well as the multiracial – but, certainly away from 'White'. Finally, except for Asian/White mixed-race children, no clear parental gender/child gender effects were found.

Data and Methodology

The data used to look at parental racial identification patterns for infants comes from the restricted form of ECLS-Birth Cohort (ECLS-B) data. The data was collected, and therefore these children were born, in 2001, importantly, post-Census 2000 - the first Census to allow citizens to 'check all that apply'. Thus, these parents of multiracial infants were surely cognizant of the discourse on multiraciality and racial identification. These data contain information from parents focusing on the characteristics of infants and their families, a wide variety of in-home and out-of-home experiences that influence the

infant's development and early experiences. For the purposes of our study, information on family structure, context, and race data for both parents (biological and residential) and their infants were critical. Retaining all infants whom had complete files and full parent interviews provided a data set of 10,569 infants.

The National Center for Education Statistics appears to have modeled the design of ECLS-B data collection informed by recent debates in the US. Most importantly, the ECLS-B asked racial identification questions with the following options: 1 = 'White, non-Hispanic', 2 = 'Black or African American, non-Hispanic', 3 = 'Hispanic, race specified', 4 = 'Hispanic, no race specified', 5 = 'Asian, non-Hispanic', 6 = 'Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic', 7 = 'American Indian or Alaska Native, non-Hispanic', and 8 = 'More than 1 race, non-Hispanic'. Using all available data, we collapsed '3' and '4' into one 'Hispanic' designation and '5' and '6' into one "Asian/Pacific Islander" designation for both infant and parental racial identifications – all others remained the same.

The ECLS-B provides detailed information about the racial identifications of both biological parents in addition to the characteristics of the infant's current/residential parents and current familial structure. This allowed us to analyze the multiraciality of these six to twenty two- month old infants based on biological parentage and their current experiences with their residential parents/guardians. Since earlier research has found that interracial couplings with or without children have higher rates of non-cohabitation and marriage (see Bratter & King, 2008), then the experiences of these children in their residential contexts with the residential parents is vitally important.

Given the hypotheses we wished to replicate from Brunsma (2005), other variables of interest were used in the multivariate models. First, contextual variables ranged from region of country (Northeast, South, and West, with the Midwest as the omitted category) and urbanity (rural and suburb, with urban as the omitted category). Second, other family variables provided additional information: socioeconomic status, age of birth mother, family type (two parents and no siblings, one parent and one sibling, and one parent and no siblings), level of poverty, number of siblings in household, birth certificate usage at birth, religiosity, as well as whether or not a Non-English language was spoken at home (previous research indicates the importance of ethnicity and exposure to secondary languages in the identification process) (Herman, 2004). Finally, we controlled for the infant's age (in months) and gender (1=female, 0=male).

Due to the variation in infant racial designations in terms of biological as well as residential parental racial combinations, much of our analysis is descriptive. In the end, we use binomial and multinomial logistic regression models to look at the processes identified from these detailed and intensive descriptions using three of the most common biologically mixed-race offspring as they exist and are influenced by their present parental and familial structures. These models allow us to predict nominal-level infant racial designations using a variety of focal and control variables.

Results

The Racial Identification of Infants in the United States

Brunsma (2005) found that some 2.6% of children born between 1992 and 1994, upon reaching their fourth, fifth, or sixth birthday, were identified as 'multiracial' by one of their parents. Interestingly, when the biological combination data was assessed, the proportion of those children who were multiracial by parentage was much higher – 10.4%. In the 1990s social, political, and cultural processes helped explain the difference between these two percentages. In this data of 6 to 22-month old infants, born at the turn of the twenty first century, we find that 7.3% are identified as multiracial when roughly 12.5% of them are multiracial by birth. This is significant, in that across these almost ten years, more multiracial children are being born and more of their parents are identifying them as such (over 58%

vs. 25% in the earlier study).

Table 1 shows how these infants are distributed across various interracial and monoracial households. Interestingly, the diagonal is heaviest for monoracial infants – that over 50% of these children live primarily in households with parents that 'reflect' their biological parentage; however, this is certainly not the case for multiracial children. Multiracial infants in this dataset live with parents who, by and large, do not reflect their biological parentage. Furthermore, for many of these infants, fathers are not present, residentially, in a staggering number of cases – from a high of 80.3% of Black/Hispanic infants residing in fatherless households, through 49.4% of Hispanic/Native American children residing in fatherless households, to a low of 3.6% for monoracial Asian infants. The rates of absent fathers and/or no father in the residences of these children is higher for multiracial infants, than others. This reality affects our ability to model father characteristics in the multivariate models presented below. The most prominent multiracial combinations in this data set were White/Hispanic (6.9% of all unions), Black/Hispanic (6.7%), White/Native American (3.5%), White/Asian (3.0%), Hispanic/Native American (1.5%), Black/White (1.3%), followed by others. This is interesting to compare to the data reported by Brunsma (2005) from children born some ten years earlier where the distribution was quite different: White/Hispanic, Black/White, White/Asian, Black/Hispanic, White/Native American, Hispanic/Asian, etc. For the multivariate analyses, below, we focus on Hispanic/White, Asian/White, Multiracial/White, Native American/White, and Black/White patterns in parental racial identification of these infants.

See next page for Table 1

As in Brunsma's earlier work (2005), Table 2 shows the detailed distribution of child racial identifications across all possible biological combinations of parental racial identifications. Several patterns of information emerge that are of interest in this replication. First, the degree of persistence is still quite high across these combinations, though none reach 1.00. Interestingly, in 2001, Native American-Native American exhibited much lower levels of persistence than ten years previous. In fact, across all combinations, persistence levels are waning significantly for all groups except for one, African-Americans, where it is increasing. Second, rates of hypodescent processes for these infant designations have changed dramatically over ten years. In fact, it appears only in the case of Black-White multiracial infants, and, here, in very small levels – multiraciality is the prominent designator. Every other White/non-White combination does not follow the pattern of hypodescent: parents of White-Hispanic multiracial infants tend to opt for White or Hispanic depending on the father's race, Asian-White multiracial infant opt for White or, much more, multiracial and White-Native American parents opt for White and Multiracial. By the turn of the century, processes of hypodescent in the labeling of white/non-white multiracial infants has significantly waned. The multiracial designation rates have skyrocketed in a decade. This is significant indeed as scholars have debated whether this would happen – how and when. The patterns for non-White/non-White multiracials is quite mixed.

See next page for Table 2

Table 3 truncates the information in Table 2 more precisely and concisely. One key comparative finding we want to highlight in this replication is how much multiraciality has increased over ten years. Overall, multiracial rates have increased significantly. The following groups showed amazing increases over the past decade: Black/White (from .588 to .626), White/Asian (from .470 to .673), White/Native American (from .178 to .453), Hispanic/Asian (from .000 to .258), Hispanic/Native American (from .047 to .203), and Black/Native American (from .176 to .393). These represent intense upward shifts in the probability of using multiracial labels for their children. Looking at the first panel, even the multiracial designation rates among endogamous couplings have increased some ten-fold. The acceptability and usage of multiracial labels is significant at the turn of the twenty first century.

Table 1. Mixed-Race Infants as Distributed Across Various Interracial, Current Residential Parental Combinations.

Child's Current Residential Parental Interracial Structure																							
Infants Bio. Mix	WW	BB	MM	HH	NN	MM	WB	WH	WA	WN	WM	BH	BA	BN	BM	HA	HN	HM	AN	AM	NM	No Mum	No DAd
WW	88.2	0	0.5	0.2	0	0.3	0.1	2.0	0.2	0.1	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	6.4
BB	0.3	52.4	0.6	0	0	0.5	0.3	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.1	0	1.5	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0.1	42.7
HH	2.6	0.5	74.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0	1.0	0	0.2	0.2	0.3	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0.1	19.6
AA	0.9	0	0.3	92.1	0	0.4	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	0	0.2	0.1	1.3	0	0	3.6
NN	2.1	0.7	0	7.8	54.6	5.0	0	0	0	1.4	1.4	0.7	0	0	0	0	2.8	0	0	0	5.0	0	17.7
WB	1.4	2.2	0.7	0	0	1.4	55.4	3.6	0	0	6.5	2.2	0.7	0.7	0.7	0	0	1.4	0	0	0	0	23.0
WH	20.3	0.1	4.1	0.1	0	0.3	1.1	31.6	0.4	1.1	0.8	0.3	0	0	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.7	0	0	0	0.9	35.5
WA	4.9	0	0.7	2.6	0	1.3	0	0.7	69.3	0	10.1	0	0.3	0	0	1.0	0	0.3	0	2.0	0	0	6.5
WN	17.1	0	0	0	3.0	1.1	0.3	2.2	1.1	35.0	21.5	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	0.6	0	0.6	1.1	0.3	14.0
WM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14.3	28.6	0	42.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14.3	0	0	0	0
BH	0.3	12.1	0.9	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	4.4	0.4	0.1	0.3	0	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	80.3
BA	2.2	2.2	2.2	0	0	4.3	0	0	2.2	0	0	0	39.1	0	4.3	0	0	2.2	0	13.0	0	0	28.3
BN	0	5.7	0	2.9	0	5.7	0	0	0	0	0	5.7	0	34.3	11.4	0	0	0	0	0	2.9	0	31.4
HA	0	0	5.3	6.9	0	0	0	0.8	2.1	3.1	0	0	2.3	0	0.8	32.8	0	9.2	0	1.5	0	0	38.6
HN	1.9	0	3.1	0	11.3	1.3	0	2.5	0	3.8	2.5	0.6	0	0.6	0	0.6	11.9	4.4	0	0	0.6	0.6	49.4
AN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42.9	14.3	0	0	0
AM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note: Numbers are percentages. Table should be read across rows (i.e., 1.4% of Black-White Biracial infants (BW) currently live with two white parents (WW).

Table 2. Infant Racial Identification in all Biological Combinations of Parentage.

	Racial Designation of Biological Father					
Racial Designation of Biological Mother	White	Black/ African American	Hispanic (all races)	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Native American	Total
White	**W 3788(.961)** B 4 (.001) H 86 (.022) A 10 (.003) N 1 (.000) M 52 (.013) Total = 3941	W 10 (.098) **B 18 (.176)** H 5 (.049) A 0 N 0 *M 69 (.676)* Total = 102	W 331 (.562) B 12 (.020) **H 206 (.350)** A 3 (.005) N 1 (.002) *M 36 (.061)* Total = 589	W 17 (.143) B 0 H 8 (.067) **A 13 (.109)** N 0 *M 81 (.681)* Total = 119	W 57 (.294) B 0 H 4 (.021) A 2 (.010) **N 39 (.201)** *M 92 (.474)* Total = 194	4945
Black/African American	W 4 (.108) **B 7 (.189)** H 4 (.108) A 0 N 0 *M 22 (.595)* Total = 37	W 7 (.007) **B 1000 (.943)** H 27 (.025) A 2 (.002) N 0 (.000) M 24 (.023) Total = 1060	W 3 (.005) **B 604 (.912)** **H 33 (.050)** A 2 (.003) N 0 *M 20 (.030)* Total = 662	W 1 (.067) **B 3 (.200)** H 0 **A 2 (.133)** N 0 *M 9 (.600)* Total = 15	W 0 **B 9 (.643)** H 0 A 0 **N 2 (.143)** *M 3 (.214)* Total = 14	1788
Hispanic (all races)	W 33 (.202) B 0 **H 120 (.736)** A 2 (.012) N 1 (.006) *M 7 (.043)* Total = 163	W 0 **B 6 (.150)** **H 34 (.850)** A 0 N 0 *M 0* Total = 40	W 50 (.032) B 11 (.007) H 1471 (.950) A 6 (.004) N 7 (.005) *M 4 (.003)* Total = 1549	W 1 (.023) B 0 **H 33 (.750)** **A 9 (.205)** N 0 *M 1 (.023)* Total = 44	W 0 B 1 (.045) **H 18 (.818)** A 0 **N 0** *M 3 (.136)* Total = 22	1818
Asian/Pacific Islander	W 37 (.191) B 0 H 7 (.036) **A 21 (.108)** N 0 *M 129 (.665)* Total = 194	W 1 (.032) **B 4 (.129)** H 3 (.097) **A 3 (.097)** N 0 *M 20 (.645)* Total = 31	W 3 (.034) B 3 (.034) **H 39 (.448)** **A 27 (.310)** N 0 *M 15 (.172)* Total = 87	W 11 (.009) B 0 H 9 (.008) **A 1120 (.957)** N 1 (.001) *M 29 (.025)* Total = 1170	W 0 B 0 H 0 **A 1 (.100)** **N 0** *M 0* Total = 1	1483
Native American	W 49 (.290) B 0 H 11 (.065) A 0 **N 36 (.213)** *M 73 (.432)* Total = 169	W 1 (.048) **B 3 (.143)** H 1 (.048) A 0 **N 4 (.100)** *M 12 (.571)* Total = 21	W 7 (.051) B 2 (.014) **H 48 (.348)** A 0 **N 56 (.406)** *M 25 (.181)* Total = 138	W 0 B 0 H 0 **A 0** **N 0** *M 6 (.100)* Total = 6	W 3 (.021) B 1 (.007) H 9 (.064) A 11 (.078) **N 99 (.702)** *M 18 (.128)* Total = 141	475
Total	4504	1254	3025	1354	372	10509

Note: Shaded Data refers to Persistence processes; Bold Data refers to Hypodescent processes; Underlined Data refers to Whiteness processes; Italicized Data refers to Multiracial processes.

Table 3. Persistence, Hypodescent, Whiteness, and Multiracial Rates by Type of Parentage (Biological).

Type of Union	Persistence Rates	Hypodescent/ Whiteness Rates	Multiracial Rates
Monoracial (7861):			
W + W (3941)	.961	---	.013
B + B (1060)	.943	---	.023
H + H (1549)	.950	---	.003
A + A (1170)	.957	---	.025
N + N (141)	.702	---	.013
Interracial (2628):			
W + H (732)	---	Avg: W=.497 H=.445 Dad_H: W=.562 H=.350 Mom_H: W=.202 H=.736	Avg: .010 Dad_H: .061 Mom_H: .052
B + H (702)	---	Avg: B=.869 H=.095 Dad_B: B=.150 H=.850 Mom_B: B=.912 H=.050	Avg: .015 Dad_B: .0 Mom_B: .030
W + N (363)	---	Avg: W=.292 N=.207 Dad_N: W=.294 N=.201 Mom_N: W=.290 N=.213	Avg: .453 Dad_N: .474 Mom_N: .432
W + A (313)	---	Avg: W=.173 A=.109 Dad_A: W=.143 A=.109 Mom_A: W=.191 A=.108	Avg: .673 Dad_A: .681 Mom_A: .665
H + N (160)	---	Avg: H=.413 N=.350 Dad_N: H=.818 N=.000 Mom_N: H=.348 N=.406	Avg: .203 Dad_N: .000 Mom_N: .406
W + B (139)	---	Avg: W=.101 B=.180 Dad_B: W=.098 B=.176 Mom_B: W=.108 B=.189	Avg: .626 Dad_B: .657 Mom_B: .595
H + A (131)	---	Avg: H=.550 A=.275 Dad_A: H=.750 A=.205 Mom_A: H=.448 A=.310	Avg: .258 Dad_A: .205 Mom_A: .310
B + A (46)	---	Avg: B=.152 A=.109 Dad_B: B=.129 A=.097 Mom_B: B=.200 A=.133	Avg :.333 Dad_B: .645 Mom_B: .020
B + N (35)	---	Avg: B=.343 M=.429 ~	Avg :.393 Dad_B: .143 Mom_B: .643
A + N (7)	---	Avg: A=.143 M=.857 ~	Avg: .050 Dad_A: .000 Mom_A: 1.00

Note: 'Avg.' refers to the average rates of column process for that combination; Subscripts refer to racial designations (e.g., W=White, B=Black, H=Hispanic, etc).

Table 4. Results of Multivariate Analyses.

	Hispanic / White	**Asian / White**		**Multi / White**	**AmerInd / White**		**Black / White**	
	White	White	Multiracial	White	White	Multiracial	White	Multiracial
Resident Mom, nonWhite								
Female								-
Mom's Age (years)								
Biological Parents	+++							
Northeast Region								
South Region						- - -		-
West Region					-			
Rural				+++		- -	++++	+
Suburb				+				
Family SES		+	+					
Non-English Lang.		+			+		-	
Number of Siblings					--	-		
Religiosity								
Birth Cert Used								
Res. Mom X Female				--				
Res. Mom X Bio Family								
Intercept	n/a	16.20	16.85	n/a	-3.43	2.03	-17.80	-0.84
Constant	-4.03**	n/a	n/a	-6.60**	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Classification %	86.40%	n/a	n/a	82.60%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Nagelkerke Pseudo R2	n/a	0.22	0.22	n/a	0.27	0.27	0.47	0.47

+/- = .05 < p < .15, ++/-- = p < .05, +++/--- = p < .01, ++++/---- = p < .001

Multivariate Patterns in Parental Racial Identification of Multiracial Infants

For the most prominent parental racial combinations, we looked at a variety of independent indicators of the structure of parental racial identification of their children – in this case, their six to twenty two month-old multiracial sons and daughters. Using the lead of Brunsma's (2005) earlier analysis, we looked at the impact of the resident mother's racial identity, the child's gender, the mother's age, whether the biological parents were both in the residential household, region of the country, urbanity, socioeconomic status, home language, number of siblings, religiosity, whether the birth certificate was used to asses child race, and two interaction effects: mother's race x child gender and mother's race x presence of the biological parents. Table 4 summarizes the magnitude and direction of effects across these multinomial and logistic regression models.

The patterns summarized in Table 4 are not singular – the variation in the structure of these parents' racial designations of their multiracial young children is dizzying. Across these models we see a few interesting effects arise. First, Black/White girls are less likely to be identified as Multiracial by their parents. Second, having both biological parents in the household increases the odds of Hispanic/White infants being classified as White. Third, there is some evidence that multiraciality is less available in the Southern regions of the United States and some (albeit less) evidence that White is less available in the Western regions. Fourth, White is a much more available infant racial identification in rural areas than is Multiracial. Fifth, for Asian/White infants, family socioeconomic status is associated with a move away from identifying these children as Asian. Sixth, there is quite mixed and difficult patterns in language effects on identification patterns. Seventh, the more siblings present in a household increases the chances of an American Indian identification for multiracial American Indian/White infants. Finally, Multiracial mothers are more likely to identify their daughters as such than their sons.

Discussion

In this replication of Brunsma (2005), we find that the processes for infants are both similar and different from those found in the earlier study on four - six year olds. In the descriptive data, we see that in the ten years since the last study, more multiracial children are being born and more of their parents are identifying them as multiracial – over half. The multiracial combinations in this data set that were the most prevalent - White/Hispanic, Black/Hispanic, White/Native American, White/Asian, Hispanic/Native American, and Black/White – are quite different than those from a decade earlier. Things have changed in the United States. Processes of hypodescent in the labeling of White/non-White multiracial infants has decreased quite significantly, whereas, multiracial designation rates have risen unprecedentedly – in some cases, over ten-fold. While the multivariate models present no clear patterns across the multiracial combinations, one thing is clear, multiracial and White identification of these infants is rooted in family structure, region, and gender. The bottom line: multiracial identification of multiracial infants at the turn of the century is on the rise – the distancing from minority status that Brunsma (2005) found in his earlier study continues unabated to this day and is increasing.

These are empirical patterns in a large set of quantitative data. What is missing are the processural reasons why such decisions and such patterns might be occurring. Many factors are certainly at play, the age of these children, the relationship status of the parents, family structure, etc.; however, this replication also, importantly, shows these processes of parental racial identification of their children in two points of time – both before and after the 2000 census and the associated discourse surrounding it about multiraciality in the US. Hypodescent is waning for most multiracial groups, but not for Black Multiracial groups. Reverse hypodescent processes are on the rise as is the use of Multiracial and White. Perhaps these parents see multiraciality as a 'good thing' – distancing their children from perceived disadvantage – seeing Multiracial as a ticket, in a particular market? Unlike the analysis in Brunsma (2005), these parents have not had four - six years of socially, culturally, and interactionally seeing what works and what doesn't – in an identity sense for their children. As in

the previous study, exploring and beginning to understand the complex ways in which their adult guardians racially categorize their offspring on an institutional survey (e.g., related to their education – in school) illuminates the nature of race relations, processes of racialization, the structure of racial stratification, and the enigmatic relationship between racial identity and racial identification.

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The Characteristics of the Congressional District and Tea Party Victories in 2010

by Thomas J. Keil, New College, Arizona State University and Jacqueline M. Keil, Kean University

Abstract
This study examines the webpages of 137 tea party backed candidates in the 2010 elections to determine the commonalities and differences in their campaign materials on their websites. We next proceed to analyze who among the Tea Party candidates won their elections, and who lost, linking electoral outcome to the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Congressional Districts in question.

One hundred and thirty-seven Tea Party backed candidates stood for election to the US House of Representatives in the 2010 elections. Fifty of these candidates were victorious, while eighty-seven lost. In order to see if there was any difference in the candidate's positions on the issues, we conducted a content analysis of the websites of the victors and losers. Following the content analysis, we next analyzed the effects of demographic and selected socioeconomic characteristics of the Congressional Districts to see if these variables shed light on the electoral outcomes.

Looking at the webpages we found a high degree of commonality - first in terms of the issues identified as important in the election and, second, in terms of the actual position on the identified issues. One of the strongest areas of commonality amongst the Tea Party candidates was that they were all overwhelmingly Pro-Life; and they took great pains to present their overall opposition to abortion. Variation on this issue was only generated by the existence of some candidates who were against abortion on all grounds, and others who would tolerate it in the case of rape and/or incest and to protect the health of the mother. The vast majority of the Tea Party candidates also mentioned their support for the traditional family and for traditional marriage: one man and one woman - a clear rejection of the Gay rights movement's attempts to

These were but two of the religiosity related themes that appeared on Tea Party candidate websites. Many of the Tea Party candidates highlighted their religious background, the idea that the United States is a Christian nation, and, in several cases, the notion that the founding fathers were 'divinely inspired'. Perhaps none was as emphatic on this last point as Joe Walsh (R, IL-08). According to Walsh's website, 'The United States has a manifest destiny to eventually become a glorious example of God's law under a restored Constitution that will inspire the entire human race.' (http://walshforcongress.com, accessed November 15, 2010). As a 'divinely inspired' document, the Constitution is regarded as fixed and immutable in its meaning. Overlooked in such views of the document are its treatment of race and slavery, women's rights, and limitations on democracy that are built into the document. Such positions show the close ties between the radical religious right and the Tea Party movements. Indeed, it may not be too much of a stretch to see each as an extension of the other. The Tea Party being but one facet of the religious right and the religious right being another facet of the Tea Party movement.

All of the Tea Party candidates of 2010 supported the concept of unfettered free-markets as a fundamental bedrock of the American economy and of basic American freedoms. Tea Party candidates' ideas about the free market and its relation to the ideas of freedom and liberty are heavily grounded in the works of Friederich von Hayek, one of the founders of the so-called Austrian School of Economics. The work of Hayek, along with Ludvig von Mises and Milton Friedman, has proven very influential in guiding the economic policies of the Tea Party movement. In his influential *Road to Serfdom* (1944), von Hayek argued that there was little difference between communists and National

Socialists in the effects of their governmental control upon the economy. He suggested that both sought to control the means of production and undermine the rights of private property. In building a relationship between communism and Naziism, Tea Party activists make it acceptable to portray President Obama both as a socialist/communist and a Nazi, simultaneously.

Not satisfied with expanding the market in the economic sector, the 2010 Tea Party candidates expressed a desire to expand the market principle to new arenas of American life, for example, education. It was frequently mentioned by both winning and losing Tea Party candidates that education ought to be governed by the principle of competitive choice. They argued that funding for education should be given to the parents of students rather than to the school, and that the parents should be free to spend the money on whatever type of school they wish. Tea Party candidates also endorsed turning over control of schools and their curricula to states and local communities, because parents and the local community know best what their children need to learn/should learn.

Controlling spending - by cutting it - was another prominent theme in the Tea Party movement universe. Very few of them were specific about just what it was they would cut and even seemed ignorant of the federal budgetary process and how little discretionary spending there was in this budget. In order to get spending under control, several Tea Party candidates announced that upon election they would fight for a balanced budget amendment. In cutting spending, they believed it likely that taxes would be cut - especially business taxes. According to some of the Tea Party candidates, Tax cuts are necessary because taxes discourage self-reliance and personal accountability, which should be/are primary values in American society. The Tea Party candidates were unanimous in supporting the extension of the 2001 and 2003 Bush tax cuts to all of the tax brackets, including the wealthiest Americans. They did not seem to care about the effect this would have on the US budget deficit.

Arguing that it was undemocratic to force workers to surrender the right to a secret ballot, the Tea Party candidates opposed card check for union recognition. But this was but one aspect of Tea Party opposition to unions. Many of the Tea Party candidates opposed public employee unions, especially the teachers' unions. Furthermore, they also opposed the bailout of the auto industry in the US - in part, because they blamed the financial problems of the big car companies on the fact that they were unionized and thus were compelled to pay their workers more in wages and other forms of compensation than the foreign producers running non-union shops in the US. The Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) also was targeted for critique by the Tea Party candidates. It was claimed that TARP, like the auto bailouts, catered to politically favored entities, which was seen as unfair to the rest of the citizenry and their enterprises.

Like TARP and the bailouts, the stimulus package came under attack by Tea Party candidates. It was argued that if the government wanted economic growth the best thing it could do would be 'to get out of the way and let private sector activities create more jobs'. It was the contention of many of the Tea Party candidates that only the private sector could create jobs- the only thing the government did was redistribute wealth, which had little to do with job creation. Whilst citing Government spending as an obstacle to job growth, the Tea Party candidates also argued that excessive government regulation was an additional obstruction. They argued that regulation was a stimulus for companies to move capital and jobs to foreign countries where taxes were lower, unions were not strong, and regulations were minimal or absent altogether. In other words, the Tea Party wanted to create a positive business climate for corporate America: low taxes, no unions and no regulations.

Quite a few Tea Party candidates acknowledged having signed the Americans for Tax Reform Protection Pledge, which committed them to stand in opposition to tax increases. Americans for Tax Reform is one of the main groups funding the Tea Party movement and also provides them

with logistical support (Keil 2010). In turn, American for Tax reform is supported by the Walton Family Foundation, the Gilder Foundation, the Simon Foundation, the Armstrong Foundation, the Carthage Foundation (a Scaife foundation), the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the Lambe Foundation, the Randolph Foundation, the Davis Foundation, the JM Foundation, the Roe Foundation, the Olin Foundation, and the Bradley Foundation (Keil 2010).

A preponderance of Tea Party candidates identified themselves as small business owners, even if they were professionals, such as lawyers, dentists, physicians, etc. Apparently, it was not a good year to run as an intellectual or as someone with professional expertise on the Right. Many of these small business owners proudly touted their membership of their local Chambers of Commerce, as if this highlighted anything significant about them. Candidates mentioned Chamber membership almost as often as church membership or a military background as means to enhance their credentials with their target voters. Given the class location of many of the candidates it is not surprising that the websites to a large degree advocated policies that would advance the cause of the petite bourgeoisie vis-à-vis that of other classes.

Many Tea Party candidates called for 'reform' of Social Security and Medicare, if not immediately then in the future. There was some degree of variety on the positions candidates took on these issues. Some called for privatization, some for 'common sense' reform, without specifying what this entailed, some for raising retirement age in the future, and some for future privatization while retaining fixed benefits for current retirees or near-retirement workers.

The Tea Party candidates were unanimous in rejecting what they derisively referred to as 'Obamacare'- President Obama's health care reform legislation. They denounced it on several grounds: that it was unnecessary; that it was too expensive; that it would set up a rationing of health care; that it would interfere with doctor-patient relations; that it represented government over-reach; that it was a step toward nationalization of health care; and other similar arguments. Instead, almost every Tea Party candidate offered the same set of alternatives: changing relevant laws to permit the sale of health insurance policies across State Lines; personal ownership of health care policies that would insure their transferability; and tort reform to reduce legal claims for malpractice against medical facilities and their staffs.

All of the 2010 Tea Party candidates endorsed closing US borders as a way of ending illegal immigration. They also rejected any amnesty for those immigrants already living in the US without proper documentation.

A large number of the Tea Party candidates labelled themselves as constitutional conservatives, pledging to not vote for any law that could not be justified by a specification in the US Constitution. They were mainly advocates of a small, weak federal government, and who saw power residing in the people and in the States rather than in the federal government.

There was an amazing consistency with respect to the principal points that were raised on Tea Party websites - far more than one would expect by chance or that one would expect from a leaderless, spontaneous grass-roots organization.

A Model for Predicting Support for Tea Party Candidates

We now turn to the question of what variables might predict which Tea Party candidates were victorious in the 2010 elections and which were not. We collected data from each of the 135 congressional districts. The dependent (endogenous) variable in our analysis is election of a Tea Party candidate. If a Tea Party candidate won the district our dependent variable was scored one, if they lost the election the score was zero. Given that the dependent variable is a dichotomous variable, we evaluated the data by running a binomial logistic regression. We used the following status indicators: median household income in

2009; change in household median income from 2008 to 2009; percentage of high school graduates; unemployment in 2009; change in unemployment from 2008 to 2009. We also included per cent White. The results were consistent with our structural model. The only variable that had a significant effect was percentage White. None of the status indicators entered the equation after White had entered it. Moreover, none of the indicators were significant when we excluded White from the model.

Conclusions

These results are surprising, not so much the positive effect of percentage White on the electoral success of the Tea Party candidate, but, rather, the absence of an effect of status, especially the change income variable, the unemployment level, and the change of unemployment in the logistic regression model, the formal results of which are available from the authors at tjkeilsoc@aol.com.

Leading up to the election it was common beltway wisdom that the continuing high unemployment rate was going to be the downfall of the Democrats, and was going to lead to a repudiation of the Obama administration in particular. Such, however, does not seem to be the case, given the lack of effects of the status predictors in our analysis.

Rather, it seems that the undoing of the Democrats was based on racial anxieties of White voters who were reluctant to support a political agenda framed by and a political party led by a Black man. In some sense, then, the 2010 election was a racial referendum – a reaction by Whites who wanted 'to take back' 'their country' from the usurpers who had won the 2008 election. This drive to 'take back' the country had little to do with class issues or with economic distress. Because of their racialist sentiments, White voters were willing to support radical right-wing - some of whom frequently used words long associated with negative evaluations and treatment of Blacks – words such as 'school choice', 'States' rights', 'personal responsibility', amongst others. There is a sense among White voters that Whiteness has been devalued as a form of social capital by Mr. Obama's election and that Blacks, especially, as well as other minorities are receiving disproportionate benefits from his administration (Zernike 2010).

Race figured into the elections in a myriad of ways. President Obama was described by Newt Gingrich, and others of his ilk, as a President who was raised with values far outside of the American mainstream, thereby rendering him as radically 'Other' - as a man out of touch with how the average American thinks and feels.

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Extended Review

ACTING WHITE: THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF A RACIAL SLUR

Ron Christie

St. Martin's Press/Thomas Dunne Books, New York, NY, 2009, pp.304
ISBN: 978031259946

Review By Antoinette L. Allen

Ron Christie's *Acting White: The Curious History of a Racial Slur* provides a thought provoking look into a well-known perception in the Black community. Attempting to dispel the myth that a Black person who seeks to educate themselves or think independently is 'acting white' is the primary goal of this text. Christie's ability to provide historical and current examples concerning this topic is both relevant and timely. The book is an open rebuke to the Black community en masse and provides compelling arguments concerning the impact of this stereotype. Christie uses personal and professional experiences to convey his message.

The author explores issues of Race in America and what is means to be 'authentically black' in America. His passion concerning education as a means of achieving American success is irrefutable. The concern displayed for future generations of African American children comes across as genuine given the amount of time and emphasis the book places on this subject. Christie is assertive in challenging a Black mind set that, by his estimation,

> prides itself on victimization, government quotas to move ahead, cultural self-exclusion, and disdain for self-identity and, most tragically, acceptance of mediocrity and inferiority, where performing well academically is akin to a black child's acting white.

(p.153). Since Christie has had his racial identity challenged publicly and privately for nearly three decades, he provides an interesting perspective on the matter.

As a conservative Black Republican, Christie opens the book with a poignant story that illuminates the internal hostility that exists in the Black community when one member does not conform to cultural assumptions and political party affiliations. The initial tone of the book leads the reader to instantly question if the author is self-serving or seeking a platform to vent his anger at a community who by his estimation 'ostracized' him early in life. Christie's emotional rants are rare in this text yet, are well placed to convey his message. As the author moves past his personal and sometimes political contentions his arguments give way to his ultimate motive; enlightening Black America. The author seeks to engage Black readers in a one way conversation concerning the origin of this racial slur.

Chapter One traces the origins of the "acting white" issue to the days of slavery, when slaves were systematically valued according to their skin color. In his estimation, the best illustration of a Black man being rejected by the Black community for race betrayal was provided in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a book written by Harriett Beecher Stowe in 1852. This detailed analysis of what being Black looked like at the conclusion of the nineteenth century is a precursor for the volatile struggle for racial identity and self-expression of the 1960s. Christie describes in great detail the basic foundational beliefs held by many of African descent at that time concerning what appropriate Black-White relationships were and the penalty for violating those unwritten rules.

In the subsequent chapters, racial infighting between the early Civil Rights pioneers, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Dubois and Marcus Garvey is scrutinized. Christie, points out a long forgotten struggle by the early pioneers in trying to define what "authentic blackness" looked like. The book poignantly illustrates the differences in each of these Black men's attempts to speak for an entire race, while vehemently publically disagreeing with each other's plan to improve the plight of Black people. Once again, the author draws the reader's attention to assertions by these men that the

other were 'acting white' or 'attempting to seek favor from the white man at the expense of the race'. The NAACP and its significance in the Black community are also considered in the early chapters to provide historical context and allow the author to draw parallels to its current role.

Chapter Six and Seven detail the monumental struggle and gains achieved while attempting to educate America's Black youth. A thorough description of *Brown v. Board of Education's* impact on achieving equality for Black students is included. Christie takes great care in covering research studies, legislation and opposition concerning educating African American youth in the 1950s. Christie points out the differences in the philosophies of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X and once again, illustrates the assertion by many in the Black community that the beloved Martin Luther King, Jr. himself was accused of 'acting white'.

A central tenet of Christie's beliefs surface in these chapters and are strengthened in the preceding chapters by dissecting one of the most popular and quoted speeches of all time; Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I have a dream speech'. Christie asserts that the world which Dr. King envisioned leads Blacks to be considered taking on the attributes of White America, and seemingly become out of touch with the Black community. This portrayal of examples of successful black men continually being challenged by their own communities is haunting.

Next, the author critically examines what he perceives as the negative impact of the Black Power movement, alongside an assessment of the role of affirmative action. Christie's critique of Ebonics and Afro-centric naming of Black children is discussed in Chapter Eight. While his views are contrary to many in the Black community, he provides sound logic concerning his observations. In examining the lives of Black public figures such as Colin Powell and Clarence Thomas, Christie points to the supposed hypocrisy of the Black community in not supporting Black Republicans and freedom of thought. The political in-fighting by Black politicians is highlighted in great detail in later chapters concerning Jesse Jackson and President Obama.

The final chapters of this book are reserved for commentary on the nation's first Black President, and its impact on the Black community. Christie looks at the context and key factors which influenced President Obama's election. He discusses the platform in which Obama ran and Obama's attempts to detach himself from issues of race. He spends an ample amount of time examining how Barrack Obama has also had his authenticity challenged as a Black man in America, and echoes the sentiments of the President in calling for the illumination of the 'acting white' bias. While, Ron Christie does not share the political beliefs of the current President, he eloquently provides an unbiased, detailed account of who he describes as 'the President who happens to be Black versus a Black President'.

The author attempts to understand the harsh judgments unequally applied to successful African American men in Washington D.C. What the author fails to investigate is the impact that marrying outside the race has upon the stigma known as "acting white". Christie struggles to understand the popularity of Colin Powell and Barack Obama as compared to Clarence Thomas and himself at times. The fact that some of the Black community has historically held a ferocious disdain for interracial relationships is an oversight on the author's part - "Acting White" provides a broad assessment of being shunned from the Black community. The impact of marrying outside of the race could have provided another interesting glimpse into the acceptance of high achieving African Americans and whether or not they have turned their back on their Race.

Christie concludes the book by offering insight into ways to access the Civil Rights afforded and end the use of what he considers a racial slur: 1) excuses must no longer be made for inexcusable behavior; 2) Blacks must be responsible for their own actions and stop blaming others for their lack of progress; 3) to beware of the perils brought by the era of Obama - there is no such thing as being authentically

Black; and finally 4) that disagreement with the President in the Era of Obama is not tantamount to racism. His book provides a long overdue comprehensive history lesson concerning intra-racial relations in the African American community. While, at times his commentary can seem a critical assessment of an opposing party member, the over arching intent of this book is accomplished.

Lastly, the book attempts to educate all African Americans, including the President of the United States, who happens to be of African ancestry, on the best ways to eradicate this counterproductive stereotype. The book maintains that the dreams Black pioneers fought so hard for, did not lend themselves to racial quotas, squandering of an education, and collective racial thought patterns. Ron Christie's views are respectable, insightful, socially challenging and powerfully stated. He has done a commendable job of seeking to enlighten a community that by his own admission has not embraced him as their own. The book also contains an appendix of primary documents pertaining to historical documents referenced in the book.

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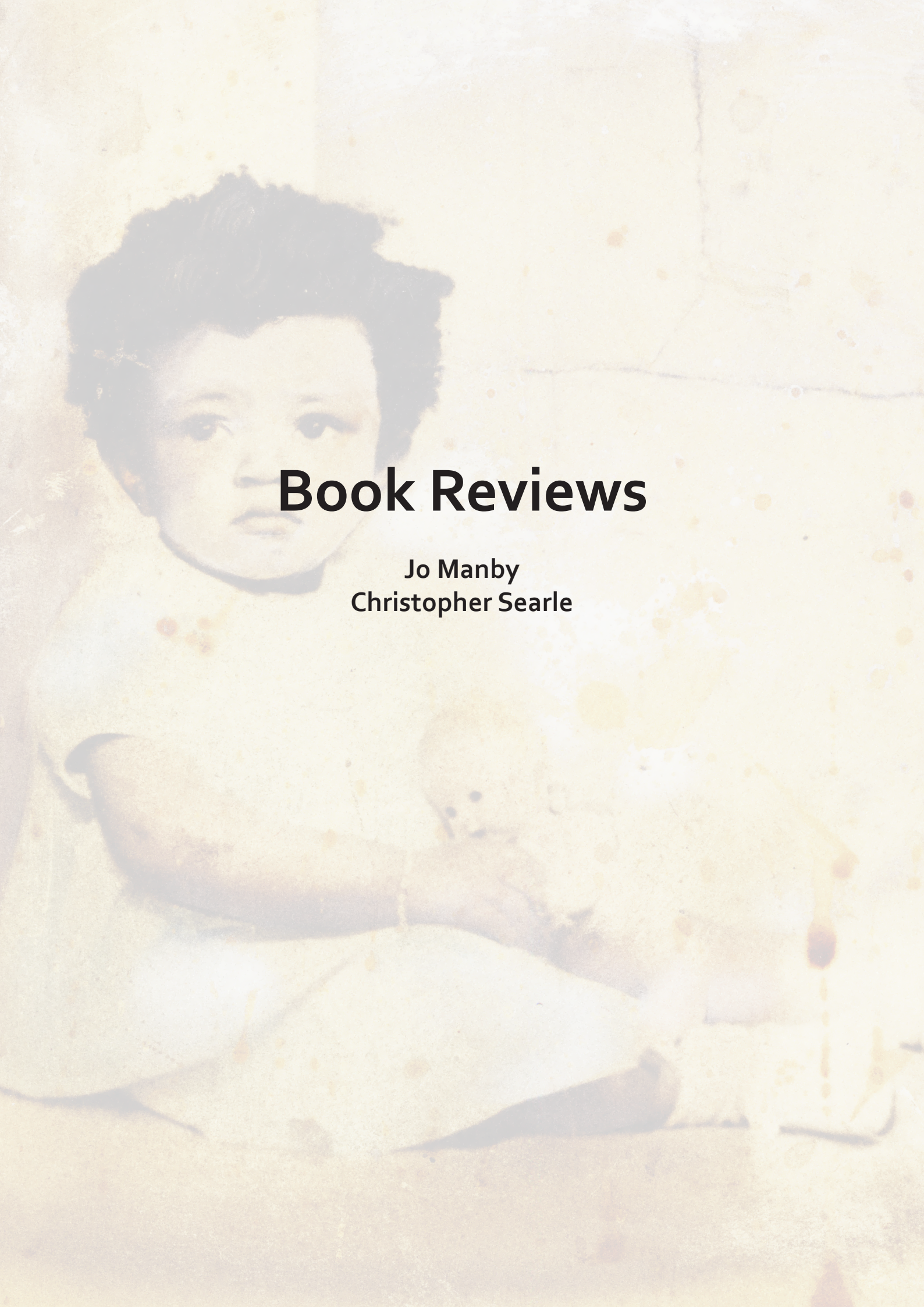

Book Reviews

Jo Manby
Christopher Searle

Reviews

ARTS, LITERATURE AND SPORT

THE SOULS OF MIXED FOLK: RACE, POLITICS, AND AESTHETICS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Michele Elam

Publisher: Stanford University Press
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Michele Elam presents a richly interwoven study of works of performance art, graphic narrative and English literature key to an American 'evolving coalition of interracial couples, families with transracial adoptees, and young people self-identifying as mixed race', where mixed race is seen by marketeers as a 'hot commodity' and mixed race people as 'ambassadors to a new world order' (p.xiii). However, this new-found status comes at a time when affirmative action and civil rights lobbying are subtly declining, raising the question, 'just how and why now does the notion of mixed race acquire such cachet amidst this welter of race transcendence?' (pxiv).

The book's title comes from Nate Creekmore's comic strip, 'Maintaining' (2006-09), where two mixed race characters argue over the 'Halfrican [American] Movement'. It refers ironically to W E B Du Bois' 1903 work *The Souls of Black Folk* and a tension in 'mixed race advocacy efforts' that seek to utilise intellectual scholarship historically associated with African American culture to embed a tradition for 'the new colored people' (p.xvi). Many of the artists surveyed in the book explore this tension directly in works that interpret 'the Rorschach blot of the national angst and ambition that is mixed race' (pxvii), providing commentary rather than solutions for social/racial inequalities.

The first chapter, 'The Mis-education of Mixed Race', examines the ways social sciences and educational disciplines have the power to condemn or condone specific images and texts from the discourse of mixed race and modernity. The emerging mixed race studies field manufactures and markets ideas of mixed race, not necessarily promoting civic equality despite its apparent aims.

In Chapter two, the comic strips of Aaron McGruder, (*The Boondocks*', 1996-2006), and Nate Creekmore illustrate the politically contested aspects of the 'act of "seeing" race' (p.xx). Appearing daily or weekly, they've interacted with breaking news, giving them a particular immediacy. Both cartoonists are of African American descent. Elam argues that comic strips conflate 'national anxieties and ambitions' (p.94) about race in a dextrous manner that leads to an understanding of mixed race, without being a 'modern palliative' (p.94) for race problems.

Chapter three, 'Passing in the Post-Race Era', examines mixed race representation in the novels *Caucasia* (1998) by Danzy Senna, concerned with the rite-of-passage of Birdie Lee, daughter of an African American professor obsessed with racial theory; *The Human Stain* (2001) by Philip Roth, the fictional biography of Coleman Silk, 'a light-skinned African American who passes for a Jew' (p.106) and *The Intuitionist* (2000) by Colson Whitehead, which contains 'insights into the heart of passing's cultural power and utility' (p.117). Elam overthrows old assumptions about passing and, like others, sees it less as a matter of 'faking' and more about the contestability of all identities.

In Chapter four, Elam examines *The Professor's Daughter* (2005) by Emily Raboteau and *Symptomatic* (2005) by Danzy Senna, and argues that both books are typical of 'mixed race bildungsromans' (p.126), where the protagonist is the epitome of modernity, 'a modernizing agent of a new multicultural world order' (p.126). The main character in *The Professor's Daughter*, Emma Boudreaux, must negotiate the divorce of her interracial parents, her older brother's sudden catatonic disability and a discovery that her grandfather was lynched. In addition, she also must deal with a skin disorder that de-emphases her biracial appearance. *Symptomatic* also explores the idea of 'mediated sight – the re-adjusted view of "half-lit" communities' (p.158), aesthetically representing the lack of

civil rights politics at the new millennium through its depiction of a problematic mixed race bonding.

The final chapter takes its title, '"*They's mo' to bein' black than meets the eye!*"' from a monologue in the first African American Pulitzer Prize for Drama-winning play, Charles Edward Gordone's *No Place to Be Somebody: A Black-Black Comedy in Three Acts* (1970), spoken by a mixed race character who implies a challenge to 'reorient sight so that determining race is not so much a matter of appearance but one of apprehension, not of visibility but of vision' (p.161). *The Racial Draft*, a 2004 episode of *The Dave Chappelle Show* and *Talk*, the 2002 play by Carl Hancock Rux, both have panels debating the meaning of race and identity, prompted by a mixed race person's 'interpretive dilemma' (p.162).

The value of this wealth of cultural production on the subject is, Elam concludes, in the way 'these works explicitly address and move beyond the constantly repeated fear of many mixed race advocacy groups that recognizing one's identity as not solely an individual or family affair automatically grants others the power to determine one's identity' (p.202)

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government
Social Theory

BRITISH ASIAN FICTION: TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY VOICES

Sara Upstone

Publisher: University of Manchester Press
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.247
ISBN: 978-0-7190-7832-3 (hbk)
Price: £15.99

Sara Upstone is Principal Lecturer in English Literature at Kingston University, and opens the first chapter of her wide-ranging and scholarly study, *British Asian Fiction: Twenty-First-Century Voices*, with a particularly British conundrum. 'Visit the University of London Library located at Senate House, Bloomsbury…' she says, and Salman Rushdie's output is to be found in the English Literature section. V S Naipaul, however, is in the Latin American Studies section, on the seventh floor, 'one not served by a lift' but a winding staircase, 'along with his brother Shiva, Wilson Harris and Derek Walcott, in a special section devoted to "West Indian Literature"'. 'Are they,' asks Upstone, 'postcolonial authors, important principally for their relationship to ideas of empire? Are they national authors, whose relevance lies most in their relationship to their countries of birth? Or, indeed, are they British authors, needing to be read within the context of an increasingly multicultural British literature?'

This book concentrates on the new generation of British-born or British-raised Asian writers, following on from previous authors such as V S Naipaul and Salman Rushdie, and sets out to show how they 'mark the establishment of a definitive genre of British Asian writing'. Nine chapters focus mainly on ten writers. At the end of each chapter, a set of questions is proposed for further study. While Black British Literature is a wider field that embraces connections between Black and Asian writers, this was forged at a time – the 1980s – when it seemed that 'resistance to racism would be best achieved through broad coalition politics'. Since then it has been felt that 'individual ethnic identities' are important to consider. In addition, terms such as 'British Asian' have at times been called into question. Upstone touches on subjects such as citizenship legislation, but the central arguments of the book are finally concerned with ideological rather than geographical points of view - the development of a kind of 'London English', a desire to 'actively represent' lived experience as a British Asian, rather than seek alternative worlds or fantasise about how things could be different; and the production of powerful social commentaries on a 'directly and immediately experienced Britain'.

This is exemplified by each of the writers Upstone focuses on starting with Hanif Kureishi in Chapter two. Kureishi's *The Black Album* (1995) like Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* (2003) 'capture[s] the anti-establishment protests of British Asian youths' and the 'realities of social inclusion'. Alternatively,

Atima Srivastava writes 'less overtly political novels', where cultural identity cedes to 'other social concerns', and her 'British Asian take on chick-lit' focuses more on internal, familial discord than external politics. British urban life is lived as naturally multicultural, through everyday experiences, not abstract concepts.

Other chapters discuss the work of Meera Syal, Hari Kunzru, Suhayl Saadi and Nadeem Aslam. The conclusion examines the newest writers of the genre Upstone has outlined – the work of, in particular, Niven Govinden, Gautam Malkani and Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal – and traces a movement 'towards the post-ethnic reality that Kureishi's later fiction embodies, and which writers such as Monica Ali, Suhayl Saadi and Hari Kunzru have taken up'. Malkani's *Londonstan*i is most typical, with its 'startling ending'. The protagonist, Jas, one of an 'Asian Gang', is assumed by the reader to be Asian but in fact is White, his name the diminutive of Jason: 'He is the most extreme embodiment of David Hollinger's vision of a world in which ethnicity is not abandoned, but is chosen rather than ascribed, a post-9/11 experiment in what may lie beyond a world where "race remains the self-evident force of nature in society"'.

Upstone's book is a fascinating compilation of scholarly research and literary criticism documenting the complexity of voices and opinion within the world of the British Asian and the British Asian writer in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It opens avenues for aspiring academics in the same field.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government
Social Theory

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

THE CONDEMNATION OF BLACKNESS: RACE, CRIME AND THE MAKING OF MODERN URBAN AMERICA

Khalil Gibran Muhammad

Publisher: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts & London
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.307
ISBN: 9780674035973
Price: £25.95

This book aims to reconstruct the conceptualisation of the Black criminal from the period one generation after slavery. The author considers the era's new statistical sources, such as the 1890 census and how they began to contribute to thinking on the place of Black people within modern urban America. Also, he examines the impact of a traditional outlook that divided dominant narratives of Black criminality between the pre-World War II South of racist White politics, vigilantes, lynching and Jim Crow and the post-World War II North, particularly from the 1960s, of a tide of violence and lawbreaking in inner cities.

Khalil Gibran Muhammad shows how:'increasing statistical segregation and expanding residential segregation naturalized black inferiority, justified black inequality, and tended to mask black counter-discourses and resistance, shaping race relations into the second half of the twentieth / century' (pp.13-14).

In his introduction, 'The Mismeasure of Crime', a connection between race and crime is painted. He considers the reality of contemporary times, when the US prison population is at its nadir and nearly half of the two million plus Americans in prison are African Americans and asks how this has come to be. He discusses Thorsten Sellin's 1928 article *The Negro Criminal: A Statistical Note*, in which Sellin pointed out that while crime among Whites was seen as 'individual failure' (p.3), the practice of linking crime generally 'to blacks, as a racial group, but not whites... reinforced and reproduced racial inequality' (p.3).

Muhammad's first three chapters survey major literatures on the subject of the construction of Black criminality. 'Saving the Nation: The Racial Data Revolution and the Negro Problem' opens with a quote from the first article by Harvard scientist and writer on nineteenth century race relations Nathaniel Southgate Shaler on what he and others called the 'Negro Problem'. He wrote, in 1884, that '"these people are a danger to America greater and more insuperable than any of those that menace the other great civilized states of the world"' (cited p.15). For writers such as Shaler, the postbellum census reports meant a 'data revolution' (p.16), and led to his position 'at the leading edge of post-emancipation racial science' (p.19). 'Writing Crime into Race: Racial Criminalization and the Dawn of Jim Crow' explores the way in which Frederick L Hoffman's 1896 *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* was the first lengthy study to contextualise Black crime statistics nationally and is arguably the most important race and crime study of the first half of the twentieth century. Links had been made by others between supposedly proven 'physical deficiency' (p.42) and predisposal to tuberculosis: 'the statistical fact of black men dying in prison was written into the observed evidence of inferiority found in the body' (p.43). Hoffman took this a stage further by asserting that the higher mortality rate of Black people in urban areas, prison and the army was '"proof so convincing that it will be hardly necessary to add anything further in support of the theory of distinct race characteristics"' (cited p.44).

Frances Kellor's series of articles 'The Criminal Negro' published in The Arena in 1901 are examined next by Muhammad in 'Incriminating Culture: The Limits of Racial Liberalism in the Progressive Era'. Kellor was the first White female social scientist to make a major study of Black criminality and 'the first bona fide racial liberal to seriously investigate the subject following W.E.B. Du Bois'. Her study of Black and White female prisoners in southern and northern states respectively led to her assertion of the existence of a 'corrupt, vindictive, and racist criminal justice system that tailored its discriminatory laws through the county fee system, the all-white jury…' (p.89) and other insidious practices. It revealed two systems: 'one northern, one southern; one reformatory, one punitive; one white, one black' (p.89). National Black crime discourse took a different turn.

The remaining three chapters, entitled 'Preventing Crime: White and Black Reformers in Philadelphia', 'Fighting Crime: Politics and Prejudice in the City of Brotherly Love', and Policing Racism: Jim Crow Justice in the Urban North', focus more on actual events unfolding in Northern states during the Progressive era, full of historical detail. In conclusion, Muhammad returns to Thorsten Sellin's and Edwin H. Sutherland's recognition of 'the limits of racial crime statistics' (p.269) and warns against any 'ubiquitous referencing of statistics about black criminality today, especially given the relative silence about white criminality' (p.277), suggesting that past false claims of 'race- neutral crime statistics and color blind justice' (p.277) should act as a caution.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government
Social Theory

BLACK FOR A CAUSE… NOT JUST BECAUSE: THE CASE OF THE 'OVAL 4' AND THE STORY OF BLACK POWER IN 1970'S BRITAIN

Winston N Trew

Publisher: The Derwent Press: Derbyshire
Pagination: pp.305
Publication: 2010
ISBN 184667038-1 / 9781846670381
Price: £12.99

The author of this autobiographical narrative was confronted at Oval London Underground Station in March 1972, along with three other Black men, by a group of seven White men claiming to be policemen and accusing them of theft. After a fight broke out, and police arrived and made arrests, it transpired that the White men they were fighting with were undercover policemen. Following a night of brutal interrogation in the police cells, and a five-week trial at the Old Bailey, the 'Oval 4'

were jailed for two years on being found guilty of attempted theft and assault on police. They were released on appeal in 1973. Ironically, as Professor Cecil Gutzmore points out in his Foreword, Trew and his friends were on their way home from a meeting in North London 'to plan the defence of activist, Tony Soares, of the Black Liberation Front (BLF) against false and incendiary charges' (p.9) at the time of the incident.

The book tells the story of the 'Oval 4' case, as a point of intersection between 'the attempts of the British police force to criminalise young black males in London' (p.13) and the work of Black people, Black activists and organisations to resist police corruption and 'judicial collusion' (p.14). It tells of the social and cultural shifts in modern Britain that led to the development of a Black community but also the tactics used with cases such as that of Tony Soares' arrest, whereby Black Power politics were associated with terrorism and the situation of a '"state of war"' (citing 'West Indian World', 3/8/73, p.14) between the police and Black youth in London.

The first section, 'Is it Because I'm Black?' narrates the story of the 'Oval 4' case as a demonstration of this type of injustice experienced by Black people at the hands of the police and judicial system. It also illustrates the growing Black consciousness of the period. The truth of the incident is explained in gripping detail in Chapter one, from the accusations and argument on the street to the brutality at the police station, and Trew discusses his decision to use a tactic of defiance in counter-deception. He was falsely accused so he fabricated elements of his confession in the hope that the whole document would be called into question.

In Chapter two Trew deals with the trial at the Old Bailey, detailing The Case for the Prosecution, the seventeen charges, Case for the Defence, A "Clash of Evidence", True Confession?, Trial within a Trial 1 & 2, 2 of which begins to tell of the calling into question of Detective Sergeant Ridgewell's 'integrity and honesty' (p.63). Next, the political struggle to free the 'Oval 4' is recounted, as Fasimba (the Youth Wing of SELPO, The South East London Parents Organisation) immediately mounted a Defence Campaign. Meetings were attended by Black Unity and Freedom Party of Lewisham, the Black Panthers from Brixton, the Black Liberation Front from Ladbroke Grove, among others.

This chapter also covers life inside prison, the Martial Arts and Black Power elements of Fasimba, The Appeal, BBC coverage of Det. Sgt. Ridgewell's controversial 'anti-mugging squad' and their activities, and an analysis of criminalisation of Black youth and the 'manufacture of "mugging" on the Underground' (p.101). Chapter four charts the demise of Det. Sgt. Ridgewell, unpicking the motives behind his abuse of his position and his deliberate perversion of the 'means and ends of his policing' and attempts to make a clear definition of police corruption.

Section Two, 'Black for a Cause... Not Just Because' begins with autobiographical detail, and moves on to the history and tenets of Fasimba and Black Power. In Chapter seven, The Oval Episode and the Ethics of Black Resistance, Trew examines his own experience and thinking as one of the 'Oval 4' and how that relates to his membership of Fasimba and involvement in Black Power activism, referencing Black resistance, contemporary debates about the 1807 abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, and ends with a 'radical reading of the "'confession as a tactic of resistance'" (p.247).

This engagingly structured and cogently argued book ends with Bibliographical Notes, References and Electronic Sources and finally an Author Biography. It is clear that Trew considers 'Black self-emancipation to be an unfinished project' (p305); his book would be of interest to academics and the ordinary reader alike and would be recommended as essential reading for anyone interested in socio-political Britain and its race relations during the twentieth century.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS

ISLAMOPHOBIA

Chris Allen

Publisher: Ashgate Publishing
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.210
ISBN: 978-0-7546-5140-6 (pbk)
Price: £16.99

This volume is the result of a decade of thoughtful analysis which examines the phenomenon of Islamophobia both chronologically, by tracing the derivation and coining of the word through its historiography, from ancient to contemporary times, and in terms of a shifting concept, as the author attempts to understand and contextualise it as an exponentially global prejudice within the dichotomy of 'the West' and 'Islam'. The book sets out to address the difficulties in establishing a definition of Islamophobia, asking key questions such as, 'Does "Islamophobia" exist?', 'Are new or better terminologies required to assist the naming, defining, or conceptualising of "Islamophobia"?'

Chris Allen divides his comprehensive and detailed critical study into six parts, the first and last of which are the introduction and conclusion. In Part One, 'The First Decade of Islamophobia', he notes the lack of authoritative text that might pull together the various 'ways of defining and understanding Islamophobia' that have occurred previously. There is a need to investigate the reasons for and solutions to widespread confusion and contestation of ownership and meaning of the concept, where previous attempts have failed.

He also describes the 'new racism', whereby from the 1980s, the 'identification of different' became far less explicit, but began to imply threats and challenges to '"our way of life"', instead of outright expression of hatred or hostility. The recognition among Muslims in Britain that there was a need for them to coalesce, to have a distinct British Muslim identity, and that there was a growing anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic feeling developing, gave rise to Kalim Siddiqui's *The Muslim Manifesto: A Strategy for Survival*, of 1990, and to the establishment of the UK Action Committee on Islamic Affairs (UKACIA) and later the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), among many other groups, bodies and non-governmental organisations.

Part Two examines the historical setting and contextual frame of reference for Islamophobia, in an attempt to discover whether it is caused by old or new fears. In addition to the broad brush-strokes of colonialism and Orientalism, key periods in Europe are explored such as 1989, the year of the *Satanic Verses* affair and Khomeini's fatwa against Salman Rushdie, of the hijab debates in France, and of the fall of communism. It was this year, Allen points out, that 'Islam and Muslims were acknowledged as being here and more troublingly, within' British society. The following part gives a detailed analysis of the Runnymede Report (*Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia,* 1997) and calls into question the typology of the report - for example, assessing variously preconceptions and presumptions about people's and community's tolerance levels and their supposed 'open' or 'closed' minds. At the same time, Allen acknowledges that awareness of the issue was being raised.

The prime importance of the British context is exemplified further in Part Four. *The Race Relations Act 1976* changed the definition of 'racial group' to include mono-ethnic religious groups during the early 1980s, but this only covered the rights of two such groups, 'namely Jews and Sikhs'. The legislation 'failed to afford protection to multi-ethnic religious groups such as Muslims and Christians [...] It therefore became [...] perfectly within the law to discriminate against someone on the basis of their being Muslim'. Various attitudes, such as that of the far right British National Party, and the opinions expressed by the media, are presented, followed by Islamophobia in the context of Europe.

Part Five, 'Towards a New Theory and Definition of Islamophobia', divides into four chapters, and contains a conclusion 'Tentative Steps into the Twenty-First Century', that suggests that as a description of a form of discrimination, the term Islamophobia must have an Islamic or Muslim element to it, whether that element be explicit or implicit, overt, covert or hidden.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government
Social Theory

AFFIRMATIVE REACTION: NEW FORMATIONS OF WHITE MASCULINITY

Hamilton Carroll

Publisher: Duke University Press
Year: 2011
Pagination: pp. 222
ISBN: 9780822349488
Price: £15.99

Hamilton Carroll, lecturer in American Literature and Culture at the University of Leeds, opens his eclectic and informative study with reference to a comment made by Chuck Palahniuk regarding his novel *Fight Club*. Palahniuk described this *Fight Club* as a remedy for what he perceived as a lack of social models for men in contemporary fiction, which was instead, he said, filled with those tailored to women and, by implication, people of colour. There is, without doubt, a 'discourse of masculinity in crisis' (p.2) rife in the world of American film, television and media, central to which is the claim that the White male has been pushed out of a position of privileged opportunity and power in the post-civil rights period to become the most socially challenged element in the United States, due to a new instability wherein old hegemonies are no longer static and immutable.

Carroll takes examples from this media landscape to formulate explorations of questions such as, 'what does it mean (.....) for Palahnuik to bemoan the failure of contemporary culture to equip men with the necessary tools for social interaction?', asking why such claims to the status of injured party are identified with so strongly by contemporary United States male culture. He shows how the film *Brokeback Mountain* 'turns its queer subjects into disenfranchised white men' (p.17), and how the rapper Eminem 'mobilizes the discourse of injury' (p101) in defence of his own affirmation of his Whiteness. He examines the ways in which White masculinity's contemporary mutability drives it to grasp at authority, documenting this as a response to the 'twin pressures of domestic multiculturalism and identity politics (.....) and globalization of labor and economics' (p.3).

The book is divided into three parts, each consisting of two chapters. '9/11 / 24/7: Affective Time and the War on Terror' looks at, firstly, Fox TV's drama *24*, a reworking of traditional models of heroism. Jack Bauer's dual role as public servant and private individual conflates the counterterrorist (a new geopolitical role) with that of (White) father (patriarchal and traditional). The second chapter in Part One examines the manner in which the 'New York City fireman became an exemplary white ethnic, working-class hero' post 9/11, and in addition *Call of Duty* and other everyday hero fantasies angled at the male market.

Part Two analyses the celebration of White trash and the notion of the validity of the labouring, and thereby rightfully consuming working class male in the men's soap *American Chopper*. Subsequently, in '"My Skin Is It Startin' to Work to My Benefit Now?": Eminem's White Trash Aesthetic', the author considers how the star combines performance of Whiteness as a minority identity with a concurrent claim that race is no longer of significance.

In Part Three, the two chapters deal with the correlations drawn between the arenas of domesticity and state. 'The Fighting Irish: Ethnic Whiteness and Million Dollar Baby' explores an ethnicity of Whiteness that allows Irishness a sentimental White patriarchal identity. In 'Romancing the Nation: Family Melodrama and the Sentimental Logics of Neoliberalism' the author examines *Traffic*, the film by Steven Soderbergh which concerns both familial and national drug wars, as its central subject. Carroll considers *Traffic's* reprehensible connections between race, sex and drug abuse – 'as a sexual predator the black drug dealer disrupts the white middle-class domestic realm, turning daughters into sexual objects' (p.169) – with intriguing readings of American male affectiveness, for

example, George Bush's public displays of emotion.

Carroll is interested throughout the volume in the idea of Whiteness as sterile, as not having content, as it were the assumed control, but also as being normative and definitive, and as presumed heterosexual. He illustrates how White masculinity insists that it needs what it already has – a kind of inverted denial syndrome; and he argues, to paraphrase, that here we have the universal particularised in an attempt to transform universality. Carroll's book is a fascinating example of scholarly tangential thinking, which nonetheless carefully interweaves its themes and preoccupations to admirable effect.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Employment
History
Politics and Government
Social Theory

DISCRIMINATION IN AN UNEQUAL WORLD

Edited by Miguel Angel Centeno and Katherine S. Newman

Publisher: Oxford University Press
Year : 2010
Pagination: pp.306
ISBN: 978-0-19-973217-3 (pbk)
Price: £17.99

This book explores distinctions between the terms 'inequality' and 'discrimination', and asks whether globalization is making us more or less equal. The aim of the co-editors, Miguel Angel Centeno, who is Professor of Sociology and International Affairs at Princeton University, and Katherine S. Newman, the James Knapp Dean of the Krieger School of the Arts and Sciences at Johns Hopkins University, is that the book will encourage an expansion of scholarship on discrimination, both internationally and in terms of methodologies used, and that this will lead to improved policy development, assisting in the breaking down of exclusion. The book itself leads on from the work of The Global Network on Inequality, an annual conference sponsored by Princeton University, which since 2004 has involved an increasing number of research institutions around the world, exploring the 'causes, consequences and remedies for inequality'.

The book is timely and important for several reasons. According to Centeno and Newman there is 'surprisingly little empirical work available on the extent to which the process of globalization... has had an effect on discrimination', thus heightening the relevance of the complex case studies included in Part two of the book. While each study, contributed by academics from, variously, the US, South Africa, Brazil, Japan and India, points out divisive inequalities inherent in global integration, they are also 'derived from a broad array of methods'. The most productive way to study the global, it is suggested, is to amass knowledge on a localised level, interpreting the data with new as well as traditional analytical approaches.

Part one of the book divides into three chapters looking at the general patterns of inequality shifting across the modern world, encompassing both the fast-growing economies of the developing world and the West's post-industrial societies. It looks at whether globalization will help or hinder the progress of affirmative action, one of the well known remedies for systemic discrimination, and also assesses the potential problems involved in measuring discrimination.

Chapters four, five, six and seven deal with issues of race and class in South Africa and Brazil. As large multiracial democracies, these two countries provide fertile ground for research. Although Brazil is perceived as 'racially democratic', for example, Carlos Antonio Costa Ribeiro's research showed, through an analysis of social mobility via education and opportunity, that 'as the social funnel becomes smaller, race becomes increasingly salient'. Chapters eight and nine focus on gender as the determinant in work status and remuneration in Japan, for example highlighting the marriage bar, and the way employers discriminate against married women due to negative expectations of potential motherhood. The last four chapters look at the role of the caste systems in India, particularly the stereotypical perceptions found among Indian employers and the persistence of discrimination

between people of different castes, but also the ease with which the inequalities of caste are internalised and normalised by workers.

Overall the book offers many different examples and viewpoints of inequality and discrimination in the contemporary world, and in some ways leaves open the debate around whether globalization eliminates traditional barriers in a positive way or just 'provide[s] a meritocratic patina on a consistently unequal distribution of opportunity'. It is a debate that will continue almost indefinitely and as Centeno and Newman point out, it is a relatively new area for in-depth research.

Also relates to:
Employment
History
Politics and Government
Social Theory

EUROPEAN MULTICULTURALISM REVISITED

Alessandro Silj (Ed.)

Publisher: Zed Books Ltd
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp. 264
ISBN: 9781848135604
Price: £19.99

Ethnobarometer is a European research network on migration and inter-ethnic relations organised by the editor of this volume, Alessandro Silj, and originally sponsored by the Compagnia di San Paolo. Ethnobarometer grew out of post 9/11 fieldwork on European Muslim communities. Silj's introductory chapter sets out a discussion of terms and general issues relating to the group's research into multiculturalism in Europe, and is followed by six chapters by individual co-authors covering the phenomenon in, respectively, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark and The Netherlands. The central questions driving each contribution are whether the model of a multicultural society failed, and if it failed, why? In addition, has failure been due to intrinsic or external circumstances?

Maleiha Malik, Reader in Law at King's College London, begins with 'Progressive multiculturalism: the British experience', appraising the British as traditionally tolerant and non-discriminatory. Malik then traces the impacts of globalization and of the 'politics of recognition' (p.3) on this diverse social model. Malik compares advocates of more multiculturalism in Britain with those who are critical of multiculturalism, bringing forth 'the debate about "Britishness" as a bulwark against security risks' (p.58).

In 'Crisis and new challenges? French republicanism featuring multiculturalism', Valerie Amiraux points out that the lack of official recognition of difference and plurality of identity is due in part to the political model of the Republic that deems all citizens equal, and ignores the specificities of culture, religion, and ethnicity in law and policy making. Amiraux then draws attention to the public controversy undermining this all-enveloping impartiality through the debates surrounding the wearing of the headscarf and the reference to ethnicity in statistical data.

The third chapter deals with 'The German Sonderweg: multiculturalism as racism with a distance'. Stephan Lanz discusses the ambiguities inherent in German immigration policies. Minorities are valued, he explains, particularly in Berlin, and yet there exists a political framing of an 'assumed cultural fundamentalism of Muslim immigrants..... radical "others".... increasingly excluded from an imagined community of the self' (p.4).

Stefano Allievi concentrates on the fact that immigration is such a relatively new issue in Italy, unlike Britain, where it has been integral throughout the country's history. Therefore, in Italy, no structure has yet been devised that accommodates the interrelations between cultures and religions of the nation-state and its now increasing numbers of immigrants. His chapter title, 'Multiculturalism in Italy: the missing model', sums up this very different political structure, one that has been traditionally very inward-looking. Allievi charts the somewhat piecemeal passing of laws and decrees relating to immigration that have been formulated by in some ways transient and temporary political coalitions - noting how immigrants themselves are widely seen there as simply labour, but also, by

being designated 'foreigners', equated with the idea of terrorism.

The models in Denmark and in The Netherlands, are explored in the remaining two chapters, by Tina Gudrun Jensen and Thijl Sunier. 'Making room: encompassing diversity in Denmark' illustrates a kind of romantic idealism on the part of the state as regards multiculturalism that is at odds with the reality of social interrelations and status quo. While it is encouraged as an ideology, cases such as the Danish cartoon event challenge this fragile model that confuses assimilation with multiculturalism. In The Netherlands, Sunier underlines the fact that up until the end of the 1990s the country was renowned for its sophisticated and tolerant democratic social structure. Now, however, it has some of the most strict immigration laws in Europe, and 'seems to some commentators to be turning into a country that offers almost zero tolerance towards cultural diversity' (p.214). Sunier's chapter is perhaps aptly entitled 'Assimilation by conviction or by coercion? Integration policies in The Netherlands'.

In conclusion, Christophe Bertossi discusses 'mistaken models of integration', presenting a survey of the crisis of multiculturalism in Europe. He upholds the idea that a multicultural model does not really exist. Previously considered as received knowledge, Bertossi sees the failed models as an oversimplification that needs to be overcome before a new crisis emerges from the perhaps worrying emphasis at the moment on 'nationalism and national identity [as] the key frames in which multiculturalism is being discussed, disputed and challenged today' (p.236). This is a thorough and far-reaching study and would be of use to academics, students and policy makers alike, as well as those wishing to consult an engaging survey of contemporary European multicultural issues.

Also relates to:
Economics and Globalisation
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government
Social Theory

ENACTING OTHERS: THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN ELEANOR ANTIN, NIKKI S. LEE, ADRIAN PIPER, AND ANNA DEAVERE SMITH

Cherise Smith

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Year: 2011
Pagination: pp.307
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Price: £16.99

In her preface, Cherise Smith, Assistant Professor of Art History at the University of Texas, Austin, references the course 'Cyborgs and Synthetic Humans' taught at Stanford University in 1999 by Scott Bukatman as inspiration for ideas about racial difference and identity arising from science fiction. In previous research, Smith had argued that the themes of Ridley Scott's *Bladerunne*r (1982 and 1991) 'borrow from an earlier tradition of antebellum memoirs of runaway slaves passing for white' (p.x), via the depiction of robots mistaking their own identity and passing as human. Here, however, Smith specifically examines the production, representation and maintenance of class, ethnic, gender, race and sexual identity, asking: 'is identity constant or shifting? Is identity biologically determined, socially constructed, or performative, and what is the role of the audience in the process?' (p.4).

The book divides into four main chapters, each of which focuses on the work of women artists who subverted identity categorization to renegotiate its boundaries, crossing, as it were, the '"colorline"' (p.4), that W E B Du Bois designated '"the problem of the Twentieth Century"'(p.4). Firstly, the African American woman artist Adrian Piper's *Mythic Being* series is explored, enacted between 1973 and 1975 at the point when the Black freedom struggle was being adapted for deployment by the women's rights movement, Black power movement, American Indian movement, Chicano movement, Yellow power movement and gay rights movement. Piper's fictional persona of a Black working class man was created in response to the development of Title 7 of the *1964 Civil Rights Act* leading to the establishment of affirmative action programmes.

Piper began the project age twenty-four, by dressing in drag and wearing an Afro wig, false

moustache and sunglasses. The persona appeared in public places, walking through Cambridge and Manhattan, '[cruising] white women' (p.28), even enacting a 'mugging' of another man in a park. The chapter shows how the series 'reveals the tensions between individual and communal identifications, individualism and universalism, and the important role audience plays in such mediations' (p.29). Issues of race and discrimination were actively addressed by Piper in a direct engagement with identity politics.

Eleanor Antin's 'performance of blackness' (p.79) as the fictional Black ballerina Eleonora Antinova, is then discussed. She undertook this project in the late 1970s over a twenty day period by applying dark makeup to her own fair skin. Smith suggests that Antin's 'assumption of the marginal position of 'other' as Antinova allowed her to distinguish herself from Whiteness and reclaim her ethnic Jewish identity' (p.83). The disguise heightened the 'overdeterminedness' (p.134) of the stereotypes of the 'ultrafeminine' (p.133) White ballerina and the powerful glamour of the Black woman; however Smith concludes that while challenging 'essentialist notions of identity' (p.134), Antin also 'reinforces the historic link between blackness and'otherness' (p.134).

In '"Other-Oriented" Performance', Anna Deavere Smith's one-woman play *Twilight: Los Angeles*, 1992, wherein she portrayed at least twenty-five characters of diverse class, gender, work culture and race identities, following a period of interviewing and script-writing. The chapter focuses on the way in which Deavere Smith switched personae by exchanging props and costume items. The play is based on testimonies of real people's experiences of 'civil unrest' (p.136) in Los Angeles, 29 April 1992, following the beating of Rodney G. King in March 1991 by four police officers, while nineteen other police officers stood by. Deavere Smith described the project as 'a call to the community' (p.136); searching out evidence of the human condition rather than attempting to find solutions to social problems.

Nikki S Lee's *Projects* evolved over four years, between 1997 – 2001. She lived among members of various cultural groups and was photographed with the people in whose lives she had temporarily joined. The *Projects* included *Tourist, Drag Queen, Skateboarders, Punk, Yuppie, Hip Hop, Lesbian, Swingers, Seniors, Ohio, Hispanic, Young Japanese (East Village)* and *Schoolgirls*. Smith sites Lee's work in the context of a shift from identity politics to the 'discourse of post-identity' (p.191); Lee and her *Projects* as 'slippery agents in the new branding sought for the politics of identity' (p.191).

Smith's conclusion sees the actions of these artists as significant, and also stresses that the politics of identity is as relevant now as it has ever been - despite Smith's framing of contemporary times as post-racial. She finishes the book by looking to the new ways in which younger artists are working with identity issues - for example, Wanda Raimundi-Ortiz's use of the internet and viral communications in her *Ask Chuleta* persona and Erica Lord's website of *Un/Defined Self-Portraits*.

Also relates to:
History
Social Theory

EDUCATION

LITTLE ROCK – RACE AND RESISTANCE AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

Karen Anderson

Publisher: Princeton University Press
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.330
ISBN: 9780691092935
Price: £24.95

Part of the Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America series, this volume is a detailed and comprehensive account of the incredibly complex struggle for desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas - a landmark of American history. The author, Karen Anderson, who is Professor of History at the University of Arizona, acknowledges other recent scholarly analyses of 'the resistance of southern whites to the egalitarianism of the civil rights movement', pointing out that many of them examine

class relations as a contributory factor; however, *Little Rock: Race and Resistance at Central High School* 'also analyzes gender and sexuality as critical aspects of southern responses to racial challenge'.

Many sources, including diaries, letters, oral history interviews, newspapers, court transcripts and meeting minutes, are mined to weave together a range of perspectives, 'allowing the reader to see this story as fluid rather than static'. From the opening section of the introduction, 'Not Here, Not Now, Not Us', a dramatic retelling of the ordeal of one sixteen year old student on the 4 September 1957 on her first day at Little Rock Central High School, sets the tone for the rest of the book as it charts a farrago of indefensible and irresponsible political manoeuvres for which both the 'arch segregationists' and the White liberals were to blame.

Elizabeth Eckford was one of nine black students who did eventually manage to enter the school, but she was mobbed by the segregationist White crowds, some of whom shouted, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!' However, the antagonists were not simply members of the public: following the Supreme Court ruling that ended racial segregation in public schools, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus 'called up the National Guard to surround Little Rock Central High School, preventing black students from going in'. It was only later, on the 25 September 1957, that the nine students gained entrance, escorted by federal troops.

Anderson analyses the way in which segregationists 'defended white supremacy as necessary for sexual and moral order and white male moderates defended their racial and gender privilege as the prerequisites for economic and social progress'. Power struggles were an overriding feature of the Little Rock crisis. While White male segregationists 'used women to claim respectability and nonviolence for a movement that relied on the idea of a spontaneous and potentially violent popular racism, and thus used women to justify state resistance to federal court orders', the Mothers' League in turn used children as 'symbols of white victimization', and as 'political actors who generated racial and sexual fears, mistrust of local elites, and a sense of virtuous rage'. Meanwhile, the state government and the local Arkansas school boards 'spent scarce public funds defending ill-conceived laws and policies as they attempted to bury *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in a never-ending barrage of litigation'.

Anderson examines a number of issues in this text such as: the 'murky origins' of Little Rock's Desegregation Plan; the politics of confrontation (with a focus on concerns around gender); the 'moderates' dilemma' and the central role that the Mothers' League played in relation to the 'emotional culture and politics of the massive resistance movement to desegregation in Little Rock'; the shifts in political focus from the students, teachers and administrators; and the politics of tokenism and gradualism in integration. Anderson shows how, post 1959, there was a 'dynamic politicization' as White women and African Americans 'sought greater power in Little Rock politics', and how 'white groups at the time… shaped American race and class relations'. Anderson achieves this by documenting 'white women's political mobilizations… political resentments, sexual fears, and religious affiliations,' illuminating the reasons for segregationist blunders and failures. In all, this volume brilliantly details the moral shortfalls of people who sought 'the appearance of federal compliance rather than actual racial justice, leaving behind a legacy of white flight, poor urban schools, and institutional racism'.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

BROWN IN BALTIMORE – SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE LIMITS OF LIBERALISM

Howell S. Baum

Publisher: Cornell University Press
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.274
ISBN: 9780801476525
Price: £18.95

The title of this volume refers to the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education* ruling whereby Baltimore's liberal school board 'voted to desegregate and adopted a free choice policy that made integration

voluntary'. Howell S Baum, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning at the University of Maryland, explains how Baltimore developed a desegregation policy that avoided dealing with race directly. He makes frequent reference to the body of research entitled *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, by Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist invited by the Carnegie Corporation to analyse American race relations in the 1940s. Myrdal's phrase, 'American dilemma', can be summarised as the manner in which 'whites espouse a creed that all are equal but treat blacks badly'. In Baltimore, Baum exposes a well-intentioned liberalism which 'provided the argument for black emancipation, but [.....] also offered a way of thinking that hindered knowing about race'.

Baum begins by establishing the perspective on race and liberalism that shapes his book, and by contextualising the Brown decision and the 'American Dilemma'. He analyses the impact of Baltimore's geographical and demographical location - positioned as it is on America's racial border, - explaining its development of a 'parochial and modern city character and culture that avoided racial talk'. Baum traces 'A Long Black Campaign for Equality', examining how community leaders from the first quarter of the twentieth century maintained awareness of 'colored school conditions', leading to eventual desegregation. His chapter, 'Opening the Racial Door Slightly' illustrates the reticent attitude to integration, by examining the 1952 Baltimore Urban League initiative which saw the admittance of Black boys to the select Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. This is followed by a thorough and detailed analysis of the 1954 decision, the effects of free choice, and the actual reactions to the new policy and the relatively modest changes it brought about. Although desegregation in Baltimore was peaceful - without the violent resistance encountered elsewhere - 'not many whites chose to attend school with blacks', and after some years of 'modest desegregation', schools tended to revert to segregation by default. Black leaders, however, had wanted free choice originally and continued in their support of the policy.

The second half of the book looks at fluctuations in the progression towards desegregation in schools. The parent's protest in 1963 comprised of twenty-eight Black and White parents demonstrating against practices that kept segregation in the status quo even though it had officially been abolished. Positive developments such as this were reversed and there was a 'biracial retreat from integration' after the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. In 1974, the US Office for Civil Rights requested that Baltimore develop a 'plan for citywide school integration' which led to negotiations between federal officials, the School Board, and the parents. Baltimore court attempts to stop federal actions against the city finally ended with the 1987 US Department of Education certifying that Baltimore had 'done everything possible to remove the vestiges of legal segregation'.

Baum's study of Brown in Baltimore is exhaustive and well-researched, and unravels the complexities that arise when America's 'dominant public philosophy', liberalism, addresses 'the nation's central problem', race. While 'liberalism made it seem only reasonable to think of children as raceless individuals – even when the issue was racial to the core – [.....] school officials and most other city residents were relieved not to think about race.' Baum also acknowledges the lacunae that arises between: 'desegregation' and the legal breaking down of barriers to Black and White children attending the same schools; and 'integration' where in Black and White children mix socially. He concludes his fascinating volume by endorsing the power for positive change that brought about Baltimore's school desegregation, and the way that it 'required realistically confronting race, human desires and anxieties, and the liberal dilemma to devise imperfect but good enough steps forward'.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

ASIAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: SHARED COMMUNITIES

Kalwant Bhopal

Publisher: Trentham Books
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.138
ISBN: 9781858564692
Price: £20.99

Kalwant Bhopal's insightful account results from research that she pursued with 45 Asian women in a single British university, following through their thoughts and opinions around such issues as friendships, marriage and dowries, the support they received and the significance of higher education in their lives.

Her most salient points are not for our comfort or satisfaction. These women students in the first decade of the new millennium felt that they were subject to 'boundaries that keep insiders in and outsiders out', a parlous situation that denies the necessity of inclusivity and democratic engagement within university life and structures. Bhopal takes a common enough noun which denotes exclusion and makes a verb from it, suggesting that universities are not territories for welcome involvement for Asian women, so much so that the 'Academy was understood as a space in which Asian women found themselves othered'.

Universities should be venues where young Asian women fresh from the strictures of school life can negotiate new freedoms. Bhopal asserts that within the new, more self-liberating culture that a university should offer, young Asian women have 'most to gain in terms of personal liberation from traditional and patriarchal structures, more even than their brothers'. For during their years of university there are no opportunities to 'develop support networks with Asian women from similar backgrounds and these networks provide a social space in which they can together re-think their identities'. But the question that Bhopal asks so pertinently throughout her study is continually implicit: can they manage this process while they are in constant struggle with the processes of exclusion and alienation which consign them to 'otherness' in an educational institution which should be offering them, alongside all its students in all its cohorts, the prospect of intellectual and social freedom from all previous and residual barriers and manacles.

Bhopal also reports and reflects upon 'the gulf between the lives of Asian women and White women' which she shows is so manifest within university life. This, she suggests in her concluding chapter, could be generated and regenerated from the truth that 'when Asian women enter higher education, they are essentially doing something that is new to both Asian and British cultures' while they are also making an assault upon a caricature of Asian women which has been 'further entrenched by Government policy that fosters the perception of Asian women as victims of a backward culture that enforces unwelcome marriages with brutal honour killings. These views affirm the 'otherness' of Asian lives.'

The Asian students themselves 'are understood as alien' within the university confines'. This, in itself, is a shocking reality framed by Bhopal's research and one which their very presence is bound to challenge. And yet when they achieve entry into the 'Academy' Bhopal shows that they are defined by 'misinformed ideas, partly on outdated notions that might have applied to their mothers, and partly on the worst excesses of the red top press'.

Her work exposes just how much universities and their predominantly White faculty and personnel must challenge themselves and radically change in both curriculum and pedagogy, and how much more they must open themselves to enable the entry and academic achievement of thousands more young working class Asian women from our inner cities. That is, of course, only one essential dimension of the question. The most immediately pressing are the economic barriers, which far from easing, are becoming more and more formidable as university fees rise to unscaleable levels for huge numbers of urban families.

Also relates to:
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

Social Theory

BETWEEN RACE AND REASON: VIOLENCE, INTELLECTUAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE UNIVERSITY TO COME

Susan Searls Giroux

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.283
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7048-4 (pbk)
Price: £18.95

In this highly articulate and cogently argued study, Susan Searls Giroux shows how the politics of higher education, since the Civil Rights Movement victories of the 1960s, have re-fashioned the university into something far removed from the ideal of a haven for independent thought and research, for 'humanistic inquiry'. Instead, she argues, 'the commitment to colorblindness has [.....] impaired our very capacity to think, to reason, to weigh and even be persuaded by evidence, to recognize error, to be reflective, and to judge'. Her book explores 'the impact of colorblind commitment on the academy, on the quality of intellectual thought therein, given the rise of the new forms of expertise, discursive strategies, analytic models, pedagogical practices, and institutional imperatives that are rhetorically nonracial and presumptively neutral'.

Between Race and Reason poses many questions: 'what pressures will intellectuals in the academy bring to bear on the issues of our time?' 'Which values and whose interests will they reflect in the identification of problems said to require scholarly attention, in the formulation of key concepts, in the choice of methodologies, and in the staging of solutions?' The 'task at hand', Searls Giroux continues, is to 'assess critically the last forty years of academic allegiance to colorblindness and to theorize the possibilities for a much-needed reconciliation with a social reality that is highly and historically raced, as well as a rehabilitation of critical and creative thought'.

The first section of the book explores the implications of 'colorblind logic', racelessness (as the new racism) and concomitant forms of anti-intellectualism both within and without the university. There is a 'demise of public commitment to collective struggle for civil rights and social justice', Searls Giroux argues, and a 'general suspicion of intellect, and hence distrust of the university, in the United States'. During the Cold War, for example, new areas of study and research, such as 'nuclear engineering and Russian studies' emerged. The Western hunger for knowledge for its own sake was being replaced by a desire for mastery that is traditionally founded upon privileging Whiteness, and harnessed to the economic and political needs of its societies.

The second section focuses on violence and counter-violence, on state-sanctioned violence and the particular 'political landscape in which racism in its new, "neo-liberalized" edition perpetuates [.....] forms of violence and exclusion and looks to the ways in which the university might productively respond'. The thinking of diverse canonical and counter-canonical intellectuals – Nietzsche, Foucault, Martin Luther King, Jr. – are employed as a means of illuminating a long-standing collusion of the university setting with violence. The legacy of W E B Du Bois as scholar and activist, and his magnum opus *Black Reconstruction*, are examined as a means of critiquing the present day situation. The 'university to come' (an idea originating with Jacques Derrida's university à venir) has to attempt to recognise its responsibilities.

The last chapter 'explores the role that educators might play in linking rigorous scholarship and critical pedagogy to progressive struggles for securing the very conditions for thought itself – an active commitment to which determines the very survival of political democracy. Susan Searls Giroux is Associate Professor of English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University, and the chapters of this excellent volume comprise articles and papers that have appeared over the past eight years.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

EMPLOYMENT

BLACK POWER AT WORK: COMMUNITY CONTROL, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, AND THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

David Goldberg and Trevor Griffey Ed.

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Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.265
ISBN: 978-0-8014-4658-0 (alk.paper) / 978-0-8014-7431-6 (pbk: alk.paper)
Price: £16.50

This detailed investigative volume highlights the crux of why construction jobs were among the most fascinating of arenas through which to consider race and ethnicity during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in the 1960s and 1970s. It has seven contributor's chapters and an introduction and conclusion by the editors, David Goldberg, an Assistant Professor of Africana Studies at Wayne State University, and Trevor Griffey, a PhD Candidate in US History at the University of Washington.

The introductory 'Constructing Black Power' reviews the post-World War II American social landscape, where the 'racial exclusivity of [.....] federal subsidies for home ownership, combined with the lack of fair housing laws' (p.1) meant disproportionately high class mobility for White families, additionally paving the way for unprecedented Black poverty between the 1940s and 1960s. At the same time unionisation of the construction industry was at its height and the Unions had a huge amount of political and economic leverage. Black unemployment grew even at this boom time due to segregation of Black people into low and semiskilled jobs and poor housing in inner-city neighbourhoods. This generated dissatisfaction among Black activists in Philadelphia with the slowness of post-World War II liberalism and fueled Civil Rights leaders' gradualist politics. Subsequently, a working class movement began to spring from grass roots Civil Rights activists 'incorporating the politics of disruption and direct action to confront institutionalized racism in the construction industry' (p.2). Strikes and protests in 1963 were organised by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and they exploded into mass direct action on large scale, and led to state funded building projects, creating a fundamental change in the American workplace through the transformation of the northern freedom movement.

The contributors to the book show how conflict with construction trades unions was critical to the rise of Black Power - a political and cultural shift on a historic scale that only becomes clear upon examination of the fine detail of local politics. The chapters provide case studies that, taken together, build upon an expanding literature around the participation of ordinary workers struggling for justice at a local level in the Black freedom movement's 'intellectual and political evolution' (p.4).

The protests, policy innovations and increased Black militancy and organisation that led to desegregation of the construction industry during the 1960s are detailed in '"Revolution Has Come To Brooklyn": Construction Trades Protests and the Negro Revolt of 1963' by Brian Purnell of Fordham University, '"The Labor of Democracy": Construction Industry Racism in Newark and the Limits of Liberalism' by Julia Rabig of Boston University, and '"Work for Me Also Means Work for the Community I Come From": Black Contractors, Black Capitalism, and Affirmative Action in the Bay Area' by John J. Rosen of University of Illinois, Chicago.

In Chapter four, David Goldberg illustrates how Black tradesmen used state and local licensing to become independent construction contractors and thereby increase control over their work. Erik S. Gellman explores the persistent blocking of Black workers attempting to join unions in Chapter five, '"The Stone Wall Behind": The Chicago Coalition for United Community Action and Labor's Overseers, 1968-1973', where he quotes from the Reverend Cordy Tindell (C.T.) Vivian. Vivian said of Chicago in 1969 that '"A Revolution is in progress here"' (cited p.112). He declared that '"we would have to create coalitions as massive as the institutions we opposed"' (cited p.112). CUCA was such an institution, and its involvement in the burgeoning of Black Power and civil rights activism is examined here.

Trevor Griffey's Chapter six looks at Nixon, the Hard Hats (union members), and 'Voluntary' Affirmative Action, contending that the rise of affirmative action in the 1960s and 1970s has been

traditionally viewed too simplistically as an extension of the Civil Rights Movement, and that it was more specifically a response to protests against the racism endemic among federal construction contractors. Griffey also contributes the last chapter, 'From Jobs to Power: The United Construction Workers Association and Title VII Community Organizing in the 1970s', which begins by quoting Tyree Scott, leader of UCWA: '"We don't just want the jobs... We want some control over them"' (cited p.161). Goldberg and Griffey's conclusion looks to the future coalitions that will be needed to maintain the viability of the labour movement within the construction industry in a consideration of 'White Male Identity Politics', reiterating the need for the building trades unions, 'actively incorporating and seeking common ground with women, low-income workers, and communities of color' (p.207).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

THE NEW ENTREPRENEURS: HOW RACE, CLASS AND GENDER SHAPE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

Zulema Valdez

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2011
Pagination: pp.190
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Price: £19.50

This complex and detailed book received research support from two main sources: the NSF/ASA Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline and the Mexican American and Latino/a Studies Center at Texas A&M University, and a Ford Foundation Minority Postdoctoral Fellowship. It focuses on the testimonies of Latino/a, and other immigrant entrepreneurs in Houston, to trace the persistence of inequality within the concept of the American Dream.

The book begins with two case studies of Latino/a immigrant self-employed restauranteurs, Doña Toña and Rob Alfaro. These examples, of the relative struggle of Doña Toña, as a 'lower-class Mexican immigrant woman who lives and works in a poor Mexican enclave' (p.3), and the relative ease of success for Rob Alfaro as a 'middle-class, self-identified Hispanic Italian man whose upscale restaurant and home are located in a predominantly White planned community in Greater Houston' (p.3), characterize the aim of the book, to explain the experiences and 'divergent life chances' (p.3) of such Latino/a immigrant entrepreneurs.

Taking American society as entrenched with a three-tier strata of 'capitalism, patriarchy, and White supremacy' (citing Browne and Misra, 2003; Collins, 2000. p.3), the Latino/as are positioned differently within a hierarchy of class, gender, racial and ethnic classifications. The book adds to this the elements of structure and agency: the 'social capital' or 'capacity to mobilize resources based on the recognition of shared group affiliations' (p.4). Rob Alfaro funded his business via savings and investment capital from family members, only turning to the banks for a 'credit line' (p.3), whereas Doña Toña had to work at a port carwash as well as bake for her restaurant to initially develop the business, and then go on to work a twelve-hour day, every day to maintain it, earning around seven dollars per hour. The experiences and outcomes for a certain ethnic group vary, and the first part of Valdez's study explains why and how. The second part of the book explores the ways in which Latino/a entrepreneurs identify with one another, 'ethnically, racially, or both' (p.6), involving sometimes multiple memberships of different privileged or oppressed groups, and the ways in which social capital/location affects entrepreneurial outcomes.

In 'The Embedded Market: Race, Class, and Gender in American Enterprise', Valdez presents her theoretical approach for the book, of the embedded market which combines the sociological areas of intersectionality as 'advanced by Black feminist scholars' (p.19) which explains power imbalance as resulting from intersection of class, gender and race; and 'the traditional ethnic entrepreneurship paradigm' (p.20) which emphasizes the processes of 'ethnic-based social capital' (p.20) as a way of establishing businesses. While social capital can be 'compensatory' (p.41), its influence is governed by

Latino/a's location on the intersections within the 'unequal American social structure' (p.41).

Chapter three looks at aspiration, expectation and motivation, with chapters three to five all presenting detail on the impact of the intersection of class, gender, race and ethnicity on Latino/a entrepreneurs' economic success and also make comparisons between Latino/a entrepreneurs and their White and Black counterparts. Chapter four looks at the way social inequality affects Latino/a capacity to mobilize resources, showing that, while they may use the same strategies as their White and Black counterparts, regardless of class, gender, ethnicity or race, their intersectional location matters here.

'By What Measure Success? The Economic and Social Value of Latino/a Enterprise' examines the mutable meaning of the term success and its dependence on intersectional location, reflected in the voices of respondents including the opening quote from a sixty-six year old, long-term US resident Mexican, DonJosé: '"Do you consider your business a success? / Well, yes, I'm still alive"' (p.90). Chapters six to eight explore the 'social integration' (p.20) of Latino/a entrepreneurs, and the racial hierarchy of groups, including the example of 'Martín, the self-identified Salvodoran American [who] made clear his ethnocentric preference for Salvodorans and his negative attitudes towards 'Latin people' (p.124), and of Ruben, a fifty-seven year old Cuban, and his 'brief discussion of voluntary segregation by Hispanics from "Anglos" (notably, not the other way around)' (p.126).

Rugged Individualists and the American Dream illustrates the way Latino/as 'convey their trust in the American creed' (p.132) and believe in the effectiveness of hard work and commitment to their aspiration as a means of achieving success in business. In her conclusion, 'Embedded Entrepreneurs in Brown, Black, and White', Valdez summarizes by showing how White, Black and Latino/a entrepreneurs 'reproduce the ideology of individualism and meritocracy, even as they experience structural inequality', and although in the final analysis for most Blacks and Latino/as the American Dream is 'only partially fulfilled' (p.110).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
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HISTORY

RACE AND LIBERTY IN AMERICA – THE ESSENTIAL READER

Jonathan Bean Ed.

Publisher: The University Press of Kentucky
Year: 2009
Pagination: pp.329
ISBN: 9780813125459
Price: £20.95

Jonathan J. Bean, a Research Fellow at the Independent Institute and Professor of History at Southern Illinois University, has collated together here primary source materials covering 'the great historical debates over race and ethnicity in America', with invaluable commentary introducing, and recommended reading lists concluding, each section, respectively. The book is divided into seven chapters with an introduction to the main themes of civil rights and classical liberalism - the distinguishing features of which he lists as '"unalienable Rights" from God, individual freedom from government control, the Constitution as a guarantor of freedom, color-blind law, and capitalism.'

The documents themselves - speeches, journalistic and legal works, letters – are listed, and appear in the collection, in chronological order, referencing the United States government's treatment of Blacks from slavery to modern times. Beginning with 'Antislavery 1776 – 1853', and Thomas Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* of 1776, each document or speech ends with a note of its source and each section with footnotes and bibliography. From 1852 comes Frederick Douglass' *Fourth of July Oration*, in which he criticizes his fellow Americans for 'failing to live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution'. From 1865 to 1870, Bean includes the

Freedom Amendments which changed the *Constitution*. From 1871 comes one of many testimonies from victims of the Ku Klux Klan: the source for this document is *Testimony Taken By The Joint Select Committee To Inquire Into The Condition Of Affairs In The Late Insurrectionary States.*

Many classical Liberals are represented, some of them famous and some less so – 'the invisible men and women of the long civil rights movement': Kelly Miller, the Dean of Howard University and one of the most widely read Black writers of the 1920s; Zora Neale Hurston, the novelist; Branch Rickey, the '"missionary" businessman who broke the color bar in baseball by signing Jackie Robinson to the Brooklyn Dodgers'; Robert Taft, who unseated 'the Senate's most vicious racist', Lewis Tappan, 'a well-known evangelical Christian who used his church ties to create a network of antislavery men and women', and Senator Joseph Hawley (R-CT) opposed to the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) partly because of his missionary work with the Chinese both in the United States and in China.

Some classical liberals are ignored by the 'current canon', Bean points out, or it 'distorts their record, partly because they rejected government meddling in race relations, whether the meddling was done by the Right or the Left': William Leggett, publisher of the New York Evening Post, broke from the Democratic Party because of its position on slavery; 'superlawyer' Moorfield Storey won the first Supreme Court case to rule that segregation was unconstitutional; and R C Hoiles was an editor who denounced the internment of Japanese Americans.

The editor concludes with a consideration of the election of Barack Obama. 'A product of racial intermarriage and immigration,' he says, 'Obama stands as a symbol of the new face of American politics'. The concepts of race and diversity in today's American society are not necessarily of use anymore; instead Bean looks to the future, asking, 'where will America be in fifty years?' He summarises the fading of the Black-White issues that 'have dominated racial discourse for three centuries' by championing the ideal Frederick Douglass envisioned in the mid-nineteenth century: 'one country, one citizenship, one liberty, one law, for all people without regard to race'. Bean's book is well subtitled, The Essential Reader – anyone, from students and academics to civic leaders and the wider reading public, will find it indispensable to a study of the subjects of race, liberty, American political history and sociology.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government
Social Theory

EMPIRE AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE CARIBBEAN: BARBADOS, 1937-66

Mary Chamberlain

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ISBN: 9780719078767
Price: £57.00

This fascinating study disentangles nation-building from decolonialisation in the West Indies, focussing on the testimonies of Barbadians. The 1930s saw the failure of the brand of Western capitalism that had been the basis of the imperial economic project. The West Indies was one of the places where the upheaval brought on by the Great Depression and the decline of colonialism materialised itself in the form of strikes, riots and unrest. Barbados was notable for having been effectively subjugated for centuries by White plantation ownership, which due to finite land and high population density, meant Barbadians were economically, socially and politically trapped.

The book begins by establishing the onslaught of the Great Depression in the West Indies and its impact on migration, labour and child labour, nutrition, housing and education, as well as the racial status quo. The demise of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the Democratic League and the Working Men's Association left workers on the sugar plantations without a voice until with the rallying cry of Barbados-born Clement Payne and others, '"Educate, agitate, but do not violate!"' (cited p.4), resistance escalated into major rioting and looting in 1937, with much bloodshed and subsequent imprisonment. This was followed by insurgence in Jamaica and Antigua in 1938 and

British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1930 and 1939, when the British Government finally had to admit the necessity of alleviating social problems in the West Indies.

This led to the foundation of the West Indian Welfare Fund, and to conferences, commissions and inquiries to discuss potential nation-building or federalising - process complicated by the different and competing agendas for the development of the West Indies proffered by the American and British. Britain favoured maintenance of the colony relationship, and attempted and failed to 'unite the region in a federation' (p.12) in 1958, formally dissolving it in 1962. The US conversely were pro-independence. The book asks: 'What social, cultural and other resources were West Indians and Barbadians able to draw on to imagine sovereignty and create a nation? What mechanisms operated in society to subvert colonial authority?' (p14). Chamberlain also points out that following the precedent of the UNIA, the uprisings involved women at the heart of its struggle.

Chapter two, 'The 'romance' of foreign: distance, perspective and an 'inclusive nationhood'', charts Black activism in Barbados during the period, kept under the close scrutiny of British and American authorities, with an examination of Marcus Garvey's idea of federation and the historical circumstances of Barbados that made it such an ideal option. Chapter three surveys labour and poverty statistics and the personal testimonies of people who experienced the overcrowding and malnutrition of the 1920s-1950s. Attempts to form Barbados from a British mould with welfare development for the West Indies seen as needing specific management, led to examples such as finance grants to be directed only towards 'projects that would involve community cohesion and moral improvement' (p.63). Britain perceived the West Indies to have no culture or cooperative community of its own, and radical reform only began following the Richardson Report of 1954.

Chapter four, 'Gender and the moral economy', illuminates in the recollections of Barbadians how women fared better in farming work than in gang work, which was harder, less remunerative and more inflexible as regards bringing up a family. Destitute children were unusual, since the communities looked after each other, and there was an understanding that if you were being paid to work you did it courteously and well, without allowing yourself to be downtrodden. Chapter five, 'Race, nation and the politics of memory', illuminates the severe division of power between Black and White people in Barbados.

Chapter six '"A common language of the spirit': cultural awakenings and national belongings', illustrates the manner in which colonialism's denial of West Indian's potential for 'intellectual agency' (p.125) was beginning to be thrown off by the nation that would soon be free, in a paraphrasing of Edward Said's words, ' from colonial encroachment' (p.145) as a new, vibrant social culture developed. Chapter seven, From diffidence to desperation: the British, the Americans, the war and the move to Federation, shows how vital the West Indies were to the allies in World War II. Finally, though 'the conundrum of Caribbean nationhood had been resolved', Chamberlain makes the point that 'the Queen was retained as head of state', and that 'narratives of nation are sites also of continuing struggle' (p.193).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

WHO ABOLISHED SLAVERY? SLAVE REVOLTS AND ABOLITIONISM – A DEBATE WITH JOÃO PEDRO MARQUES

Seymour Drescher and Pieter C. Emmer Eds.

Publisher: Berghahn Books: New York
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.208
ISBN: 978-1-84545-636-8 (hbk)
Price: £23.50

Subtitled as it is, 'A Debate with João Pedro Marques', this volume consists of a presentation of the views of Marques, a leading historian of slavery and abolition and researcher at the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, Lisbon since 1987. The first part of the book, contains a preface and

four chapters featuring opinions and research direct from Marques .The book is edited by Seymour Drescher, Distinguished University Professor at the University of Pittsburgh, and Pieter C. Emmer, a Professor of the History of the Expansion of Europe and the Related Migration Movements at the University of Leiden.

The preface outlines the vast increase in knowledge, and changes in the interpretation of the history of slavery and the Atlantic slave trade that have developed over the past fifty years. The editors point to new interpretations that African slave traders dominated the arena rather than European traders (as previously assumed), and that the mortality rate on board the ships was so high mainly because of the slaves' physical condition before they set off on the voyage. In addition there is far more insight now into the daily lives of slaves, demographics, the processes of emancipation, and the financial arrangements of the plantations on which the slaves worked.

The central question put by Drescher and Emmer, and the reason for the debate opening with Marques' thesis, is whether to make a distinction between Black slave resistance and rebellion on the one hand, and abolitionism – classical, European/ North American – on the other, and to question whether these two movements are mutually exclusive or similar in ideology.

Marques argues that 'rebellious slaves were not aiming at the abolition of slavery and [.....] with rare exceptions, it was not their resistance that put an end to slavery' (p.191). It is, he states, 'generally impossible to establish a direct, necessary or sufficient correlation between slave uprisings..... and the emancipation laws enacted in the West.' The first of his four chapters deals with events up until the end of the eighteenth century, and forms of slave rebellion and their results and impacts upon slavery as a system. Chapters two and three examine the Age of Abolition and the main revolts, from the end of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries, seeking to correlate if possible the revolts with the decision to abolish. Chapter four concerns ideologies and history, examining the reasons for a theory that sees emancipation as a result of the slaves' own struggle.

Part Two of the book contains eleven 'Commentaries' from other leading historians of the subject. Their debate unfurls across the chapters. John Thornton, in 'Africa and Abolitionism', details runaway slave communities such as Angola Janga in Palmares, Brazil, 'the largest African-created political system outside of slavery in the New World, aside from Haiti after the Revolution' (p.95). Pieter C. Emmer looks at the question of Abolition in the Dutch Caribbean and finds that in the high levels of marronage in the Dutch Colonies, runaway slaves 'had no objection to slavery – with the exception of themselves' (p.105). Treaties were repeatedly signed between maroon communities and colonial governments, but there would be the caveat that they must not accept further runaways into their community; and in the nineteenth century several of the former established trading relationships with plantations. Seymour Drescher argues that 'on occasion, rebels with narrow room for action generated enough support to accelerate the dismantling of a millennial institution' (p.129), by adding their weight to the pressure being exerted by the abolitionists.

Peter Blanchard and Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau see resistance rather than revolt as the undermining force at play. Hilary Beckles is the only contributor to the Commentaries who refutes Marques' argument outright. These differing opinions and the fact that Marques is invited to add Part three, 'Afterthoughts', with which the book concludes, make for a lively and comprehensive debate which remains, however, open to further expansion and development.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government
Social Theory

MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

REFUGEE WOMEN IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Gill Allwood and Khursheed Wadia

Publisher: Manchester University Press
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.210
ISBN: 978-0-7190-7122-5
Price: £60.00

Gill Allwood is Reader in Gender Politics at Nottingham Trent University, Khursheed Wadia is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, and together they present here a comparative study of migration from a gender perspective. Their study acknowledges the contributions made by women refugees to their new countries in terms of political, social, cultural and economic arenas, rather than viewing them as primarily victims. It gives accounts of the experiences of women in both French and British asylum systems, asking who they are, where they come from, and what happens to them while they await a decision on their claim for asylum . This book highlights the flaws in a system of law and process designed to meet the needs of refugee men, making it clear such processes often don't provide the same support for women fleeing persecution.

The introduction outlines the current situation facing many of the asylum-seeking and refugee women who arrive in Britain and France, and the types of experience and persecution they are attempting to escape from. It also reviews the limited pre-existing scholarship and study of refugee women in post-1945 Europe, citing more recent examples such as reports by the UK's Maternity Alliance on pregnant women's experiences during the asylum process and detention and establishing that comparative study could answer such questions as 'Why it is more difficult to set up a refugee community association in France than in Britain?', among many others.

Under the section 'Rationale and aims', it becomes clear that this is the: 'first full-length study to focus not only on refugee migrant women as users of state and voluntary sector services in France and Britain, but also on their involvement in political and civic action and activism as agents of change' (p.5). France and Britain have been chosen because they both consider themselves keepers of the democracy and practice of 'equality, justice, freedom of speech and action' (p.5) but also because they are the 'leading architects of '"Fortress Europe"' (p.5) as elucidated by Nicolas Sarkozy's 2005 statement, '"I want France to choose immigration rather than have it imposed"' ('*Nouvel Observateur*', 11 June 2005, cited p.5).

International, European and national policies and practices are examined in chapter one, outlining frameworks at each level for refugee status assessment, reception and settlement, and emphasising the 'gendered impact of apparently gender-neutral policies and practices' (p.13) as well as measures taken to address the problem. It includes discussion of the Common European Asylum System, The Hague Programme and The New Asylum Model. Chapter two is concerned with migration contexts, and looks at the demographics and social characteristics of migration within which refugee women are situated, presenting an overview of immigration to Britain and France in the context of the development of Europe and of 'feminisation... over the last 50 years' (p.49). It also covers the characteristics of female refugee migration to those countries even though data is very limited and gender distinctions have not typically been made in statistical data until very recently, even though both the UK and France produce detailed immigration and asylum statistics.

Chapters three and four deal with the experiences of women in the asylum system and their experiences, subsequently, of British and French society and settlement. Information has been collected from sparse, often small individual studies, but by being collated together, the book's authors present the beginnings of a large, often bleak picture. In France, the association, Rajfire, reports that asylum-seeking women are 'often recruited by pimps and sex clubs as they leave asylum tribunal hearings or the "waiting zones" in port areas, when they are in the most vulnerable and desperate state' (p.116). Comparatively, the health provision is better in Britain, but racism and hostility towards asylum seekers and refugees is ubiquitous - in August 2001, Firsat Dag, a Kurdish asylum seeker was

murdered in Glasgow. Chapters five and six assess the role played by asylum-seeking and refugee women in overcoming barriers to their own settlement, and the citizenship process. In addition, they explore the activism and community activities the women engage with. Chapter six focuses specifically on refugee women and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs).

The study, overall, found that the French were slower to acknowledge the relationship between gender and asylum. The French republican universalism that renders all individuals equal in the eyes of the law and relegates gender, race and ethnicity to the private sphere, ideally precludes discrimination, but in fact encompasses a denial of the existence of these discriminations. However the authors conclude only that insistence on recognition of the gender/asylum relation be maintained and that asylum-seeking and refugee women's well-being be kept high on the agenda.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
History
Politics and Government

CINCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF YOUNG ADULT MIGRANTS IN EUROPE – BARRIERS AND BRIDGES

Katrine Fangen, Kirsten Fossen, Ferdinand Andreas Mohn Eds.

Publisher: Ashgate Publishing
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp.284
ISBN: 9781409404200
Price: £55.00

Published in association with the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) at Utrecht University, Netherlands, this volume is part of the Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series. It is edited by three academics from the University of Oslo, Norway. The research project *EUMARGINS (On the Margins of the European Community Young Adult Immigrants in Seven European Countries)* involved an exploration of the inclusion and exclusion of young adult immigrants across a range of 'national contexts': 'the Nordic welfare states, old colonial countries, Southern European nations, and the Eastern European region'. This volume presents analyses of that research, referencing legal, policy and historical sources and providing clear and comprehensive studies of the dynamics of these 'multiple social arenas and spheres'. In the first, introductory chapter, various questions are set out, primarily 'How is the inclusion and exclusion of young adults with immigrant backgrounds framed by different aspects of the host society context?'; 'What challenges and opportunities are young adult immigrants and descendants facing in different countries?'; 'What is their rate of participation in education, labour and leisure compared with young people without immigrant background?'.

Seven chapters, each dealing with a different nation (Spain, the United Kingdom, Estonia, Italy, Norway, France and Sweden, respectively), are preceded by the introduction 'Turning Adult, Becoming Nationalized' and succeeded with the concluding chapter, 'Assessing the Situation: Cross-National Comparison'. Each chapter is set out in a similar manner, and as far as possible the same types of data are gathered for each national setting, although 'available statistics do not offer a consistent and reliable numerical picture of immigrants within the EU'. Part of this problem is examined in terms of the different ways in which censuses are constructed in different countries. France stands out as a 'special case' in census making - the French Republican State sees its civic body as an organic nation, an indivisible people, but at the same time 'registration of ethnic background is prohibited by law' (unlike the situation in the United Kingdom) so that 'the citizen and the foreigner become the two principal categories of analysis'.

France, Italy and Spain follow the 'continental European welfare model', and in the particular cases of Italy and Spain, this is based on 'decentralization, reliance on family solidarity, a large informal sector and a recent history of authoritarian politics'. The United Kingdom's liberal welfare sector is examined in chapter three, 'The UK: Imperial Spectres, New Migrations and the State of "Permanent

Emergency"'. Subheadings within the chapter include, 'Citizenship and Categories of Person: Political and Juridical Contexts', for example discussing the juridical categories of migrants of 'Commonwealth immigrants', 'Work-permit holders', 'asylum seekers', and those with 'Ancestral connections'. Types of employment of each group, including illegal employment, are investigated. Chapter four explores how Estonia has 'a fairly well developed welfare system but... unemployment benefits [that] are insufficient for basic subsistence'. Focus on ethnic relations and integration following the break up of the Soviet Union and the re-establishment of the Estonian Republic are of particular significance here.

There are many potential obstacles to presenting a methodical study here; shifting patterns of migration include the movement of peoples for many different purposes and aims; labour or economy-driven reasons, or as refugees or asylum seekers. The varying receptiveness of the host-country is a contributory factor. The book manages to translate a huge array of information into an ordered examination of which factors are local and which are more general, inter- or transnational. The last chapter, 'Assessing the Situation: Cross-National Comparison' summarises the ways in which different nations have developed different categories for immigrants, patterns of control and discrimination, opportunities in education and labour markets, in addition to assessing the ways in which young adult immigrants themselves vary in their potential for living successfully in their host country due to circumstances of background and upbringing, and by embracing the status of 'immigrant' as a positive part of their identity.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
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History
Politics and Government

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

HOTEL TRÓPICO – BRAZIL AND THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICAN DECOLONIZATION, 1950 – 1980

Jerry Dávila

Publisher: Duke University Press, Durham & London
Publication: 2010
Pagination: pp.312
ISBN: 9780822348559
Price: £16.99

Jerry Dávila, Professor of History and Latin American Studies at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, draws on interviews with retired Brazilian diplomats, intellectuals, artists and activists in a book that challenges existing histories of Brazil's diplomatic initiatives in Africa during decolonisation. The book begins with the story a Brazilian diplomat trapped in the Hotel Tropico in Luanda, Angola in 1975 during civil war, brokering between 'a South American military dictatorship and a fragile African Marxist movement'. Dávila explores how Brazil was already veering away from political and economic links with the United States and Western Europe, favouring its connections with the newly decolonised countries of the developing world.

The book takes the broad themes of race, identity and imperialism through an examination of Brazil as an apparent 'racial democracy' in Chapter one, a description which is shown to be not only contradictory but far more complex and contested than previously thought. Brazil has been seen as 'lusotropical' (having 'an affinity for dark-skinned peoples [and] race mixture') and therefore bound to support Portuguese colonialism in addition to, if not over, its own African links, which include slave trade ties. While White Brazilians, for example, have felt free to 'assert their blackness and Africanness', they have at the same time remained connected to their Portuguese roots. 'Did proponents of racial democracy conspire to suppress and subordinate Brazilians of color?' asks Dávila at the beginning of the book's introduction.

In addition to unpicking the myths that have surrounded Brazilian thinking on race, the book also examines the aspirations of Brazil as the 'industrializing leader of the third world', seeking self-realisation in Africa (Chapters two and three), but latterly, towards the end of the twentieth century, reaching a kind of impasse whereby Africa demanded transformation of Brazil itself first, partly due to the influence of a growing Black political consciousness. After all, as Dávila points out early on in the book, 'practically all these diplomats were white, reflecting the broader lack of integration of black Brazilians into senior roles in government and business during the twentieth century.'

These themes are set against an engrossingly well-researched detailing of the various wars for independence, particularly that of Angola, and political crisis in Brazil in Chapter four, the Portuguese revolution in Chapter seven, the influence of the Cold War, human rights violations and diplomatic networks across the arena of the Atlantic world. First hand testimonies from the interviews and meticulous trawling of diplomatic archives and newspapers bring even the smallest details to life as Dávila weaves this very particular political history together.

In his epilogue, Dávila discusses the apparent renewal of Brazil's expansive relations with Africa, but concludes that little has changed in the way that these relations are always couched in terms of race and Brazil's 'aspiring role in the world and trade', and that Africa is the stage upon which 'exercises in Brazilian racial identity' are always played out. The book is ideal for scholars of Brazil, Latin America and Africa, and those studying empire and post-colonialism.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
History

FIGHTING FASCISM: THE BRITISH LEFT AND THE RISE OF FASCISM, 1919-39

Keith Hodgson

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year: 2010
Pagination: pp.242
ISBN: 978-0-7190-8055-5 (hbk)
Price: £65.00

Head of History at Wigan and Leigh College, the author of this detailed and fascinating study aims to illustrate how the British left had valid anti-fascist ideas and strategies to contribute to the inter-war years, comparable to the more high profile response of German, Italian, Spanish and French labour movements. He also seeks to assess the value of considering fascism as a destructive force within the prevailing economic system and the capitalist society's class conflicts, as the left did at the time. The book asks: 'On what basis did the left wing British organisations such as the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and others, oppose fascism?' 'Why were there differences in and what was the impact of their various interpretations of the fundamentals of fascism? The necessity for anti-fascism became expedient in the early 1920s with the rise of Mussolini in Italy and soon afterwards the first fascist organisations in Britain - why and in what manner did anti-fascist strategies mutate over time?

Hodgson's introduction reviews existing scholarship in the field. 'A perception that Labour and the TUC were bereft of ideology has... contributed to the scarcity of studies regarding their attitudes towards fascism... European socialist and social democratic parties had been founded on the basis of Marxism' (p.3). The Labour Party had been formed by Fabian reformers and trades unionists and had a distinctly Christian ethos. It also distanced itself from communism; its brand of socialism was democratic and consensual. The survey also highlights the assumptions that the Independent Labour Party (ILP) could be ignored after 1932, relevant here because, conversely, its increasingly radical anti-fascism illustrates the shifting interpretations of fascism and strategies for dealing with it. Other parties and organisations covered are the Socialist League, the Plebs League, the CPGB and its links with Comintern, Marxism, Trotskyism, other Soviet influences and dissident communist factions.

Research has tended to focus on parties however and less on fascism and anti-fascism, including a lack of emphasis on the British left's 'initial perceptions of fascism' (p.14) which is addressed in the

first chapter, White Guards and Black Hundreds: existing concepts of counter-revolution. The context for these perceptions is shown to have been based on 'foreign examples' (p.27), such as the French 'Thermidor' of 1794-95, the 1871 crushing of the Paris Commune and the Tsarist suppression of the 1905 Russian revolution. That the British appraisal of the rise of Mussolini in Italy was formative of the British left's perception of fascism is examined in Chapter two, with detail such as the CPGB's backing of industrial action, as in the Cardiff dockers' refusal to work on a 'visiting Italian ship, the "Emanuele Accame", as it had a blackshirt crew' (p54), and certain disagreements with Italian socialism.

Chapter three looks at the British left and the rise of Nazism, including the observations of fascism in Germany made by the CPGB and associated organisations. The leader of the Worker's Socialist Federation, Sylvia Pankhurst, suggested its rise was correlated with German socialism's complacency, and the ILP initially downplayed the Nazis. In Chapter four, 'The Left and Fascism in Britain, 1919-32', the strategising of the left is charted, as they began to have to take into account the possibility of fascism breeding on home ground, a dangerous 'anti-working-class force to be deployed for the protection of business interests' (p.99). The ILP implied that fascism was creeping in during the early 1930s in an underhand manner, even permeating Parliament, the police and the military.

Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) formed in October 1932 is investigated in Chapter five, positing among others the question, 'The anti-Semitism of the BUF: economic, tactical or racial?' (p.133). The final chapter Fascism and War explores the new opportunities for examining 'the early claims of fascist and Nazi movements as to the kind of societies they would create and the balance of class relations they would oversee' (p.156) that occurred with the Spanish Civil War, the 'maturing' of Mussolini's fascist state, and the 'economic reality of National Socialism' (p.172) in Germany. In conclusion, Hodgson points out that 'the strategies of the British left can be shown to have caused more damage and disruption to domestic fascist organisations than did the efforts of their comparable European equivalents' (p.199), although with less violence and more potential to mobilise in numbers large enough to confound fascist plans; they evidently perceived the nature and scale of the threat of fascism with great clarity from the outset.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History

SOCIAL THEORY

HISTORICAL MEMORY IN AFRICA: DEALING WITH THE PAST, REACHING FOR THE FUTURE IN AN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

Mamadou Diawara, Bernard Lategan and Jörn Rüsen Eds.

Publisher: Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford
Year: 2010
Pagination: pp. 248
ISBN: 978-1-84545-652-8 (hbk)
Price: £55.00

Divided into three parts with an introduction by the editors and concluded with notes on the contributors, this book results from an international research project sponsored by the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study and Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Nordrhein-Westfalen entitled 'Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future'. The book is from the series *Making Sense of History: Studies in Historical Cultures* and deals with the contingent and divergent nature of historical memory during periods of social change, firstly from the perspective of various African countries. Contributors to Part two work with 'international comparative contexts' (p.1). Part three presents texts pertaining to the 'praxis of memory, trauma, forgiveness and healing'. The book aims to address the specifics of memory in relation to the future, a dimension missing in the otherwise vast existing literature on historical memory.

In the first chapter, Elísio Macamo, Assistant Professor of African Studies at the University of Basel, Switzerland, discusses the role of African intellectuals in the potential creation of an African

sociology, one that 'gives full recognition to social change in African societies' (p.5). 'What if Max Weber had been African?' (p.14) Macamo asks. '...Would his engagement with society – his experience of modernity – have been acknowledged?' (p15). In Chapter two, Annekie Joubert, Lecturer for Northern Sotho at the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin and Research Fellow at the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria, South Africa, uses minutely detailed research of the oral cultures of Lobedu and Hananwa communities of the Limpopo Province in South Africa, to show the advantages of this 'multi-channelled' (p.30) historical memory with its potential for 're-ordering and reinterpretation' (p.6). This became evident during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission when one of the elderly witnesses, Chief Joyi, 'chanted his lineage in order to introduce himself' (p.29), and in the new development of interactions between technology and orality, for example in performance poetry – 'rap, dub-poetry, slam, izibongo, kwai-jazz, direto, dithoko and kiba' (p.30).

Chapter three, by Bogumil Jewsiewicki, explores the transformation of individual and collective memory in contemporary Africa from a focus on historian as critical authority on current events, to witness as producer of truth on behalf of the community, with examples from the Congo and South Africa. Next Justin Bisanswa explores historical memory in fraught Congo-Zaire, arguing eloquently for mobility and multiplicity in memory, for a 'memory of crossing' (p.7). Chapter five illustrates the consequences of not taking into account that 'local knowledge (and its context of social and temporal production) is to development what historical knowledge is to the future: it cannot be artificially separated from what generates it' (p.7). Here, Mamadou Diawara refers to the case of the Office du Niger in Mali and its mismanagement of migrant labour resulting in social and economic structural disintegration.

In chapters six and seven, Albert Grundligh, Professor of the History Department at the University of Stellenbosch and Patrick Harries, Professor of African History at the University of Basel, Switzerland, both approach the subject of post-apartheid South Africa. Bernard Lategan in Chapter eight sets forth examples of 'how a future-oriented memory works in practice' (p.9) including 'Teleological Notions', 'Apocalyptic Mindsets', 'Utopian Ideals' and 'Eschatological Expectations'. Examining historical consciousness of the Holocaust from a German perspective, Jörn Rüsen in Chapter nine then explains the three stages in which it formed post-Holocaust German identity: 'concealment, moralization and finally historization' (p.9). Ranjan Ghosh, using the myth of Rama and the history of Emperor Babur's order for the destruction of the Ayodhya temple (1528-29), supplanting it with a mosque; 'the understanding of Ayodhya... straddles both communicative and cultural memory to plough up what has always been difficult to produce – the construction of "popular consciousness" (Assmann 1995:132)' (p.191).

Han Sing-Jin in Chapter eleven contributes an East Asian perspective to the book, contextualizing a dialogue between former President of the Republic of South Korea, Kim Dae Jung, and a group of Seoul National University students and suggesting a similarity between Kim Dae Jung's idea of 'unconditional forgiveness' (p.199) and the willingness to forgive during the Truth and Reconciliation process in South Africa, before presenting the dialogue itself. Finally, Chapters twelve and thirteen consist of personal accounts of 'historical memory in action' (p.10). First is Pumla Gobodo-Medikizela's 'Remorse, Forgiveness and Rehumanization: Stories from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission' and second, the story of a twin who survived her experience as a young child 'guinea pig' and found redemption in forgiving 'everyone', Eva Mozes Kor's 'Healing from Auschwitz and Mengele's experiments'.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
History
Politics and Government

DIASPORAS – CONCEPTS, INTERSECTIONS, IDENTITIES

Kim Knott and Seán McLoughlin Eds.

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Date of Publication: 2010
Pagination: pp.319
ISBN: 9781842779484
Price: £22.99

Kim Knott led a research programme, 'Diasporas, migration and identities', funded with six figure investment by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB) and founded in 2005. Among the objectives she and co-editor Seán McLoughlin enumerate were to gather together in one volume the most comprehensive and diverse range of theories and case studies that could constitute the current study of diaspora(s). They set out to 'stimulate high-quality research on diasporas, migration and identities across arts and humanities' (p.3); 'make a distinctive contribution to the theoretical, conceptual, thematic, practice-led and empirical study' (p3) of the subjects; and 'facilitate connection, communication and exchange'. (p.3).

Three types of research emerged in the organisation of the contributions of 2-3000 word essays on the most recent research on a relevant concept, perspective or case. These were firstly individual small research projects, secondly large collaborations between two and eight researchers, and finally workshops and networks. There were six broad themes to the research: 'migration, settlement and diaspora: modes, stages and forms'; 'representation, performance and discourse'; 'languages and linguistic change'; 'subjectivity, emotion and identity'; 'objects, practices and places'; and 'beliefs, values and laws' (p.4). Most of the essays, or chapters, concludes with a further reading list. The editors suggest that the book comprises a reference resource rather than a textbook.

In Part One, thirteen essays explore diaspora studies from historic to contemporary times, providing reflection on work by 'established and emerging theorists' (p.8). From Martin Baumann's essay, 'Exile', illustrating the way that historically the term diaspora described, in the main, Jewish diaspora, to David Richardson's 'Slavery and the Black Atlantic', whereby from the 1960s to the 1970s, diaspora became 'associated with the racialized politics of remembering' during the Civil Rights struggle in the US and the introduction of African Studies. Tariq Modood's focus is on 'Multiculturalism and citizenship' and the fact that citizens require the opportunity 'to debate the terms of their own public recognition' (p.10) as he discusses the implications of 'identity politics' (p.50) and of social compartmentalising into cultural groups. Kim Knott's essay on 'Space and movement' shows how 'diaspora space is configured by multiple locations of home and abroad and contested relations among and between people with diverse subject positions' (p.11).

'Intersections', of diaspora with politics, security, the urban; race, gender and sexuality; and 'material, textual, visual and electronic' (p.8) modes of cultural production and technology, are then examined in Part Two. Among the fifteen other fascinating essays here, the 'complex, diverse and multifaceted' (p.90) relationship between 'Diasporas and economies' is tantalisingly explored in Claire Dwyer's chapter of that name. The emergence of centres of sweated labour, 'garment districts' (p.88) and Chinatowns (Lin 1998) (p.88) and idiosyncratic trading such as that of Oumou, a Dakar-based fashion designer who makes clothes for the Senegalese elite but also exports them to French boutiques, cited by Lesley Rabine in her 2002 study of the 'global circulation of African fashion' (p.89).

In 'Empirical and metaphorical diasporas', Part Three, fifteen cases of 'movement and dwelling [seek] to explore such a mapping across the whole globe, while at the same time doing justice to particular translocal circuits and more deterritorialized spaces' (p.8). Larissa Remennick traces the movement of Russian Jews to the US in the twentieth century, post-Holocaust and post-Soviet Union (1991) and their subsequent 'real and symbolic return to Israel' (p.15). Johnson et al's essay looks at the situation of Filipino women employed as domestics in Israel and Saudi Arabia and thus living in intimate proximity to their spiritual origins as Christians and Muslims, and the way they create their own congregations. Finally, Shneer and Aviv examine the fact that Jewish diasporas internationally are testimony to the possibility of 'a vision of a global people' (p.267) able to take root anywhere in the world.

The conclusion, written by the editors, centres upon the necessity of 'a critical politics of resistance' (p.273) and the possibility of making 'a difference through engaged research' (p.273). The study of diasporas, they have found, is mutating to embrace shifts such as that between the traditional areas of the Atlantic slave trade legacy and post-Colonialism to the idea of 'super-diversity' (p.272) proposed by Steven Vertovec (2007) and globalization, but maintaining critical awareness.

Also relates to:
Economics and Globalisation
History

THE PROBLEM OF THE FUTURE WORLD: W.E.B DU BOIS AND THE RACE CONCEPT AT MIDCENTURY

Eric Porter

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Eric Porter is professor of American studies at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and presents here a scholarly biography of WEB Du Bois, re-reading those writings of the African American activist and intellectual of the 1940s and 1950s that have not been thoroughly investigated until now, from the new perspectives of recent academic work on race, neoliberalism and modern versions of imperialism. The book illustrates the way in which Du Bois' work at midcentury can inform interpretations of race and racism in the contemporary world as mutable and globalised, due to his attuned, visionary awareness of entrenched racial categorisations at work in the political and economic structures of his time, both at national and world-wide levels.

Du Bois was a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and spent twenty-five years working with the NAACP. He was a revivalist of the Pan-African Movement and consultant to the US delegation to the United Nations founding conference. The book concentrates on Du Bois' autobiographical *Dusk of Dawn* (1940) and his memoir *In Battle for Peace'* (1952). Porter sees Du Bois' thinking during this period, which he calls his 'first post-racial moment' (p.3), as 'more rigorous' than at the end of his life, and sets out the theme of 'The Problems of the Future World' in his introduction. The 1940s and 1950s were a 'critical point of transition in the development of racial politics, practices, and ideologies that anticipated in significant ways our present-day social world' (.p11). Du Bois, he argues, had a particular grasp of the 'complex, shifting ontologies and paradoxical nature' (p.13) of race and racism. Porter reviews the trends and developments in Du Bois studies, covering major biographies, the feminist viewpoint, the perspective of 'nonessentialist, African American political identities' (p.7) and presentist frameworks of writers such as Kate Baldwin and Abdul-Karim Mustapha.

Four chapters include 'Race and the Future World', looking at the problem of colourblindness for Du Bois and his borrowed phrase of 1900, that the 'problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line' (p.6). Du Bois at midcentury was untangling 'an array of anomalies, ambiguities, and ambivalences' (p.13) that meant he could anticipate the future wreckage that would be caused, for example by unchecked consumerism and capitalism and by American imperialism. 'Beyond War and Peace' examines the problem of "color and democracy" (p.18) during World War II and the destructive potential for society if war became a more fundamental part of it. He saw the US' modern version of empire and how certain justifications for World War II Allied power and Cold War power 'may continue to serve our "colonial present"' (p.18).

'Imagining Africa, Reimagining the World' explores the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world during the 1940s and 1950s, in the context of Du Bois' involvement in the Pan-African Movement revival, his work with the NAACP and the Council of African Affairs. His book *The World and Africa* of 1947 is a re-imagining of the 'worldliness' (Du Bois) of Africa as a move towards a more democratic world. 'Paradoxes of Loyalty' contextualises Du Bois' participation in the midcentury

peace movement and his trial and acquittal for involvement with the Peace Information Center. The idea of the 'suspect citizen' (p.167) is examined, taking into account Twenty-first century and post-9/11 writing on the phenomenon of citizenship and the paradoxical loyalty of racialised subjects.

Porter also reviews opinion of Barack Obama in his concluding chapter as symptomatic of a nation whose liberal elements are still content to self-congratulate on the naively colourblind basis that the contemporary period, following his election to President, is post-racial, conveniently forgetting the Black and African American social underclass that has not yet been raised from exclusion, poverty and lack of opportunity.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
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EUROPE'S INDIANS – PRODUCING RACIAL DIFFERENCE, 1500-1900

Vanita Seth

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Price: £16.99

Vanita Seth's broad ranging and profound study opens with a survey of nineteenth century systems of measuring and categorising that attempted to identify criminals, and anthropometry, fingerprinting, and policing, as explored by colonial Europeans in India. This is counterpointed with the description of a monument in Potsdam, Germany; a 'Chinese' teahouse, complete with figures markedly free of racial representation. Clearly the workers who made this monument were untrammeled by the need to differentiate between their own people and those from other places, something that undoubtedly emerged later on, beyond the eighteenth century.

Seth's volume seeks to trace European representations of difference from Columbus to the period of 'racial sciences' in the nineteenth century, challenging the idea that Europeans had always looked outwards through the preconceptions of 'self-other' binary opposition. She points out the dangers of imposing modern ways of thinking on pre-modern periods, citing as an example the misunderstanding of so called 'proto-racism' (p.4) in Antiquity. Central to her examination of the subject of the history of European representation of difference is the question, 'How did race become available to thought?' (p.4), and a wealth of literature from both postmodernism and postcolonialism is brought to bear upon her arguments.

While postmodern bodies of work, such as those of Foucault on epistemic tradition, are invaluable (Seth describes how Foucault orders entire structures of empirical knowledge and shows how irrespective of subject area, knowledge is itself contingent on traditions and histories of thought), those literatures are also flawed in that they fail to connect European knowledges with colonial expansion. Postcolonial scholarship, Seth argues, corrects this, by illuminating the influence of colonial subjugation upon European thought, introducing Feminist discourse and the study of 'colonized and racialized bodies' (p.9), and by ushering in the idea of potential incompatibility between Western and non-Western systems of thought, and making possible deconstruction of the 'presumed universalism and neutrality' (p.10) of Western categories of knowledge.

The book focuses on the New World and India, acknowledged as an unusual pairing, but emerging as a fruitful area of study. Although Africa and India were known in Renaissance Europe, the 'newness' (p.12) of America allows particular insight into fifteenth and sixteenth century European minds. As Chapter one shows, 'Self and Similitude – Renaissance Representations of the New World', the notion of Renaissance Europe positioning the indigenous American as the 'site of otherness' (p.14) is debatable since Renaissance knowledge formation was not yet governed by the opposition of self-other. Instead the New World was subsumed into the existing world order. Next, '"Constructing" Individuals and "Creating" History – Subjectivity in Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau', discusses the Age of Man's production of the universal individual – man as 'author of meaning, and the agent of history'

(p.14), but also man equated with the indigenous American. The New World was characterised as a state of nature and the indigenous American as man in his natural state. The division of peoples into archetypes was beginning – the advent of differentiation.

Chapters three and four look to Europe's relationship to India, before and during the colonial period, examining firstly the concept of 'History' as intrinsically linked to the context of colonialism. A dichotomy between types of subjects in India is posited as archetypical of the new categorization and differentiation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: 'historical actors and traditional peoples', representing 'agency and consciousness' and 'habitual, unreflective practices' respectively. The idea of Europeans refusing to acknowledge that India could have a past and a history is also detected. 'Of Monsters and Man – The Peculiar History of Race', asks 'is racial thinking [.....] reflective of and contingent on historically specific forms of reasoning?' The Renaissance concept of the body as mutable and therefore too imprecise for the kind of categorization found in the nineteenth century is introduced, followed by the body as subordinate to human reason in the Classical Age; then the impassive, fixed, impermeable, and therefore measurable body of the nineteenth century.

Fascinating questions are raised by this book. 'When did the body become an object of knowledge? What does it mean for questions of diversity if God, demons, witches, angels, and monsters are accorded volition and agency? What does it mean for our understanding of Man if he is not privileged as the sole source of knowledge and agency?' (p.13). Seth's knowledge of the literatures of postmodernism and postcolonialism is comprehensive and illuminating, and her diverse readings of historical texts, myths, legends and systems of thought and reasoning provides innumerable insights into the shifts in European bodies of knowledge.

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