# **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.

### References

Christie, R. (2010). *Acting White: The Curious History of a Racial Slur.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press/ Thomas Dunne Books.

# **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 Year: 2011 Pagination: pp.277 ISBN: 978-0-8047-5629-7 (cloth: alk.paper) / ISBN: 9780804756303 Price: £12.99

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 postemancipation 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 brushstrokes 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 nondiscriminatory. 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 Publisher: Duke University Press Year: 2011 Pagination: pp.307 ISBN: 978-0-8223-4799-6 (pbk) 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 *Bladerunner* (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.

Publisher: Cornell University Press: 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 ISBN: 9780804773201 / 9780804773218 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 Politics and Government

### 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

Publisher: Manchester University Press Date of Publication: 2010 Pagination: pp.240 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 Economics and Globalisation 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 selfrealisation 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

Publisher: Manchester University Press 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 interwar 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

### SOCIALTHEORY

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

Mamadou Diawara, Bernard Lategan and Jörn Rüsen Eds.

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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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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 Dakarbased 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 Economics and Globalisation History

### EUROPE'S INDIANS - PRODUCING RACIAL DIFFERENCE, 1500-1900

### Vanita Seth

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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. *Also relates to:* 

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships Economics and Globalisation History