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Volume 4, Issue 1, 2013

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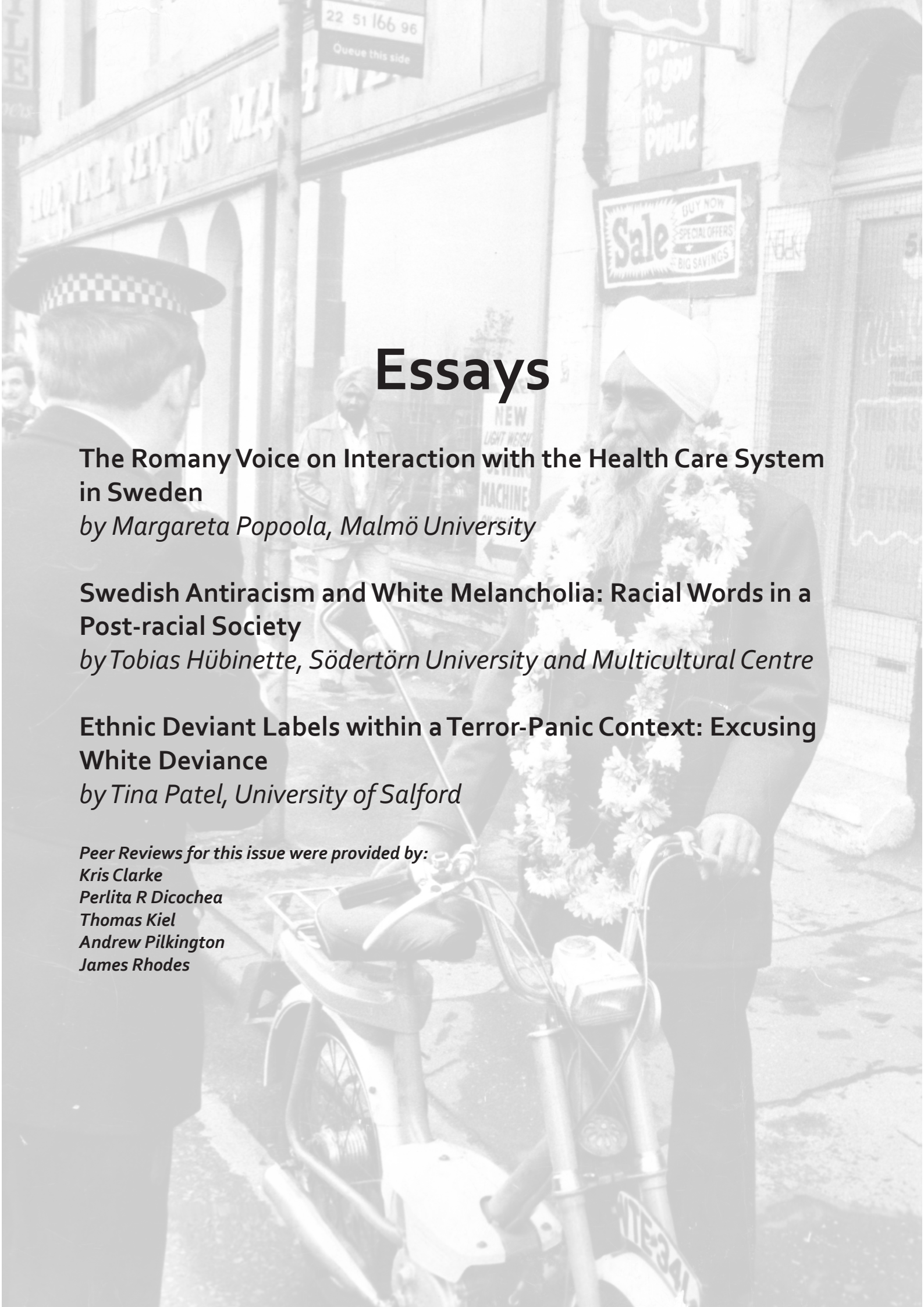
Editorial Statement

2013 is a period of transition for the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre which produces this journal. At the end of this year we are moving into new facilities in the Manchester Central Library which will make us one of the most publically accessible libraries on race, ethnicity and migration in Europe.

Paralleling our physical relocation, we have considerably expanded our holdings through the acquisition of the library of the Commission for Racial Equality which means that the Resource Centre now has a collection of unique depth and diversity on race and ethnic groups in Britain and the USA. This material is central to the new ESRC Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) which is a collaborative research centre linking the Universities of Manchester and Glasgow to explore changes in ethnic identities and experiences in Britain over the past sixty years (www.ethnicity.ac.uk).

As the new academic director of the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, I have taken up the editorship of Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World. The journal has thrived under the management of Julie Devonald, Emma Britain and Lou Kushnick, and we are fortunate that Julie is remaining in post as editor. With our new location, archival collections and research relationship to CoDE we are now beginning a process of consultation with our contributors and readers about the best ways of using the journal to bring together academic research, policy debates and public engagement.

This issue of the journal emphasizes the range of forces remaking and reshaping debates over race and ethnicity at the start of the twentieth-first century. Examining the impact of digital cartography on representations of ethnic and racial identity, my article seeks to unpack the choices which new mapping technologies have enabled and their consequences for research and public debate. Margareta Popoola presents a nuanced study of Romany perspectives of the Health Care system in Sweden which has broader implications both for thinking through ethnic inequalities in health care systems and for understanding Roma experiences in Europe. Tobias Hübinette explores how theorizations of whiteness can be used to understand a Sweden that conceives of itself as a post-racial society and the profound ways that racialized discourse impact on domestic antiracism campaigns. Our final article analyses the impact of the "war on terror" on the racialization of ethnic identities in the UK and USA, with Tina Patel showing how these discourses exclude white violence and extremism.



Essays

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The Romany Voice on Interaction with the Health Care System in Sweden

by Margareta Popoola, Malmö University

Abstract
This article deals with the Roma migrant's experience when encountering the health care system in Sweden. The article takes as a point of departure research conducted in the south of Sweden between 2008 and 2010, and this research is part of a wider field which addresses the challenges for the multicultural society. The background to the study is to be found in the Roma migration to Sweden over the last decades. The aim of the study is to examine how health care is experienced from the Roma's point of view. What kind of attitudes do they meet? How are their special needs taken into consideration? Are there any special needs being neglected? The results of the study show that experiences are diverse. There are not specific needs with reference to ethnical background or cultural aspects; instead, people ask to be listened to, to be given attention and to be treated with respect.

This presentation is based on a study undertaken between the years 2008 and 2010. It focuses on the experiences Romany people have with the health care system in Sweden. The Romany community is one of the largest minority groups in Europe. However, they have faced a multitude of problems over the centuries, often caused by exclusion and discrimination. Romanies have received national minority status in several countries. Although this minority status could be considered to be a form of societal recognition, it is not a guarantee for a diminution of the problems this group suffers. The Romanies focused on in this article are not only minorities in a national context; they are also migrants or descendants of migrants. Migrants are affected by social inequalities, and they often face poverty and social exclusion that negatively influences their health (Davies et al. 2006). According to the European Council's data, Romanies suffer extensive health problems and have a shorter life expectancy than the mass population in both Eastern and Western Europe (Council of Europe 2003, p. 15). These higher mortality rates and extensive health problems also include Romanies living in Sweden (Kärfve 2000, p. 94).

The degree to which Romanies' ill-health is prevalent in Sweden is less known; however, the Swedish National Institute of Public Health's (SFHI) data on health conditions amongst national minorities indicates that there are higher instances of heart disease, physical inactivity and diets with high fat content among Romanies when compared to the majority of the national population (SFHI 2010, p. 14-15). These health conditions could be linked to the fact that Romanies live in social circumstances that lead to discrimination and exclusion from parts of society; in fact, it is well known that there is a link between exclusion and ill-health (Graham 2000; Putnam 2006, p. 344-348; SFHI 2005, p. 49; SFHI 2010; SOS 2009, p. 384). This places demands, not only on society at large, but also on the health care that has to deal with the consequences of these problems. The health care system's interaction with both Romanies and other ethnic minorities raises questions about general and culturally specific discrimination and, moreover, how this cultural discrimination should be handled. Do Romanies have a need for culturally competent staff? If so, is the need for that special solution limited only to this ethnic group? In this study, Romanies with experience of different health care situations have been used as the starting point to try to establish a picture of their relationship with the health care system and ascertain their confidence in it.

The starting point for this essay is the study's result, which is based on interviews with Romanies, and gives an insight to how health care is experienced from a minority perspective. Questions discussed

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include accessibility, cultural competence, and special solutions derived from culturally specific needs. As experience forms the basis for one's attitude, Romanies were asked about their previous experiences with the health care organisation's staff (as it could be said that it is the staff that form the foundation of trust, or the lack of it, in this welfare institution). The study is not about measurable or objective knowledge; instead, it should be seen as an attempt to highlight the voices of individuals and disclose the idea of a mutual overall picture. Although Romanies have shared mutual experiences, they do have differing opinions. This places demands on the health care system to meet Romanies' requests that arise in specific situations.

Who, How, What?

In every context of research, it is important that the reader knows in what way the research was carried out, who has been interviewed and what questions they were asked. Without delving into the methodological aspects, it is useful to present certain background facts.

The delimitations for this study were Romany men and women aged 18 to 65, living in Southern Sweden, who are either first- or second-generation immigrants and who have had experiences (either directly or through a close relation) with the health care system in Sweden. It should be noted that access to the participants has not been gained through any communication with medical staff, medical journals or any other public information that could reveal the participants' identities. All participants have been approached outside of the health care system's sphere through various means: through educational efforts where one of the target groups are Romany; through contacts who, in various ways, work with Romanies as a group; and through contact with individual Romanies who, by way of the snowball method, have used a network of close family members to communicate their experiences.

The interviewees belong to the larger Romany groups originating in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia, Turkey, Germany, Italy and Finland. They belong to different groups, such as Lovara, Bergitka, Arli, Kalé, and their religious belongings are to be found in Christianity as well as Islam. In other words, they represent a wide spectrum of different belongings in both ethnical and religious aspects. Individual and group interviews, conducted in Swedish, have taken place with twenty eight people (twelve men and sixteen women), with translation only required in a few cases. Further, three group interviews were conducted that focused purely on the need for special solutions and the possible need for the education of health care professionals in Romany culture and lifestyle. These latter group interviews included twenty people (twelve men and eight women). Additional information was obtained through seventy-four questionnaires, out of which twenty eight were completed by the above interviewees, and the rest by respondents not included in the groups above. In total, this study has included opinions from ninety-four persons (forty-three men and fifty-one women). To clarify the framework for the study, it should be pointed out that health care professionals were not asked for their opinions on the questions in focus. However, among the interviewees, some individuals did have experience of the health care system as professionals. It shows there aren't streamlined categories of Swedish care providers or migrant care recipients.

Trust and Recognition

Trust and recognition are two terms (or concepts) used in this article to explain the interactions between patients, specifically from minority groups, and staff within the health care system. Of course the staff can also belong to a minority group, but they principally represent the health care system as an organisation. The health care system is regarded as a welfare institution on which both majority, as well as minority, members of society can depend. Furthermore, there is an assumption that dependency is built on vulnerability, which requires trust in the health care system as an abstract phenomenon. Another assumption is that individuals have a need for recognition of their persona, their ways and how they experience themselves, but how can one understand trust and recognition

as abstract concepts?

Trust and recognition, each on their own, have different meanings; however, when combined they create a framework for understanding how individuals relate to one another. Trust has a multitude of alternative synonyms such as confidence, faith and reliance, and all of these expressions mirror some form of hope in someone or something. This creates a positive value, although hope is not always necessarily functional. Neither hope nor faith develops in a social vacuum; they are presuppositions that are built on the mutual understanding of present and past time. In short, it is one frame of reference built out of another. It should be noted that recognition in a legal sense concerns a person acknowledging something unfavourable about his or her own persona; however, it is not this form of recognition that this article refers to. In this instance, recognition is about a general claim for confirmation (Heidegren 2009).

Both George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) and Erving Goffman (1922-1982) have contributed to the discussion about recognition in a psychological social perspective. Although their work does not focus on the concept of recognition, their work on identity and its construction highlights confirmation, among other reactions, as leading to positive self image and other types of stigmatisation (Mead 1976; Goffman 1972, 2000). Goffman, who devoted his career to trying to document how direct interaction between people develops on a micro level, discusses close-lying concepts such as respect, esteem and denigration, and their counterparts - which could be seen as either recognition or a lack of it (Taylor 1994; Fraser 2003). A lack of recognition could be based on mistrust, which conversely means that trust is built on recognition. Trust and recognition can occur in the interaction between individuals, between groups or between general societal institutions. However, paradoxically, trust in societal institutions is sprung from the notion of solidarity, even though solidarity itself is not based on trust but on mistrust of people who are different and belong to another group (compare: Ramirez 2001, p. 139). Solidarity as a concept can be most useful in understanding both trust and recognition in their wider context. Richard Rorty (1992) points out that people are selective when deciding which characters are to be emphasized in different situations. According to Rorty, solidarity is developed through relations between individuals and groups. The outcomes of the relations decide who will be considered as a part of the community or not. When differences are linked to people who are branded as belonging to a group outside of your own, there is a risk that differences are explained as being group contingent, or merely cultural, rather than a result of individual differences.

What is Culture and Cultural Competence?

A simple search on Google on the phrase 'cultural competence' produces more than 5,000,000 hits, which gives an indication of the concept's timeliness. Furthermore, there are links to concepts like multiculture, cultural pluralism and cultural diversity. During the last decade, diversity has evolved into a concept that encompasses all forms of differences. Regarding cultural differences questions about what culture is, and how it can be understood, arise. These questions are impossible to answer in a straightforward manner; however, it is possible to make two rough distinctions: one qualitative and one social scientific. The qualitative consists of dance, music, handicrafts and other artistic expressions, while the social distinction has a broader significance, consisting of all human activity (Illman and Nynäs 2005, p. 28). The difficulties with grasping what a culture is were demonstrated in an interview with a young Romany who explained that Roma culture 'is everything from offering a cup of coffee to a visitor, to looking after your elderly and your children' (Popoola and Söderman 2010, p. 72, p. 122). The young Romany then continued with a firm speech about Romany solidarity. He declared that Romanies always help other Romanies, whether it concerns food and lodging or lending money (Popoola and Söderman 2010, p. 122). This statement demonstrates the existence of ideals that emphasise group solidarity. Different types of ideals, interlinked with the assumption that these standards are significant for one group but not for others, function as cultural boundaries in the wider society. When talking about society as a culture, we are using an agricultural metaphor to guide

our attention to very specific aspects of social development (Morgan 1997, p. 120). However, there are various ways of understanding culture. In an article published more than fifty years ago, different definitions of culture were calculated to a number of at least 160 (Dunbar 2006, p. 171). Culture as a concept has had various meanings during different epochs of history, but is nowadays merely used to signify that different groups of people have different ways of living (Morgan 1997, p 120). Consequently, culture and ethnicity can be perceived as exchangeable entities. Some people would disagree and point out that an ethnic group is not a culture in itself; people belonging to the group have a common culture, which means they share beliefs, values, language and traditions. Culture refers to the way a society is organised, and ethnicity refers to shared meanings derived from values and norms in practice. This way of argumentation shows how difficult it is to isolate questions about culture from ethnicity and society in a wider context.

I will not try to make a full review of all the different ways of understanding culture during the past centuries, but a few perspectives should be pointed out. With a point of departure in the twentieth century, scientists tried to understand the stance of organisations and different societies. Geert Hofstede, one of the researchers in the field of organisations, is particularly important. Hofstede (2001) has tried to map the culture of nations by collecting data from multiple organisations around the world with reference to variables that are seen as objective. According to Hofstede, 'mental programs' are developed in childhood and reinforced through educational programmes and organisations later in life. According to Illman and Nynäs (2005), this view of culture is the collective programming of human beings, which conveys a deterministic approach to culture in practice (p. 31). In all discussions about culture and ethnicity, there seems to be a drift between the general and the specific, and the mutual and the distinctive; both of them unite and distance populations from one another. Hofstede's attempts to find the core for different groups of people are surely valuable, but there is a risk of over-generalising what are understood as norms and values in certain contexts. It should not be underestimated that culture is an ongoing process.

Linda Lill (2007), who has studied elderly care in Sweden, shows how ethnicity 'is a product of social interaction rather than a pre-defined role or mode of being' (p. 229). In meetings, people have different conceptions of each other's identities, and from these positions caregivers, sometimes unwittingly, use ethnicity as a marker for their construction of care (Lill 2007, p. 229). It is of no interest whether differences actually exist. Statements, stereotyping and self-image represent examples of culture's dilemma as it tries to capture shared differences within communities. Lill's perspective is in line with a constructional approach where culture merely is a designation of people's attitudes, behaviour and activities in constant change (compare Bauman 1999, 2008; Jenkins 2008). These changes have an impact on a wider society, just as society (or the overarching structures) has an impact on individuals (Giddens 1997).

Giddens (1997) highlights flexibility, which is a need for individuals to constantly incorporate changes that have an impact on daily life and personal identity. With this approach, flexibility turns out to be a part of cultural life in contemporary Western societies. Even when culture is discussed as a distinct phenomenon, reflexivity seems to be a concept to relate to. Sometimes flexibility can be expanded in a way that makes it difficult to recognise how one culture is differentiated from another. In this case, culture should be analysed from both an individual level and from a collective level. At a collective level values and norms can be carried out and can provide meaning for individuals, which does not stop a person at an individual level acting flexibly according to the goals of a given benefit. Its perspective emanates from theories of Rational Choice, which is grounded in an economic view. People make their choices from an economic calculation of costs and benefits that will be found in the field of economy (Outhwaite and Bottomore 1994, p. 543). This latter way to understand human beings and their actions actually needs to ignore certain cultural aspects in favour of individual approaches in order to understand people's motives, beliefs and desires. How do we understand ourselves and the

world we live in?

Working with cultural difference is about being able to adapt to different situations and contexts, that is, everything that is normally included in the concept of 'social competence'. There is no precise definition of 'social competence', but it is usually understood as a person's ability to interrelate with other people, to have a capacity to blend into different situations and to cooperate with people in a mitigating manner. This way of dealing with the concept of cultural competence is principally about interpersonal relations. It accepts that differences can originate from people's ethnic or cultural backgrounds, but it gives these factors less significance; instead, it highlights factors like power, dependency or other circumstances. This method of studying interactions within the health care system is most typical of research in the United Kingdom and New Zealand (Björk Brämberg 2008, p. 25). In Sweden, cultural competence has mainly focused on interaction between the mass population and immigrants or minority groups. Influence has come from the Unites States (Björk Brämberg 2008, p. 25), where concepts like cultural pluralism have increasingly been replaced with diversity. Although diversity has a wider meaning, there has always been a tendency in Sweden to use different ethnical backgrounds as a way to measure diversity (compare: Schölin 2007). When organisations are trying to accomplish diversity ethnicity becomes an essential issue. With this approach, ethnicity becomes a competency in itself. This way of interpreting cultural competency means that immigrants or members of a minority group are expected to have a special competency when meeting patients, clients or customers with the same ethnic background. In this debate, Linda Lill (2007, p.208) contributed by suggesting that staff with special skills in languages used by migrant caretakers could be employed with this criteria in the contract of employment. Despite her own suggestions in the field, Lill warns for the consequences of segregation as a result of separate solutions (Lill 2007, p. 208). The existing research in this field demonstrates an ambiguity towards the necessity, or even desirability, of extensive knowledge about caretakers' special cultural background. Cultural competence can, aside from language skills, also be interpreted as knowledge about different groups' traditions, beliefs and values; even so, there are varying opinions about what underlying knowledge of which cultural factors is needed to best meet the needs of immigrants and minority groups. Masoud Kamali (2002, p. 51-55) warns for a development where ethnicity becomes a competence in itself. If members of a minority group are expected to have a special competence when meeting patients, clients, or customers with the same ethnic background, the risk is that people will be reduced to their culture. A response to this argumentation could be that if culture is to be ignored, all kind of differences between people can be explained as individual differences. Both ways are kinds of cultural reductionism (compare: Illman and Nynäs 2005, p. 30). One way to combine these two points of view could be to elaborate on culture and sensitivity to individual preferences in a less dogmatic way. Cultural sensitivity could simply be a way to obtain and have knowledge without it being stipulated as in a manual. Experiences from working with minorities in Australia show that 'it is important that even the professionals have to be aware of the sort of community they are dealing with' (Roe in Purdie et al. 2010, p. 248). What does it mean to be aware of the community one is dealing with? With respect to community and the competency to navigate within it, culture cannot be ignored. Hays' (2008) definition of cultural competency is to have 'self-awareness of values and biases, understanding client worldviews, and intervening in culturally appropriate manner. Cultural competency is a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enables the system, agency or professional to work effectively in cross cultural settings' (Drew et al. in Purdie et al. 2010, p. 198). According to this definition, the professionals should be aware of values and worldviews existing in the minority group; however, this does not mean that the individual preferences should be ignored. Moreover, researchers like Lill and Kamali do not object to extensive knowledge about other cultures; the question is to what extent this knowledge should be given significance in differing circumstances. For example, is the need for cultural competency valid within the health care system?

Cultural Competence within the Health Care System

Elisabeth Björk Brämberg (2008) has studied cultural competence within the health care system; in her dissertation about nursing she investigates immigrants' experiences as patients in Sweden. Björk Brämberg asserts that cultural competence is of lesser importance for good health care and thereby contradicts suggestions by Leininger and McFarland (2006). They argue that health care professionals should have a working knowledge of cultural characteristics. Their suggestions are built on the 'Culture Care Theory' founded in the 1950s by Madeleine Leininger. Leininger combined her interests in social anthropology and nursing issues, and became one of the first to consider cultural aspects outside of those normally considered by a western population (Leininger and McFarland 2006). Her interest in care, social anthropology and the need for medical efforts outside of the United States has resulted in a holistic ambition and a number of factors that she recommends to be considered within trans-cultural care. These recommendations are based on a model about how one should work and which factors need special knowledge and insight. The cultural and structural factors she highlights include religion and philosophical issues, kinship, political and legal factors, cultural presuppositions, and values linked to class and gender (Leininger and McFarland 2006, p. 14, p. 18-19).

Leininger argues that when interacting with a patient with a different cultural background there is a need for the health care staff to have knowledge about various elements of the patient's culture. Armed with this cultural background information, the caregiver is expected to work holistically with the patient, their (ill-)health, diseases and life situation. This goal of understanding cultural frames of reference outside of your own can be considered sympathetic and innovative; however, there is a risk that knowledge and understanding can devolve into contra-productive generalisations. This risk is imminent if knowledge is based on fragmented information, and it could instigate an instrumental understanding. Staff might have knowledge about differences in traditional and religious expressions, but lack nuances of individual differences and contexts; for example, although generally Muslim people do not wish to eat pork, it does not necessarily mean that all Muslims adhere to this. Conversely, understanding that some Muslims actually do eat, and enjoy, pork sausages does not mean that all food restrictions are meaningless. There may also be exceptions, such as special circumstances and deviations from a life philosophy, which are not included in an assertive view of cultural differences.

It is, perhaps, more important to ask questions and set the cultural differences aside. Do patients need the staff of societal institutions to have knowledge about factors that are not directly related to their concerns? Does a patient with a fractured femur need to be treated by staff with a working knowledge of his or her customs and traditions? The illness and treatment are most likely to be the patient's immediate interest, while culturally-specific issues concerning festivities or everyday life are likely to be of lesser importance. However, experience and insight into underlying cultural factors could be essential in a vulnerable situation and, in that case, it is interesting to find out if the Romany people believe that they are in need of Romany-competent staff that have knowledge about their culture.

General or Specific Needs?

The results from this study seem to support Björk Brämberg's (2008) assertion that cultural competency is of little significance. The Romanies included in this study did not seem to wish for either special solutions or for greater knowledge of Romany culture amongst health care staff. Furthermore, the questionnaires did not support the need for culturally-specific efforts aimed at Romany groups. Other information could contradict this claim, for example the discussion of issues of diet and its differences in relation to tradition and religion. There are voices highlighting ritual laws of cleanliness while others point to a divide between the masculine and the feminine. This involves dividing the body into upper and lower regions, and the disgrace in discussing taboo subjects like sexuality, bodily fluids, or other subjects related to bodily functions. In this case, there is a warning against mixing men and women. Other people point out the difficulty of having doctors and patients of different sex.

However, there are also accounts of how coercion (or perceived coercion), necessity, and habit have changed attitudes. A young Romany woman with a health care education compares her own attitude with that of the older generation:

> I don't think the young care so much. In the beginning, when there was a male doctor at the women's clinic I cared, but now I don't. You kind of have to get on with it. The first time I went to the gynaecologist he was male. I felt [awful] and thought, is he going to [examine me]? But then after, it didn't matter. But my grandmother! Women in their middle ages and up should get a female when they want it, but I haven't heard if they can choose themselves. My grandmother would rather have died - she would want a female.

According to this woman, the division is between the young and the old, and between habit and necessity; hence, this could be the gateway to understanding the disparate opinions that have emerged concerning gender related issues. However, when it comes to the care of the elderly, the sick or others in need of care, the interviewees disagree: 'I would never allow our elderly to be alone' and 'it is a disgrace for Romanies. We are of the opinion that it is us who should care for our elderly.' While these comments reveal views on set norms, none of the interviewees themselves belong to the category of elderly in need of care. One of the female interviewees discusses the difficulties with working full time and having to care for her parents in the future; in other words, it would not be her first choice to give up work and become a caretaker for her family. Another interviewee whose mother has had a recurring need for care stated, 'My mother has now become so fed up with everything that she has requested to be put up in a retirement home.' Even if there is a general consensus about wanting to care for the elderly within your own family, these contrasting opinions clearly show that individual differences exist within the Romanies as a group. Consequently, the Romanies hold many different points of view but, in one respect, there seems to be a great consensus: they do not want to be favoured or discriminated against, they simply want equal care. It could be argued that equal care is care on the conditions of the majority (Fonseca and Malheiros 2005, p. 90). However, the issue of minority has been recognized in the *Care and Healthcare Law*'s motto, which states that everybody has the right to good health and equal care irrespective of nationality, gender, income or status (SFS 1982, p.763). How do these rights work when applied to Romanies as a distinct national ethnic minority?

Accessibility

To be able to access care and to be provided with the right care at the right time, a number of factors need to be met. One such factor is the proximity of health care; however there also need to be ways into the health care system. Patients are directed to telephone contacts or care facility visiting hours, and from there redirected into the system. From the patient's perspective, telephone contact does not always work, and sometimes even visiting a care facility is not an adequate means by which to access care. One man says:

> I experienced a situation when I was at the health care centre. I was in the waiting room when a 52, 53 year old man entered, and he started screaming at them because he had phoned several times. He couldn't speak Swedish, so he went to the reception and started speaking Hungarian. Since I speak Hungarian myself, I went over to try to help. He had to come down there because he had phoned but couldn't speak enough Swedish, and they had hung up on him three to four times.

In this example, the irritation was caused by language difficulties, which could not be dealt with on the phone or even by visiting the health care centre. The situation was solved because there happened to be a person in the waiting room who spoke the same language as the man seeking care. The general critique against the health care system concerns inaccessibility, and telephone contact is highlighted as an especially problematic issue. It is difficult to get through in a phone queue that often results in an answering machine taking your call. "Please hold" is hardly an answer a person in need of care

wants to hear. Difficulties with establishing contact with the health care and getting treatment when problems are current (and sometimes acute) are, admittedly, not just something that affects Romanies, immigrants and minorities; however, this inaccessibility can have different outcomes depending on your ability (or relatives' and friends' abilities) to communicate your problems. Despite Romanies and the general population sharing similar problems with the health care system's inaccessibility, it affects them differently.

Attendance or Gathering?

It has been established above by the Romanies interviewed that there is no general wish for either special solutions or greater background knowledge about Romany culture amongst health care staff. These results should not be interpreted categorically; however, even when there are individual differences, there is always a predominant point of view. It is constantly pointed out that in Romany culture it is common that a serious health condition leads to a larger attendance of family, friends and close relations.

> I can only speak for my own group, but I can say that we believe strongly that one should not leave this life alone. That's very important. But sure, I can also understand that there are other sick people too. (Female interviewee)

When does a group of people change from being a group into being a collective? The interviewee above laughs when she says, 'in some cases it is enough to be four people.'

> Before, they [the staff] got sort of scared, which I can understand. They have learned though that whenever a Romany person is in hospital there will be a lot of visitors. Then a guard normally comes by to check that everything is ok and calm. This is how we show our gratitude [to our loved ones]. Even though I might be in the middle of a quarrel with him; if he's in the hospital, I will turn up. (Male interviewee)

Large visitations require both physical space as well as an understanding of the Romanies' need for these gatherings. The background to them can be explained in terms of respect and care, but also guilt and shame. There is respect for the family and care for the sick, but also insurance to avoid the guilt and shame of neglecting your relatives and friends. A deeper understanding is based on knowledge of the complexity of underlying cultural expressions, and helps to recognise the minority's needs. Whether this recognition will lead to the design of special solutions is another issue.

The Complexity of Discrimination

In all discussions concerning minorities, there is always a risk that individuals are mainly projected as carrying culture. Specifics emerge at the expense of generalisation, and human dimensions take a back seat through the beholder's effort to try to understand the differences. It is a way to simplify, with a risk of disfavouring individuals.

One should note that some forms of discrimination are not necessarily negative. The concept can be considered objectively, and the behaviourists used as an example. They worked both with generalisation as well as discrimination, and the latter mostly deals with the ability to distinguish what are considered to be irrelevant signals (Madsen 1970, p. 39; Smith 1993, p. 265-266). Generalisation and discrimination in collaboration lay a foundation for categorisation (Madsen 1970, p. 39). On a social psychological level, both generalisation and separation are necessary in order to categorise and to orient yourself in the world. In this sense, we all discriminate as we categorise according to our experiences in an attempt to consolidate our situation (Berkowitz 1974, p. 156-157; Douglas 2004, p. 47-62). Even if you should consider this type of discrimination objectively, it does not mean that all forms of discrimination are free of objection. One could easily claim that categories in themselves (skin colour, national origin or other distinctive attributes) lay the foundation for everyday discrimination.

In the United Nations' *Convention on Human Rights* (1966) and the European Council's *Convention on Human Rights* (1950), discrimination, as unfair treatment, is contrasted with humanity's right to the same basic rights (Roth 2008, p. 9-10). By using these starting points, the ban against discrimination is defined within legislation (SFS 2008, p. 567). Consequently, discrimination can be seen objectively as distinctive, but every distinction based on ethnicity, gender or special attributes used to degrade a person must, therefore, be considered an expression of negativity.

There are a multitude of terms encompassing different forms of discrimination, such as structural discrimination, statistic discrimination, institutional discrimination, and direct or indirect discrimination. In this article, only experienced objective and experienced subjective discrimination are discussed. These concepts both complement and exclude each other depending on the situation and context. Objective discrimination is the distinction of people receiving different treatment, almost living by separate rule-systems. Subjectively experienced discrimination arises when a person feels that they have been wronged; however, this does not necessarily have parallels in objectively measurable discrimination. A person can have the same rights as everybody else but still feel excluded, and while this feeling is not necessarily provable, it is there nonetheless.

With the risk of generalising, I would claim that both forms of discrimination have haunted Romanies throughout the centuries. How can discrimination be understood in an up-to-date context, with health care as the arena and Romanies as the target group?

There are many Romany testimonies about the discrimination they experience when using the health care system. There are accounts of conflicts in waiting rooms, testimonies of doctors making summary diagnoses and accounts of Romanies feeling belittled and disrespectfully treated. There could be explanations, as the other sides to these stories have not been told, but irrespectively, Romanies unanimously voice experiences of being dissociated by the people around them. It is not a measurable exclusion whose negativity can be proved; nonetheless, Romanies claim to feel, and experience, discrimination as a concrete expression of disinclination towards them. How can you feel discriminated against when there are no verifiable mechanisms of exclusion?

The Face Shows What You Think

There is extensive research into people's postures, facial expressions and ways to subtly send messages. Non-verbal communication patterns fascinate people, and there have been varying theories on whether facial expressions are culturally specific or independent of upbringing or origin. Charles Darwin (1809-1882) is one such scientist who spent time trying to understand both human and animal emotional expressions. He argued that the facial expressions that reflect emotions, such as shyness and disgrace, are universal and independent of culture (Fast 1970, p. 19; Scheff 1994, p. 80). However, Darwin's assertion has been questioned by those who claim that there are no congenital and consistent patterns that reflect given emotions (Fast 1970, p. 9). With the support of this critique, it is possible to argue that facial expressions are culturally specific (as is the way we interpret them) which does not mean that there are clearly distinguishable facial expressions within or between different ethnic groups. According to research, the differences between anger and fear are hard to interpret (MacAndrew 1986; Blais et al. 2008), and it should be noted that anger is one of several possible consequences caused by fear. Whether or not this is a universal truth, there are many correlating emotions and facial expressions that can be observed around the world (Mehrabian 2007). Psychologists Wallace Friesen and Paul Ekman have worked on trying to increase knowledge on the matter, and their findings partly prove Darwin to be correct. Their research, from different parts of the world, together with Sorenson and Tomkins' research, shows that people, partly, identify the same emotions (Friesen and Ekman from Fast 1970, p. 19; Gladwell 2006, p. 172-186). They studied facial muscles to try to understand how facial expressions should be interpreted, and their research was devoted to the general (what can be observed independent of ethnical or cultural background). Their

theory is that the face is a source of information, which reveals what a person is feeling at a particular moment (Friesen and Ekman from Gladwell 2006, p. 172-186). Ekman believes that the information that can be read from looking at a person's face not only *signals* what the person is thinking, but also, to some extent, actually *is* what the person is thinking about (Gladwell 2006, p. 172-186).

This reasoning makes no distinction between humans and thought; in other words, a person changes personality in relation to how their thoughts change. A deprecation built on prejudice sends signals to the receiver who, in turn, will answer these signals. During this process, to an experienced person, the face is as revealing as an open book; together with gestures and posture, it can provide enough information to determine whether a person has a dismissive attitude or not. One Romany woman expressed it like this: 'We got a room, and they did everything exactly as they were supposed to. It wasn't that we didn't get care, absolutely not,' but she still felt that they were firm and dismissive.

Psychological Defence

The experience of discrimination can lead to a psychological defence consisting of a multitude of strategies. One strategy is to simply try to avoid appearing to be Romany, to hide one's ethnicity, or, as Erving Goffman (1972) calls it, 'passing'. A female interviewee tries to explain how she avoids drawing attention to her Romany ethnicity, and suggests that she can escape negative treatment this way:

> I have to say that I think I am much spared. Partly because I have looks that people generally think are Turkish or maybe Chilean or something ... I can almost say that if they had known I was Romany (because it has happened to me many times), then I would have bad experiences. I know others who have had.....
>
> Do you feel the difference when you are dressed in Romany clothes?
>
> Oh yes, it's a huge difference. I have never sought medical help wearing those clothes, I never would ..... No, no, if I wear my Romany clothes, I get worse service no matter what it concerns.

Another strategy is acting out. A male interviewee explains how this strategy results in stress:

> In my circles and among the Romanies I spend time with, do note that it's a small per centage of Romanies, everybody suffers from extra stress - more than normal people. You can tell because they are a little more impulsive, and a bit fierier. They are stressed, and I notice it with my own people more often than with others. We suffer more from it.

The interviewee distinguishes between 'normal people' (in this context non-Romanies - gajos - who can be both the general population as well as other minority groups) and Romanies. He considers Romanies to be 'impulsive' and 'fiery', which could be positive words, although, conversely, their fieriness and impulsivity is actually considered to be a problem. The fieriness, impulsivity or stress can play a role in how interactions between people develop. Moreover, manifestations of stress can have consequences with health care staff as well.

Several interviewees depict incidents in the waiting room or confrontations in the reception area that, according to Goffman's (1972; 2000) dramaturgical perspective, require a cast of their own. In a conversation with a female interviewee about the background to these events, which have resulted from built-up irritation, the interviewee offers concrete, hands-on advice:

> How should one react when it kicks off?
>
> There is no point giving it back. Often you listen and take it all in, to the extent you can manage,

> but there are limits for what you can take; and that goes for health care as well, because there are those who take crap there too. Jesus, I have friends there so I know what it's like. You should be firm, but not raise your voice. You are firm in what you say, but try to finish it quickly because if you get worked up it's all over, all over. I have worked in the health care system too.

The advice she offers is to not 'get worked up' because then 'it's all over'. Furthermore, one should show a greater openness, especially when making first contact. With these thoughts, I conclude that it is probably the receptionists that are exposed, as they are 'the gatekeepers' and the link to the final goal: the doctors. However, there are examples that demonstrate that these incidents also create frustration when they actually meet the doctors. This frustration could possibly have grown gradually, but doctors and nurses are subject to the patients' general expectations that their job is, in any given situation, to reduce pain; help and restore weakened bodily functions; and, most importantly, deal with their suffering. They are expected to be polite, friendly, respectful and empathic, often all at once. Christina Maslach (1985) highlights that as a health care professional (or helper as she refers to it) you are constantly subject to high standards that are hard to live up to and impossible to maintain during an extended period of time. Maslach writes:

> It is considered that helpers should always be warm-hearted and generous, resistant and polite, never curt, abrupt, unfriendly or cool. If the helper reaches this standard, it seldom raises applause or praise: 'There's nothing special about that, that's what's expected of you.' But if the expectations are not met, the critique will be hard. (Maslach 1985, p. 33)

The Complexity of Trust

The experience of discrimination has been highlighted through narratives from Romanies interacting with the health care system. I would like to stress that experiences of discrimination do not necessarily show a direct connection with lack of faith in the health care system itself. Both faith in and flaws in the health care system are context-bound complexities of problems that originate in the individual's need for help, experiences of serious disease, or other personal factors. However, this complexity results in the general wish to be seen, to be given time, and to be recognised as a human being - all universal wishes. Furthermore, advances in health care and medicine are often considered to be of a subordinate nature as it is human interaction that is rated.

> I'm going to put it like this: here in Sweden, they have really, really good machines that can examine people. They have the best machines in the world to examine people. I have read about this, and Sweden comes in second, third or fourth place; but doctors, they don't have, and that's the problem. I can guarantee you one hundred per cent. If you come to my home country and you get sick, the doctor comes. He knows what is wrong with you without needing a machine. He takes [a stethoscope] and he knows straight away what is wrong with you. (Female interviewee)

Human interactions are held in high regard and to avoid conflicts it is important that professionals know how to explain things for the patient in a way that they understand. The ethnicity of the professionals is, according to this study, of lesser importance than their ability to communicate. Furthermore, communication is not necessarily about a mutual language, although this should not be underestimated. People have remarked that 'foreign' staff do not always understand what the patient is trying to say, for example, Danes "have an accent" and are hard to understand for some. One of the interviewees has made an active choice to stay in contact with a doctor who is originally from outside of Europe, and when asked why they chose this doctor, they replied:

> Because he *explained* things so well to me. I *understood* everything. It really felt like he wanted me to understand.

Another interviewee speculates:

> [P]erhaps foreign doctors have experience in how it is to not understand. When he notices your facial expression [that one does not understand], he *explains* slower until you *understand*.

Therefore, doctors and nurses are expected to be able to listen, to explain and to communicate in a way that is understandable.

Final Comments

It should be pointed out that the sample of people that have participated in this study is limited. Further, individuals originating from different Roma communities and different parts of Europe have been allowed to voice their own personal perspectives. From this small sample of people, no general conclusions can be made. However, according to the participating Romanies, the general picture is that they would not consider themselves to be better served by health care staff with an increased knowledge of their culture. On the other hand, this is not conclusive of whether an increased knowledge about culturally specific issues actually would generally make things easier in the health care system. The understanding from health care professionals and other parts of society regarding issues such as family attendance around a sick person (which can result in larger gatherings) is certainly necessary. These are, however, isolated issues that do not contradict the general idea that cultural competency within the health care system is subordinate to a general understanding of the individual's problems, which can also include the patient's family.

The wishes from the Romanies I have been in contact with could be summarised in one word: respect - respect for them as a human beings, and respect for the medical problem that has led them to the health care system. According to the interviewed Romanies in this study, there is a further need for investment in health care. However, the focus should not be on health care staff developing knowledge about Romany culture, but, instead, on the Romanies' desire for an improved sensitivity towards individual preferences and needs as they are communicated. While information about Romanies and other groups in society can increase sensitivity towards people's conditions, it cannot give a prescribed description of how to interact with them in health care. Instead, what is required is an all-embracing respect and sensibility for the individual, the problems he or she expresses, and his or her need for care in order to reduce the experience of discrimination and generate the confidence that forms the health care system's ethic of trust.

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Swedish Antiracism and White Melancholia: Racial Words in a Post-racial Society

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Abstract
In recent years, a number of heated public debates have taken place in Sweden concerning the on-going use of racially and colonially marked words and expressions in everyday life and public discourse. As Swedish society views itself as, ostensibly, an antiracist and post-racial society, these debates raise uncomfortable questions regarding Swedish antiracism. This article looks at three examples of how the use of colonial and racial words and expressions is defended by predominantly white Swedes in the name of a Swedish antiracist exceptionalism which says that Sweden is a non-racist society, and which therefore means that words such as 'Oriental' and 'Negro' cannot be denigrating in a contemporary Swedish setting. The article argues that the general inability of institutions, media, academia, individuals and public discourse to take in and accommodate the histories and perspectives of minorities which are inscribed in such words is an expression of a white melancholia which harkens back to an imagined and idealised racially homogenous Sweden, when it was purportedly easier both to be a racist and an antiracist.

Introduction

During the time of high imperialism from the 19th to the first half of the 20th centuries, an array of words, names, expressions and terms were used by the Europeans to describe and denote minorities both in the colonies and within Europe itself. Terms such as 'Negro', 'Redskin', 'Oriental', 'Eskimo', 'Lapp', 'Semite' and 'Gypsy' were used within the scientific world as well as by the state apparatus, by the media, in the cultural sphere and in daily life. However, after the Holocaust and since the accomplishment of formal decolonisation in the post-war period, the overt use of racial epithets and slang by state and media institutions and in social and public life has been contested by minorities and antiracists in several European and Anglophone countries in the Americas and Asia-Pacific. This political contestation over the language of race and racial discourse has manifested itself in a variety of ways ranging from the public pressure applied to professional North American sporting teams such as 'Redskins' to change their names and mascots, and the 2002 decision by the American House of Congress to replace the term 'Oriental' with the word 'Asian' in statistical and official documents (Han 2010; Kennedy 2003; Stapleton 2001). However, at the same time, this shift in public discourse about the acceptability of overtly racist language has taken place alongside a conservative backlash against so-called 'reverse racism' and 'political correctness' (PC) coming from the white majority population, and which often goes hand in hand with a nostalgic sentimentalisation of colonialism.

Public and media discussion of Europe's colonial and racist history has also recently generated controversy in Nordic countries such as Sweden. For example, a growing number of white Swedes have argued that the contemporary Swedish word 'neger' ('Negro'), and its various linguistic derivations, are not considered, for the most part, to be racist terms in public and media discourse, despite protestations from representatives from the African diaspora against the naturalized use of the word in media, academic, literary, artistic and political settings (Sabuni 2005). In 2009 a Swedish Facebook group called 'Det heter negerboll' ('The name is Negro ball') was able to recruit tens of thousands of white Swedes who defended the usage of the word 'neger' to reference a popular chocolate pastry, and in support of a white Swedish journalist who had defended the use of the term on public service television a month earlier. Another example of the politicization over language use can be seen within

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the biggest Asian studies department in Northern Europe, which bears the name the Department of Oriental languages, and is located at Stockholm University. Here, its senior staff members continue to use the term 'Oriental studies' and associated nomenclature such as 'Orient' and 'Orientals' even as junior members, particularly those who identify as Asian and having an Asian background, have protested against the continuing use of these terms (Hübinette 2002). Finally, in 2010, a German immigrant living in Sweden pointed out that a number of rock climbing tracks in Järfälla outside Stockholm have been named after terms associated with the Holocaust such as 'Zyklon B', 'Crematorium' and 'Crystal Night', and that these names had been used there for almost 20 years without significant protest. As with the Negro ball controversy, many Swedes defended the names as a reflection of a subcultural 'twinkle in the eye' type of humour that formed part of an essentially non-political jargon among rock climbers (Liljestrand 2010).

So how can we account for a growing public awareness of European colonial and racist history on the one hand, and such massive public resistance to criticism and the elimination of overtly racist slang and terms on the other? In this article, I try to understand this question in a Swedish contemporary context by placing these media debates over language and terminology into the context of contemporary Swedish race politics from a critical race and whiteness studies perspective.

Swedish Whiteness

Although critical race and whiteness studies does not exist as a coherent, accepted and institutionalized research field within Swedish and Nordic academia, where even the term 'race' is considered to be a taboo word, there are a few Swedish researchers who apply critical whiteness studies theories and perspectives to contemporary Swedish social and cultural conditions (Habel 2008; Lundstedt 2005; Lundström 2010; Mattsson 2006; Sawyer 2006; Pripp & Öhlander 2008). The Swedish gender studies journal *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap* (*Journal of Gender Studies*) published a special issue on whiteness in 2010, and also worth mentioning here are a couple of studies examining Swedish everyday racism (Hällgren 2005; Hübinette & Tigervall 2008, 2009; Kalonaityté, Kawesa and Tedros 2007; Lundström 2007; Motsieloa 2003; Schmauch 2006).

In order to make sense of this meagre output and the marginalization of Swedish critical race and whiteness studies, it is necessary to understand the historical construction and development of Swedish whiteness. The historical background to the construction of Swedish whiteness can be traced to the privileged position of the Swedes as constituting the 'whitest' of all white people (Hagerman 2006; Schough 2008). During the time of high imperialism, the Swedish academy also contributed substantially to race science. Swedish contributions to racial science include Carl Linnaeus' creation of the first modern scientific system for race classification in the mid-1700s, Anders Retzius' skull or cephalic index, which became one of the principal methods for race measurements, and the Swedish Institute for Race Biology, which was founded by the Swedish government in 1922 (Broberg 1995). The Swedish state also implemented a sterilization programme, underpinned by a racialised, heteronormative, gendered and classed eugenicist logic, which affected more than 60,000 Swedes before the programme was dissolved in the mid-1970s (Tydén 2000).

From the 1960s and 1970s, Sweden transformed its domestic policies and began to present itself internationally as a leading Western supporter of decolonization and anti-colonial, anti-segregation and anti-apartheid movements. The country became known internationally as the most radical Western proponent for social justice, antiracism and gender equality through Social Democratic-led multicultural and so-called state feminist policies. This change in governmental policy and rhetoric officially turned Sweden into a colour-blind society, and this new national self-image relegated racism to the historical past. The word 'race' became a taboo word itself, and in its national branding and identity formation through antiracism, which Sweden shares with other Nordic countries such as Norway, both national and international perceptions of Sweden as a left-liberal, antiracist and racially tolerant country were created

and promulgated. It can be noted that Sweden, together with the other Scandinavian countries, has adopted the most children of colour from the former colonies in terms of international adoption rates (Selman 2002). This has, together with a previously generous refugee migration policy, created the perception of Sweden as a non-racist and post-racial country that has successfully 'dealt' with its racist and colonial past (Keskinen, Tuori, Irni and Mulinari 2009).

Recently, Swedish whiteness has also undergone a transformation in relation to Sweden's status as an immigrant country. While Sweden has always had an immigrant population and has always harboured ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities within its borders, the second half of the 1970s, and particularly the 1980s onwards, saw non-white refugee immigration from, for example, Chile, Uganda and Vietnam take over from white labour immigration from neighbouring countries like Finland, Denmark and Norway and from European countries like Germany, Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia and Italy. Non-white immigrants from countries like Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Lebanon, Somalia, China and Ethiopia have dominated immigration to Sweden since the 1990s. In 2011, at least 10 per cent, or 970,000, of the total population of Sweden originate from non-European countries in Asia, Africa or South America according to Sweden Statistics (Hübinette 2012). This segment of the population is categorized in the public sphere as well as by political discourse as 'immigrant' or 'foreigner' (Pred 2000).

Even adopted and mixed Swedes of colour with a background from South America, Africa and Asia who, in spite of being more or less fully embedded within dominant Swedish identity in linguistic, religious and cultural terms, experience racist discrimination caused by their non-white bodies (Hübinette & Tigervall 2009; Lundström 2010; Sawyer 2002). This specific development of Swedish whiteness has created a paradoxical situation and a self-image that race as a concept and as a category has been made completely irrelevant and obsolete in progressive, liberal, tolerant, antiracist and post-racial Sweden, while at the same time non-white Swedes are placed outside the category of Swede through words like 'immigrants'. It is this Swedish antiracism and Swedish whiteness that forms the contextual background to the following three debates.

To Believe in the Orient

Northern Europe's largest institution for Asian studies can be found at Stockholm University in the Department of Oriental Languages ('Institutionen för orientaliska språk'). The department houses teaching and research on West Asia and North Africa, Turkey and Central Asia, India and South Asia, and China, Japan and Korea. During high imperialism, the scientific name for Asian studies was Orientalism or Oriental Studies, and its practitioners were called Orientalists. At that time, in addition to being a geographically diffuse and almost imaginary place, the Orient was associated with decadence and despotism and 'Orientals' were stereotypically represented as being cunning, untrustworthy or even evil. However, this view of Asia and Asians has come under intense scrutiny within the Academy since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978 (Macfie 2000). Said's book was a critique of the Western perception of and research on Asia and Asians, and, after *Orientalism* and the academic debate that followed, it has become almost impossible, particularly within the English speaking world, to use the terms 'Orient' and 'Orientals' without using quotation marks (Ahluwalia 2003; Hübinette 2003).

The debate concerning Orientalists and Oriental studies, however, has never really penetrated the Swedish Academy. Said's book was not translated into Swedish until 1993, and was then provided with an introductory chapter written by the Swedish Orientalist Sigrid Kahle (1993). In this chapter, Kahle outlined a defence of her Swedish Asian studies colleagues who, according to her, had not, unlike other Westerner scholars, been guilty of an Orientalising image of Asia and Asians. Kahle (1993, p. 49) wrote that concerning the post-war Swedish authors and scholars who had harboured an interest in Asia: 'This is a generation who stood on the side of the newly independent countries, and

without doubt regarded these people as equivalent partners. This exceptionalist attitude towards former Swedish Asian studies scholars has been reiterated by other contemporary Asian studies researchers in Sweden (Enwall and Juntunen 1994).

Over the years to come, the name will no doubt be even more old-fashioned and obsolete. The department will also receive more and more students with an Asian background who have grown up in Sweden and who perceive concepts like the 'Orient' and 'Orientals' as not only outdated but also as offensive and derogatory. As a doctoral candidate, and together with other students and researchers, I attempted to change the name of the department to the Department of Asian Studies in 2002. The then head of the department and all the senior professors were, however, opposed to a name change. The head and the board of the department responded to the demand for a name change by explaining that terms like the 'Orient' and 'Orientals' do not reflect a colonial and racist attitude in a specifically contemporary Swedish academic context (Hübinette 2003). Northern Europe's largest institute for Asian studies thus showed that it had missed the last twenty years of debate on Europe's colonial past and its asymmetrical relationship towards Asia and Asians.

The Beloved Swedish N-word

The use of the Swedish word 'neger' is generally socially acceptable in everyday rhetoric and discourse alongside older European and domestic designations such as 'mor' ('Moor'), 'hottentott' ('Hottentot'), 'blåman' ('blue man') and 'svarting' ('darky') (Adelswärd 2009). Firstly, 'neger' is sometimes used by majority Swedes not only to describe Africans, but sometimes non-white people in general in for example everyday speech. Secondly, the word is sometimes also used in a 'positive' sense, as in children's songs and children's books, or to describe and celebrate black American musicians. For instance, this positive usage can be seen in the title of the white American journalist John Howard Griffin's book *Black Like Me* (1961), whose title was strangely enough translated in 1968 as *'Svart som en nigger'* (*'Black as a Nigger'*) (Griffin 1968).

Children's games such as 'Vem är rädd för svarte man?' ('Who is afraid of the black man?'), songs about 'negern' performed by popular artists like Evert Taube, Povel Ramel and Cornelis Vreeswijk, poems about 'negern' or even 'niggern' written by poets like Arthur Lundkvist, Gunnar Ekelöf and Jesper Svenbro, Pippi Longstocking's father 'Negerkungen' (the 'Negro king'), place names like 'Negerbyn' ('Negro village'), which can also be used as a nickname for specific neighbourhoods, nicknames such as 'Neger-Johan' ('Negro-Johan') and 'Neger-Anna' ('Negro-Anna'), used to refer to adopted and mixed Swedes with African ancestry by their white relatives and friends, slang compositions as 'blåneger' ('blue Negro') and 'negerjobb' ('Negro job'), and established names in the world of chocolates and pastries such as 'negerkyss' ('Negro kiss') and 'negerboll' ('Negro ball'), both of which are still included in the Swedish Academy's Dictionary from 2006, all suggest and point to a long term everyday and normalized use of what can be understood as a specific Swedish version of the N-word (Sawyer 2001). It is here important to remember that the Swedish N-word derives from another context than the English N-word, and has, at least historically, meant both 'neger' and 'nigger', words which sometimes seem to have been used almost interchangeably. For many majority Swedes, the Swedish N-word has not been seen as demeaning and derogatory, and this is very much still the case although many would today avoid the word 'nigger', partly due to the arrival of African Americans and later on African migrants to Sweden who lately have politicized these words and questioned their usages. When I henceforth write the Swedish N-word, I am referring to the Swedish word 'neger'.

Furthermore, it was only in 2006 that the Swedish Academy, which sets the standard for the Swedish language, in the 13th edition of its highly respected dictionary, added the comment 'may be perceived as derogatory' after the entry for the word 'neger' (however in small print and in parenthesis) (Svenska akademien 2006). It was also in that same edition that the word 'chokladboll' ('chocolate ball') was introduced for the first time as a synonym to 'Negro ball'. This means that a high prestige national

institution like the Swedish Academy, which also elects the Nobel prize in literature, only recently noticed (again in small print and in parenthesis) that the Swedish N-word may have a derogatory meaning at all. This indicates an institutional and national reluctance to problematize racist words and terms still in circulation in Sweden.

In the early twenty first century, a public debate regarding the word 'neger' arose due to the growing pressure of antiracist activism when a bakery had been reported to the National Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination (DO) on the basis of discrimination for displaying written signs selling 'negerbollar' ('Negro balls'). Even though the owner was never fined, other bakeries and cafés around the country began to showcase both 'Negro balls' and 'Negro kisses' in a sort of popular and defiant underdog-style civil disobedience campaign against the official complaint (Kidebäck 2004).

Concomitantly, it was reported in the media that official representatives, authorities and particularly police officers made use of the N-word in official documents through wordings and phrases such as 'blåneger' ('blue Negro'), 'Oscar Negro' and 'Neger Niggerson' ('Negro Niggerson') in reports, inquiries and learning material (Klein 2009). As such, it is not just among ordinary citizens and owners of small enterprises that the N-word is used, but also among representatives of the Swedish nation state.
I would argue that for many white Swedes, use of the N-word has become something of a radical, 'anti-PC' act of resistance. This is despite Sweden having an estimated population of 170,000 individuals with some form of African origin, including African slave descendants from the Americas and adopted and mixed Swedes (Hübinette 2012). In particular, members of these groups have repeatedly argued that the everyday use of the N-word both hurts and is humiliating (Jonsson 2009; Sabuni 2005). This on-going debate about the use of the Swedish N-word is most visible on Internet forums, but can also manifest itself in more unexpected places such as cultural and art institutions where, ostensibly, radical, antiracist and left-liberal writers, artists, actors, performers and musicians use the N-word explicitly in texts, novels, poems, exhibitions, movies, lyrics and on stage, in order to be seen as liberated and anti-bourgeois (Polite 2005).

The main, and almost the only, argument for the continuation of the use of the word expressed by Swedes who both belong to the majority and to minorities, as well as by Swedish institutions and authorities, is that the word forms part of a Swedish historical and cultural heritage and vocabulary and that it cannot be racist in a Swedish contemporary context. For example, the public agencies and government authorities who responded to criticisms of the neighbourhood name 'Negro' in the city of Karlstad in 2009 claimed that the place name's long history constitutes a part of Swedish cultural heritage. Agencies like the National Land Survey and the regional Värmland Museum argued that the place name should be understood as 'imaginative' and 'exotic' in a positive sense and something which cannot be seen as derogatory in a specifically contemporary Swedish context (Nilsson 2009). In other words, proponents of the word argue that discontinuing the word's use would to be to lose an 'authentic' and 'important' aspect of Swedish culture and, even more importantly, to admit that today's Sweden can be racist.

Thus, official Swedish institutions explicitly defend the continuous use of the N-word, for example as the name of a block in a Swedish city, as a way to preserve the cultural and historical heritage of Sweden. There is little understanding among many majority Swedes that the N-word can be demeaning and derogatory, exemplified by the statement of the National Land Survey: 'That many people would regard the name to be derogatory is not very likely' (Berglund 2009). As with the example of Stockholm University's Department of Oriental Studies, the underlying assumption is that Sweden is an antiracist, post-racial and non-racist country and that Sweden did not take part in the European colonial project. Therefore it is possible to use words like Oriental and the N-word in a contemporary Swedish setting as it cannot be negative within that setting - by contrast, it is viewed as positive.
The same kind of perspective was also revealed when the Swedish Police Union explained in a

statement after new revelations that the N-word is used routinely by police officers on duty that police officers are now exposed to a 'value system panic' which can result in a situation similar to that of Communist Eastern Europe before 1989 and even a 'horror atmosphere' due to a fear of being reported for using purportedly derogatory names (Olsson 2010; Stiernstedt 2010). Again, what is at stake is the self-image of Sweden as a non-racist society and nation, and any attempt to claim that the N-word might be offensive is therefore seen as an insult and, paradoxically, an attack on Swedishness itself.

In November 2008, the television programme leader Carin Hjulström defended in her talk show programme *Carin 21:30*, which airs on the public service channel SVT2, the continued use of the N-word in a discussion with the postcolonial author Jonas Hassen Khemiri. As this discussion took place, a dish of chocolate balls was displayed on the table in the studio. Hjulström said, among others, that she feels sorry for 'all children' who 'do not understand why you cannot say Negro ball', as opposed to those who feel that the word is offensive (Wirfält 2009).

The television programme generated a storm of sympathy on websites, blogs and discussion forums. The social media site Facebook was used to create a group calling itself 'The name is Negro ball, and it has always been called that'. In the presentation to the approximately 60,000 members of the group during the spring of 2009 and before it was deleted by the end of the year by Facebook's headquarters in the US, the founders of the group again referred to the struggle to defend the Swedish cultural heritage.

The Facebook group declared the 11th of May to be 'Negro ball day' every year henceforth, and urged its members to visit the country's cafés, bakeries and pastry shops on that day to explicitly order a 'Negro ball'. At the same time, several antiracist groups protesting against the expression 'Negro ball' were launched, but none of the dozen or so antiracist Facebook groups reached over a thousand members. The group is, according to my interpretation, a good example of a popular 'anti-PC' uprising to defend the right to continue to say the N-word in a contemporary Swedish setting, and in the end to continue to normalize and naturalize the denigration of minorities and to reinforce a racial hierarchy that privileges Swedisness as white.

Although the original Facebook group has been deleted, at the time of writing there are several similar groups. For instance, one group bears the name 'The name is Negro ball and it has always been known like that and it will always be known as that' and has around 60,000 members. Also at the time of writing, no antiracist Facebook group criticizing the continuous use of the Swedish N-word has reached more than 1000 members. And finally, in December 2011 yet another Swedish N-word debate took place when the white gay icon, musician and multi entertainer Alexander Bard called an Ugandan actor and singer 'Negro' several times in a row ('neger, neger, neger') in a discussion about the word's racist meaning.

Subcultural Anti-semitic Humour

In the municipality of Järfälla outside Stockholm there is an ancient fortress situated on a rock that bears the name Gåseborg. Several climbing routes cross the rock, which according to the custom of the rock climbing community has been named by the first climber who created and marked out the trail. The trails at Gåseborg, some 40 in number, were created and named by various climbers between the years 1987-2001, and around 20 of them are named after historical events, phenomena and people associated with World War II. There are names such as 'Spitfire' and 'Stuka', but also a number of names that are directly associated with National Socialism and the Holocaust including 'Zyklon B', 'Himmler', 'Swastika', 'Crystal Night' and 'Crematorium'.

The routes have had these names for many years, they have been used on semi-official maps authorized by the municipality of Järfälla, and have seen hundreds of climbers navigate them (see for example http://www.sverigeforaren.se/index.php/Gåseborg#Ravinen). However, it was only in August 2010 that an immigrant with a German background criticized the names in the main Swedish morning paper *Dagens*

Nyheter as trivialising the genocide of European Jews and exhibiting a lack of sensitivity for Holocaust victims (Liljestrand 2010). In the *Dagens Nyheter* article, one of the climbers who had named one of the tracks after Hitler defended this by saying that these type of names should be seen as an 'internal thing' among climbers (Liljestrand 2010). He added that he could not understand how they could be interpreted as disrespectful in a contemporary Swedish environment: 'I haven't thought about it very much, and I have not seen the names as disrespecting'. The story was picked up internationally and featured in North American, German, Austrian, British and Israeli newspapers, where it appeared that the international image of Sweden and the Swedes as an antiracist country created surprise or even shock because of the names of the routes (see for example Harman 2010).

An extensive internal debate on Internet forums like Bloxc (http://forum.bloxc.com) and 8a.nu (http://www.8a.nu) was initiated among Swedish climbers, including some on international sites. A majority of the Swedes claimed in the debate that the *Dagens Nyheter* article was only an expression of 'PC hysteria'. Several climbers also linked it to the 'ridiculous' debate concerning the Swedish N-word, and it also emerged that there are apparently numerous routes around the country named in a similar spirit such as 'Bolted Negro' and 'Negro balls of steel'. Many of the writers had difficulties understanding why an irreverent attitude within a climbing subculture could be problematic to those outside it. Bloxc, the main forum for the Swedish rock climber community, even published a petition for free speech and introduced a competition, which the municipality of Järfälla encouraged, that involved devising a new name for Gåseborg. Some of the not so serious proposals included 'Hess against hate speech' and 'Klettern macht frei' ('Climbing is liberating') alluding to the Nazi concentration camp inscription 'Arbeit macht frei' and thereby again mocking the criticism by inventing even more derogatory names.

The climbing community of Sweden thus did not understand that someone could feel offended by such names, and still today maps mark the routes using the original names. Finally, as with the examples of Stockholm University and the Swedish N-word, it seemed to be impossible or unthinkable that the names could be humiliating and hurtful towards minorities in a Swedish contemporary context.

Swedish Antiracism and White Melancholia

The common thread between these three contemporary Swedish examples, although they originate from different spheres, is that they reflect the dominance of a certain Swedish attitude which sees itself as being antiracist. In Anglo-American critical whiteness research, the term hegemonic whiteness is sometimes used to explain the ways in which white people, despite differing social backgrounds and political views, can still share the same privileges and advantages, even including those who profess racist and antiracist views (Hughey 2010). Based on the three examples, a Swedish hegemonic whiteness is evident in the continuing use of racist words, expressions and terms despite attempts to criticize this speech as hurtful and demeaning towards minorities. The use of these kinds of racist and colonial words also points to a normalized and naturalized everyday racism in contemporary Swedish culture.

The main argument to defend the use of words like 'Oriental' and the N-word is that they cannot be perceived as racist when being used in a Swedish contemporary context. This line of argument reflects a self-image of Sweden as a country with no colonial history in Asia, no links to the slave trade and the plundering of Africa, and no historical links with Nazism and the Holocaust. The Sweden of today, as presented in dominant media and political discourse, is not a racist country, and does not have a racist culture and society, according to hegemonic Swedish whiteness.

At the same time, this specific Swedish 'antiracism', which refuses to acknowledge that racism exists in today's Sweden, is similar to the non-performative white anti-racism that Sara Ahmed (2004) has critiqued, in that it becomes a question of feeling good and moral. Such an attitude risks making invisible the negative effects of racist and colonial words upon minorities as it refuses to accept that

such expressions can be hurtful and denigrating in a country which has already dealt with its racist past. Furthermore, the image of a post-racial state is not unique to Sweden, but what makes Sweden unique compared to other Western countries is its self-image of being the most antiracist and the least racist country in the world.

Another important ingredient of Swedish whiteness centres on the desire to remain neutral due to Sweden's long neutrality policy and to be able to feel good and moral and to be able to identify with the subordinate and the oppressed (Schough 2008). This Swedish historical exceptionalism and moral superiority can also be seen as a wilful forgetfulness grounded in a desire to deny responsibility for the fact that Sweden was and is a part of colonial European history and for not wanting to address the discrimination caused by the continued use of certain words and expressions that are loaded with Europe's racist history. Furthermore, many white Swedes' almost desperate disavowal to recognize that the Sweden of today is a country marked by racial diversity just like any other Western country, can also be explained by the self-image, mirrored by international perceptions of Sweden, that presents Sweden as a racially homogeneous country, where the Swedes are genetically and aesthetically the most valuable and beautiful of all white Western nations on earth (Hagerman 2006).

Similar to the postcolonial melancholia that British cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy (2005) argues characterizes many British people who cannot accommodate the fact that Britain is no longer a world power, it is according to my analysis possible to talk about a white melancholy in Sweden. This white melancholia is caused by a mourning that the Swedish population is no longer as white as before. It also requires that the idealized phantasm of a homogeneous and white Sweden is maintained. But in order for the grief of racial decline to not become too overwhelming, it must manifest and articulate itself in a way so the white melancholic subject does not break apart completely.

Behind all the excited talk of a struggle for the freedom of speech, of a righteous rebellion against political correctness and of a heroic defence of the Swedish language and the Swedish heritage coming from many white Swedes in the debates, I find an anger directed towards Swedes of colour. This majority Swedish anger and also frustration is caused by them living permanently in the country and thereby destroying the love object of white Sweden. This anger over the fact that Sweden is a multiracial country today is expressed through the continuous use of colonial and racist words, expressions and jokes in the everyday life of Sweden. This means that for Swedish whiteness to continue to experience itself as being antiracist, and to stop the white melancholy from brimming over and exploding, a continuing denial that racism exists in today's Sweden is necessary. This results in an on-going disregard for the experiences and perspectives of minorities, and a continued lack of and absence of a postcolonial and antiracist ethic that would be necessary in the new racially diverse Sweden. The debate concerning the continuous use of colonial and racist words can in other words be seen as a site of struggle for what Swedishness means and should mean for the future .

Yet another example of this struggle is a public debate regarding a logo for a popular chocolate bar called 'Kina' ('China') which consists of a stereotypical caricature of an East Asian man. The debate took place in September 2011 and ended with a poll conducted by the public service company Swedish Television, which said that 97 per cent of the respondents did not agree that the logo could possibly be denigrating. I argue that on the one hand it is possible to say that 97 per cent of the Swedes see themselves as antiracists as they respond that this logo cannot be racist in a Swedish contemporary context as Sweden is a non-racist country. At the same time, by massively disavowing the possibility that such a stereotypical image can be racist, it is also on the other hand a reflection of a white Swedish culture and society that is as racist as any other Western country.

In this way, Swedish culture and society continues to pretend that Sweden is a country where only white Swedes live or should live. Through this white melancholia over the passing of a racially homogenous

Sweden, many Swedes and Swedish institutions continue to disavow the fact that a new postcolonial Swedishness requires a reckoning with Sweden's colonial and racist heritage, and at the same time minorities are being discriminated against and their histories, experiences and perspectives are being silenced and made invisible in dominant representations of Swedish national identity. So to be able to once and for all transform today's excluding Swedishness, which does not allow non-whites to be Swedes, the discontinued use of racist and colonial words and expressions is required as a first step in enacting a postcolonial Sweden.

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Ethnic Deviant Labels within a Terror-Panic Context: Excusing White Deviance

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Abstract
This paper considers ethnically loaded deviant labels within a terror-panic context that is specifically embedded in a framework that refers to failed multiculturalism. It complements existing literature on the subject by discussing how the continued construction of negative labels with reference to 'brown bodies' limits the life chances and freedoms of this population group. The paper however argues that constructing brown bodies as deviant also allows for any actual deviant labels associated with white bodies within the same context to be excused or at least more readily excused in comparison to their brown bodied counterparts. This is possible because of the normality and central position of whiteness, which places its subjects in a relative position of power and authority. The paper argues that a panic-driven preoccupation with the brown body within the terror-panic context means that white bodies are often passed over for attention, even in instances where problematic behaviour is evident.

We are supposedly living in post-race times. This refers to a deconstructive approach to identity and social relations, in an attempt to move beyond traditional constructions of race. More recently, within the 'war on terror' context, post-race discussions have specifically been considered within debates about citizenship, community cohesion, multiculturalism and securitisation. This has produced a *multiculturalism - national identity - terrorism* narrative that makes reference to inclusiveness and legalistic measures for combating racism, and yet in reality results in the securitisation of race-relations and black and minority ethnic populations. The 'war on terror' has been articulated in ways which produce a new mode of racism and ethnic discrimination, for instance what is referred to as 'xeno-racism'. This allows discriminatory practices to continue in ever more intensified, state 'legitimated' and publicly accepted ways. For example, consider the regimes of racial spatialization and bodily control in stop and search practices under the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* (1984) (1) and sections 44 and 45 of the *Terrorism Act* (2000) (2).

Using the case of the recent terror-panics, in particular its narrative around the 'Islamic terrorist', this paper looks at how constructions of deviance continue to draw on an already embedded racist discourse, which is delivered within rhetoric of anti-Muslim racism and white (3) superiority. It is argued that when certain constructions of deviance occur, there is at the same time a dissolving of the deviance perpetuated by others in the same context. Within the terror-panic context, this is an ethnically loaded process. The paper draws on the work of Goffman (1963) and Becker (1963), in order to develop understanding of how deviants not only exist in relation to those they are seen to threaten and those who have enough power to control them (Pfohl 2002), but also how their deviant status is often used to cover the deviance of desirable 'normals'. In recent times, and especially within the terror-panic context, this occurs by presenting particular black and minority ethnic groups, namely those of Middle Eastern appearance, or of South Asian or Arabic heritage and of the Muslim faith, or what I term in this paper: 'brown bodies', as criminal, i.e. the 'Islamic terrorist'. At the same time, other ethnic groups, largely those of European heritage and of a Christian faith, i.e. what I term in this paper: 'white bodies', are largely situated as un-problematic. This is because white bodies are able to draw on the centrality and normality of whiteness in order to detach labels of deviance. This occurs even when the latter is associated with behaviour and activity that is clearly deviant and discriminatory, i.e. the English Defence League (4) and the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes (5).

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In these cases, deviant behaviour was largely viewed as relatively non-serious given that it was being compared to the (imagined) deviance of brown bodies. This led to the excusing of white deviance as an understandable response to some other ethnic threat. With its national identity and anti-immigration framing, this echoes discourses of whiteness and 'neo-colonial' fantasy (Burdsey 2011), and some may argue points to the wider processes of racialised governance (Patel and Tyrer 2011).

Racialisation and Browning within the Terror-Panic Context

The events that unfolded on 11th September 2001 in the US and later in the UK on 7th July 2005 (commonly known as 9/11 and 7/7), were without doubt distressing atrocities. They remain embedded in our memories and human history as some of the most significant events of our time. The tragedy of the events were broadcasted to us live - the emotional language and constant re-playing of distressing images adding to our upset, anxiety, fear, and panic. These events were real and touched each and every one of us in a personal way, connecting us all to what had happened. For instance we are able to recall where we were and what we were doing when we heard of the events - a memory imprint usually reserved for intimate life moments, i.e. the first time you fell in love, the death of a family member, the birth of your child. This allowed hatred for those considered responsible to fester (6). This was done by using racialisation processes underpinned with Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism. Ethnically loaded fear was sustained due to the steady flow of terrorism-related news that is fed to us on a regular basis. It is not surprising then, given the politics of fear and emotionally charged re-presentations of terrorism and national security, which have inaccurately presented Islam as a pre-disposing factor of terrorist behaviour, that wider public support has been given to state officials and those charged with security duties, to introduce new measures and heighten existing ones that promise to deliver protection. This has resulted in Islamophobic measures which see some ethnic groups being targeted and monitored, not for what they have done, or even what they believe, but rather for who they are imagined to be (Younge 2003, p. 117). These bodies are also presented as evidencing the death of multiculturalism (Gilroy 2006) - a view popularised by common use of terms such as 'homegrown terrorist' and 'the enemy within' to supposedly highlight the failings of brown bodies and other 'foreigners' to meet the assimilation expectations of mainstream British society. The result is an opportunity for the government and its allied state officials to claim that solidarity and diversity cannot co-exist (Gilroy 2006), and to use this 'realisation' to call for membership to a particular notion of national identity and British patriotism. However, the construction of Britishness, Gilroy (2005) argues, is a problematic one given that it is shaped by Britain's uneasy understanding of its own empire and postcolonial history - what Gilroy calls 'the neurotic development of postcolonial or post-imperial melancholia' - and its tendency to view Britishness through an 'airbrushed, nuanced and nostalgic filter' (2005, pp. 434-437).

A terror-panic context which is framed by such debates about national identity, citizenship, multiculturalism and religious conflict, has resulted in one black and minority ethnic category in particular being selectively presented as a unique type of dangerous ethnic other (Razack 2008). This paper refers to this category as 'brown bodies'. This is a label that makes reference to the specific positioning of this group within the spectrum of perceived ethnic deviance, as well as the racialisation processes that are used in constructing this group as a particular type of deviant category. In using cultural and non-essentialist notions of difference to mark out brown bodies, it is useful to draw on the work of Meer and Modood (2010) who point out that contemporary anti-Muslim racism can be linked to the racial hierarchies of European empires, as well as to Christian Islamophobia and the Crusades of earlier centuries (Gottschalk and Greenberg 2008, cited in Meer and Modood 2010, p. 117). This results in 'browning' having a religious and culturally racist element to it, which has partially been developed using phenotypical (biological) components: this has turned 'an ethno-religious group into a race' (Meer and Modood 2010, p. 117). In addition, 'browning' is also a strategy of imposed identification (Burman 2010; Semati 2010), which 'seeks to sort the ally from the enemy, the model minority / informant / 'good Muslim' from the suspect / extremist / 'bad Muslim'…[this] cast[s] the net of suspicion

widely in order to justify new policy frameworks' (Burman 2010, p. 239). Lugo-Lugo and Bloodsworth-Lugo (2010) note that in this sense 'browning' is not a positive process - something that has often been argued by making reference to celebrations of multiculturalism. Rather, within the terror-panic climate, the growing allocation of 'brown labels' has created fear and insecurity - what Lugo-Lugo and Bloodsworth-Lugo call a 'browning of terror' (2010, p. 240). Browning is about articulating, in a racialised way, the perceived security threats of the white national imaginary. Browning is so powerful that it can sometimes lead to the imagining of items associated with ethnic deviant behaviour (terrorism). For instance, consider the case of Jean Charles de Menezes, where eyewitness accounts following the shooting of Menezes referred to 'a man of Asian appearance' (Menezes) who 'appeared to have a bomb belt with wires coming out' (Stockwell passengers quoted in BBC News 22nd July 2005). One eyewitness reported seeing 'an Asian man run onto the train wearing a thick padded coat, which he thought unusual for the time of year' (Witness YH, quoted in Independent Police Complaints Commission 2007, p. 68). Another witness too recalled how 'his attention was drawn toward an Asian man who ran into the carriage' (Witness YG quoted in Independent Police Complaints Commission 2007, p. 68). Three key ethnic symbols are significant here when taken within the terror-panic context: the heavy padded jacket; the bomb belt and wires; and, the 'Asian man' - all of which were later revealed as having been imagined as there was no heavy padded winter coat, but a lightweight denim jacket; there was no bomb belt or wires, and Menezes was not Asian. What occurred though in this scenario was Menezes and the items on his person, were being 'visually resignified' (Pugliese 2006) and re-presented as deviant, in particular within imagined images of a terrorist, at all stages of the shooting: before (by the surveillance team), during (by the eyewitnesses), and after (by the Metropolitan Police Force's doctored images of Menezes). Brown bodies are presented as deviant, or at the very least as 'illegal bodies' posing a problem for 'community cohesion'. Unsurprisingly, there is a general reluctance to view the Islamophobic or anti-Muslim sentiments of browning, which go on to inform security measures, as a form of victimisation or racism (Meer and Modood 2010). This gives support for increased security measures, meaning that the 'inconveniences' these are seen to cause for brown bodies are rationalised within the white imagination and considered to outweigh the promised benefits of national security and safety from terrorism - after all, the rationale goes that if one is innocent, they will be exonerated (Bahdi 2003).

In reality though, there is very little evidence to support the claim that these security promises can be fulfilled (Ball and Webster 2003). Rather what we have is a situation where brown bodies, some of whom have been reported to officials by members of the public, have experienced 'routine and focused attention to personal details for the purposes of influence, management, care, and control' (Lyon 2006, p. 403). For example, the UK has seen an unprecedented increase in the stopping and searching of brown bodies under sections 44 and 45 of the *Terrorism Act* (2000). It is a practice that is clearly discriminatory, and unapologetically so: 'Terrorists are likely to be linked to sectors of the community that, because of their racial, ethnic or geographical origins, are readily identifiable' (Lord Hope to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee *Sixth Report of Session 2004-2005: Terrorism and Community Relations,* cited in Moeckli 2007, p. 663). The discriminatory and problematic use of stop and search under sections 44 and 45 was noted in July 2010 when the Home Secretary, following a ruling by the European Court of Human Rights, stated that the police would only now be able to carry out stop and searches if they had 'reasonable suspicion of terrorist activity' (Guardian 8th July 2010). The new guidelines reflected concerns about the broad interpretation of sections 44 and 45, the possibilities of anti-Muslim racist victimisation, and the threat to civil liberties (Patel and Tyrer 2011). However, 'browning' within the terror-panic context continues to powerfully 'relegitimise state racism' (Bhattacharyya 2008, p. 75), as well as those views common in lay society. It does this by highlighting notions of 'brown difference' that are cultural, non-essential, and unlike past violence against other black and minority ethnic groups. In doing so, there is an attempt to move away from accusations of racism. Yet in reality, 'browning' remains discriminatory as it continues to link a particular black and minority ethnic body with a particular set of negative social meanings (Bhattacharyya 2008, p. 58).

Under various guises, brown bodies have a long history of discriminatory treatment by the state and its agents. This is rooted in 'Orientalist' ideas of the 'West', which have been produced for many centuries (Harewood 2010; Said 1978; Semati 2010). It is important to recognise therefore that Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism was common before the recent terror-panic context (Allen 2010). However, it is argued that the events of 9/11 routinely intensified and normalised browning processes. This led to the problematising of those marked out as deviant or suspicious, which further went on to provide 'a convenient opportunity' for the 'increased surveillance' and control of brown bodies (Haggerty and Gazso 2005, p. 169). This included heightened policing through disproportionate and increased levels of stop and search; the refusal of admission into certain areas; the inclusion of personal data on 'suspect' data mining reports; and, being subjected to increased recording or observation mechanisms (CCTV cameras). These all demonstrate and further allow for a centralized, state-driven governance of particular bodies and spaces in a way that is publicly supported by majority society (Lyon 2007). Clearly a racialised profiling process is taking place where 'whole categories of phenotypically similar individuals are rendered pre-criminal and morally suspect' (Covington 1995, p. 547).

An atmosphere of fear and a 'permission to hate' is created (Perry 2001, p. 179), where 'moral panics' about the brown body fester (Young 1971; Cohen 1972; Hall et al. 1978). Demonization of the brown folk devil within this terror-panic is fed by the view that these *newer* forms of terrorism outweigh any dangers of the older terror threats, not least because of claims about the indiscriminate nature of the first: 'Al-Qaeda have re-written the manual of attack.....[the Irish Republican Army] was somewhat easier to manage.....They didn't want to commit suicide. The aim of the game now is mass murder' (Det. Chief Supt. Tony Porter, Head of Counter Terrorism Unit, Greater Manchester Police, cited in Manchester Evening News 8th April 2008). The argument being that the *older* terrorist (Irish Republican Army) targets were more predictably focused and often gave advance warnings before bombs were detonated. Added to this is the argument that even the Irish Republican Army had some sense of morality and wanted to escape alive afterwards, and so wouldn't consider indiscriminate attacks on soft targets or taking part in suicide missions. In comparison, 'new terrorism', by which we read 'Islamic terrorism', is considered to be 'driven by hatred, fanaticism and extremism', with there being 'no possibility of negotiation, compromise or appeasement' (Jackson 2006, p. 11-12). Here lies the 'Islamic terrorism' discourse, which although 'laden with its own set of unacknowledged assumptions and embedded cultural narratives', nevertheless remains politically and culturally powerful (Jackson 2006, p. 2).

This is a significant feature of how deviant labels relating to ethnicity and crime are currently addressed. Here it is observed that we are in the UK, working within a post-race and post-Macpherson (7) era, and that the equivalent is occurring elsewhere, e.g. Australia, Canada, France, Germany and the USA. Yet, despite this there exists the continued problematic construction of crimes as being based on ethnic markers. Although ideas about ethnic markers of crime are now largely based on cultural racism, as opposed to the biological racism used in the past, the outcome is still the same. Older and soundly disputed ideas of 'black criminality' are not only being re-worked, but are done so in ways that are more palatable, directly taking brown bodies as objects in need of state intervention (8). It does this while either claiming not to be racist in the biological sense of the term, or by suggesting that any ensuing discrimination is somehow legitimated (Patel and Tyrer 2011). This allows a form of social sorting to occur, which is being informed by cultural variables, such as religion, nationality, etc, alongside 'other' markers of suspicion - we are never fully certain of the exact content of the latter, but reference to the broad category of 'suspicious behaviour' is often marked as significant. These combine to inform perceptions of deviance and the use of security measures. The problem here though is that, although this suggests a move away from the biological racism of past eras, it nevertheless is a form of cultural racism, whose racialisation processes rely heavily on Islamophobic sentiments or anti-Muslim racism, themselves embedded within in a problematic notion of a British national identity.

Controlling Dangerous Brown Bodies

There is ample evidence and illustration of the negative presentation of black and minority ethnic groups in the mass media - see for instance the work of Malik (2002); Sommers et al. (2006); Entman (1990); and most notably that of Hall et al. (1978). Recent work has focused on the mass media's mis-representation of brown bodies, and in particular how this has served to sustain Islamophobic sentiments and anti-Muslim racism, so much so that it is now a common feature of contemporary society - see for instance the work of Ahmad (2006); Khiabany and Williamson (2008); Moore et al. (2008); Poole (2002); Poole and Richardson (2006); Richardson (2004); and Saeed (2007). The presentation of brown bodies 'through images of danger, violence and anger' (Alexander 2005, p. 200), are further embodied and re-imagined within the context of 'the enemy within', itself linked to debates about 'community cohesion' (Alexander 2005; Dwyer et al. 2008), and steeped in 'domestic repression, carried out in the name of national security' (Mathur 2006, p. 34). This process of stigmatising has occurred alongside the government's 'community cohesion' agenda, both as they resonate with older racist arguments about assimilation (Worley 2005) and as they intersect with the trajectories of wars against immigrants, asylum seekers and terrorism (Sivanandan 2006). This articulates new forms of racialised governance that are concerned with the controlling of ethnic bodies and other issues of spatiality (Patel and Tyrer 2011). The presentation is clearly racist, as it reinforces the notion that whiteness is linked to *true* Britishness (or Americanness, Europeanness, etc.), and is designed to intimidate and justify greater control and surveillance of brown 'suspect' bodies. The management and control of these groups, under the rouge of anti-terror methods, therefore has a wider remit. They are seen as part of a broader citizenship and social ordering agenda (Patel and Tyrer 2011). This is evidenced by the 'immigration sweeps' witnessed immediately following 9/11 in the USA, as Mathur (2006) discusses:

> .....the FBI began randomly interviewing thousands of men with Muslim names, creating further panic. Working on the assumption that any Muslim might have connections to, or information about, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, law enforcement officials began picking up South Asian and Middle Eastern men off the streets, from their homes and from their workplaces. Arrests were made on the basis of tips, reports of "suspicious activity", which apparently consisted of having a South Asian or Middle Eastern appearance. These reports came largely from neighbours, disgruntled colleagues, employee, ex-girlfriends, or landlords (p. 34).

The state and its ideological apparatus therefore plays a key role in demanding that we de-contextualise discussions by focusing, not on specific spatial and structural contexts from which the social problems sustaining this discourse emerged, but rather on the culturally essentialised, pathological nature of black and minority ethnic subjects (Patel and Tyrer 2011). Of particular attention is their supposed inability to integrate or prove membership to British society - see for instance accusations of identity conflict and self-segregation of British Asian Muslims (Kundnani 2007) and consequential calls for restrictions on both future numbers of others like them, and their right to establish separate and distinct cultural groupings living in sub-isolation from mainstream British culture (McGhee 2005). Within the terror-panic climate, the results are situations where there is a clear link between one's ethnic background and the views held about the propensity to commit certain crimes (terrorism), for example as evidenced in the recent calls made in the UK's higher education system to monitor international students as well as placing new restrictions on their numbers, and as witnessed elsewhere in Europe, for instance as we saw with the German authorities' use of Rasterfahndung (9) (De Schutter and Ringelheim 2008, p. 359).

Such ethnically marked practices remain despite their discriminatory nature, heavy-handedness and ineffective outcomes. For example, following 9/11, the US Terrorism Task Forces detained at least 1,200 people - most of whom were of Arab, South Asian and Muslim heritage, who had been targeted following data-mining exercises and from some of the 96,000 'tips' from members of the public in the

first week after the 9/11 attacks. Although not one single person had been charged in connection with the attacks or any other terrorist activity, many were later deported (Murray 2010, p. 12). Brown bodies themselves have reported feeling as if they were being viewed as a 'suspect community' (Spalek, El Awa and McDonald 2009, p. 17), of which there were very real consequences in other parts of their lives, i.e. family breakdown, job loss and ostracisation from the wider community. This further hinders any interest to participate in wider state or police-community engagement initiatives (Spalek et al. 2009). Kundnani (2009) illustrates this when discussing how respondents in his study talked about participation in the UK's Preventing Violent Extremism Programme (Prevent), which, with a budget of £140 million in 2008/9, offered funding to voluntary sector organisations to undertake projects which sought to develop community cohesion strategies and a community-led approach to tackling violent extremism (pp. 6-8). One respondent stated that they 'decided not to get involved in Prevent because it reinforces the association with Islam and terror, and it implies acceptance of responsibility' (respondent in interview 12, cited in Kundnani 2009, p. 27). Another respondent who had chosen to be involved in Prevent had stated: 'Working on Prevent has been draining mentally.....We can smell the stench of Islamophobia' (respondent in interview 9, cited in Kundnani 2009, p. 27). Kundnani also argues that there was 'strong evidence' to suggest that Prevent-funded services had been used to gather intelligence on some of the Muslim communities (2009, p. 28).

The point here is that racist sentiments are being re-presented, distorted and used in ways to gain support for ever more intrusive and controlling measures. This occurs in such a way that problematic behaviour by the state is accepted and even fuelled by the public, making the victimisation of brown bodies two-fold. This is illustrated in the account of an American attorney who witnessed a 'raid' in the days following 9/11:

> I was on my way home and found my block was closed off by SWAT teams and surrounded by police and emergency vehicles. A number of Arab and Middle Eastern families lived in one building. As I watched, men were led out and separated from their families. Women in headscarves carrying babies and holding children were lined up against the wall. The kids were crying. Helicopters hovered above flashing red, white and blue lights. A huge crowd of neighbours, representing in its make-up the diversity of the neighbourhood, watched and cheered, chanting "U-S-A! U-S-A!" (quoted in Mathur 2006, p. 35).

Here we can apply and develop Cohen's (1988) discussion of 'neighbourhood nationalism', where, rather than whiteness being used to reclaim space, a sub-nationalist identity based on identification with a non-brown (and non-Muslim) identity is being formed and used to mask the racist nature of this event. Indeed, what is interesting about this account is the way in which the diversity of the crowd seems to dilute significance of race. However, the nationalist symbols of the event, i.e. red, white and blue flashing helicopter lights (which remind us of the colours of the American Flag), and the 'U-S-A' chants, still represent a particular ethnically specific and culturally racist notion of an American identity. The construction of the brown body as a Muslim deviant therefore works and is in fact reliant on the excusing in this event of any deviant status (i.e. racist) that may have been applied to the practices of an ethnically discriminatory state and the surrounding crowd, who not only legitimate (in their passive observation and cheering of) state behaviour, but also encourage (in their chants) more like it. The crowd and the state as a whole are able to shake off their deviant status, because in this scenario they hold the white or 'closer to white' ethnic power to do so. The event has a stench of xenophobia and Islamophobia. There is 'selective racial consciousness' at play (Foster 2009, p. 686), which allows the use of racism, without the appearance of racism.

Within these supposed post-race times, this being an era marked out as having progressed with race equality, there exists a system where on the one hand there appear to be legalistic measures for combating such discrimination and protecting the human rights (10) of an already excluded and discriminated population, and yet, on the other hand, there is the securitisation (11) of race relations

that is articulated within the context of the 'war on terror' to produce a new mode of discrimination that is closely associated with intensified forms of control and new modes of profiling and constructing racial categorisations (Patel and Tyrer 2011). These new forms of racism, i.e. Kundnani's (2001) 'new popular racism', or Fekete (2001) and Sivanandan's (2006) 'xeno-racism', combines in varied ways different types of discriminations, for instance, anti-Muslim racism, Islamophobia and xenophobia, in order to produce a particular type of cultural discrimination that is context specific and popularised as acceptable within post-race times. This is because they are viewed as not being (biologically) racist in nature, but more about community conflict and national security. A by-product of this is that there is little sympathy for the racism experienced by brown bodies, especially in relation to their 'Muslimness'. Meer and Modood (2010) suggest a number of reasons for this, including prominence of the view that protections from racism are afforded to conventionally, involuntarily conceived, racial minorities and should not be extended to those (Muslims) who voluntarily choose their religious identity, especially if, as is often envisaged in Christian thought, that religion is viewed as an oppressive one which requires members to be disloyal or associated with terrorism (Meer and Modood 2010, p. 124). This perception leads to brown bodies no longer just being seen as insular problem communities, but more-so now being considered as posing a wider security concern for Western societies (Dwyer et al. 2008). Thus we have a 'new national security agenda based on counter-terrorism with a specific focus on Islamic fundamentalism' (Brown 2008, p. 472).

Excusing White Deviance

What is a clearly racialised context also involves re-assigning labels of problem, racist and deviant, away from white bodies and placing them onto brown bodies. White bodies are able to do this because of the centrality of whiteness, and in particular its normative, moral and superior status - a privileged position emerging from centuries of practices in which whiteness has remained unchecked. This enables subjects of whiteness to (re)invent and change definitions of the racial / ethnic 'other' depending on the social, economic and political motivations of the given time. Because of the dominance of euro-centric thinking and practices, whiteness is self-perpetuated in Western society. This allows it to become a non-raced category. It has 'come to be *represented* as humanness, normality and universality' (Garner 2007, p. 34). Furthermore, it is imagined within the 'myth of the colonial saviour' who 'provides charismatic leadership for the oppressed Other.....whiteness as benevolent and selfless, and the people of colour encountered as in need of uplift and direction' (Garner 2007, p. 50). Whiteness is therefore the 'framing position' against which 'other' difference is measured - 'whites are not of a certain race, they are just the human race' meaning that all else is deviant and requires qualification (Dyer 1997, p. 3). This standpoint has been used to view the symbolic and physical violence on black and minority ethnic others as being perceived by the white-self as granted and necessary. It also serves to prevent whiteness from being seen as a source of terror and supremacy in itself, as bell hooks (1992) notes: 'I think that one fantasy of whiteness is that the threatening other is always a terrorist. This projection enables many white people to imagine there is no representation of whiteness as terror, as terrorizing' (p. 174).

The power that the centrality of whiteness brings means that its subjects are more readily able to remove deviant labels from themselves. This is done by moving away from a deviant space, towards a more favourable one. In recent post-race times this has been achieved by moving towards a space in which they re-define themselves as *the* minority (12) group, who may further be subjected to victimisation. They carry out this 'stigma transformation' through successful 'frame transformation', that is, moving away from a 'deviant cultural space' to one in which they *claim* minority status. Thus they achieve 'normality' without changing actual behaviour (Berbrier 2002, pp. 554-557). This means that they (hold the power to still be able to) redefine the boundaries of normality according to their own needs - although not of central whiteness, they are nevertheless close enough to the centre, or at least much closer to it than their brown counterparts. In referring to the case of white supremacist groups in the USA, Berbrier (2002) highlights how they 'present themselves as having been labelled,

stigmatised, or otherwise assigned status in a deviant cultural space, and to counter this they claim nondeviance' (p. 557). They 'manage' their deviant status or stigma (Goffman 1963) and perform 'stigma transformation' (Pfuhl and Hentry 1993, cited in Berbrier 2002, p. 557). They are able to do this because they still hold a position of power that allows them to use moral entrepreneurship to change the very meaning of the stigmatising label (Berbrier 2002, p. 557). They situate themselves in a position that marks them out as a minority group and gain empathy by arguing that they are responding in similar ways to how other minority groups have. In the case of white supremacist groups this has often included making reference to the beliefs, i.e. claims to empowerment and advancement of culture, that have been expressed by Black African American activists and minority groups, such as the Black Panthers, Malcolm X, and so on.

White bodies are more readily (although not always successfully) able to therefore de-stigmatise themselves and their cause. This reinforces the normality of their racist ideology. They place emphasis on positive approaches to a national identity - which goes hand in hand with a pro-white ideology, and cultural pride, rather than on an anti-black view and motivations of hate (Berbrier 2002). This is achieved through impression management, i.e. disassociation from its own past or other groups considered racist; illustrating an inclusive membership, sometimes even highlighting 'tokenistic' black minority ethnic members; denouncing violence; selective use of language (at least in the 'front of stage' setting (Foster 2009; Becker 1963; Goffman 1963)); and a reframing of meanings, so 'racism' becomes something that is normal, and about pride in heritage and culture (Berbrier 2002) or is something that is delivered in the form of 'race talk' that defends the 'white racial frame' (Foster 2009, p. 685). It can be argued that such de-stigmatisation via impression management is currently being undertaken by the English Defence League, which, in advocating a very selective view of English nationalism, has actively chosen to publicly distance itself from 'old-school' biological racism, such as that based on skin pigmentation, as used by its predecessors, i.e. the National Front. Recall for instance the English Defence League's burning of a swastika flag (which was often used by the National Front) in a Luton warehouse, which was screened on the BBC's *Newsnight* programme in October 2009. Although appearing to abandon older biological forms of racism, it can be argued that the English Defence League's Islamophobic sentiments remain historically linked to the biological racial hierarchy of European-Christian practices and the 'Orientalist' ideas of 'West' (Meer and Modood 2010; Said 1978). Clearly harbouring Islamophobic sentiments (see the *Mission Statement*, detailed on its website), the English Defence League has been 'selective' in its discrimination (Copsey 2010), by carefully harnessing existing culturally racist views within mainstream society, and then going on to re-frame them within discussions about 'human rights', 'English culture' and the threat of 'Sharia law.....being adapted and enforced in England' (English Defence League 2012). No direct mention of whiteness is made, yet it delivers an ideal loaded with racial bias, whilst at the same time working within the boundaries of race equality. In creating further panic about Muslim populations, the English Defence League plays on white grievances and feelings of victimisation, presenting the 'Islamic other' as a scapegoat for society's ills (Treadwell and Garland 2011).

It is argued that this careful re-presentation of English Defence League values and beliefs allows for any direct accusations of xenophobia, racism and fascism to be refuted, to such a degree that some may now refer to the English Defence League as a social populist mass movement (Allen 2011; Sheffield 2011). Thus, the English Defence League has been largely successful in de-stigmatising itself. This is evidenced not least in its rapid and 'unprecedented' growth since 2009 (Allen 2011). Although relatively little is known about its members, the English Defence League today boasts both active support, as illustrated by its ability to mobilise up to 3,000 supporters to protest in English towns and cities, and passive support, or what it calls its estimated 30,000 'armchair warriors' (Allen 2011, p. 285). Of particular interest though are the multilayered levels of support and membership of the English Defence League, including small numbers of Hindus, Sikhs and Jews, in other words those 'groups that have historically been discriminated against by the far right movement' - see Allen

(2011, p. 279) for a greater discussion of English Defence League membership. What is clear is that regardless of some of the English Defence League's own problematic views, which echo the British National Party's anti-Muslim sentiments, i.e. evidenced in the latter's campaigns such as 'Islam out of Britain' and 'The Truth about Islam', and despite its links to violence - see for instance Treadwell and Garland (2011), the English Defence League has de-stigmatised itself by making reference to its cause as a minority rights issue and its claims that Englishness is being marginalised. This allows it to move away from the stigma associated with previous far-right groups and to gain 'respectability' and support from 'ordinary people' (Allen 2011, p. 284).

These are clear instances where white bodies have behaved problematically or criminally. However, there has been somewhat of a reluctance to assign deviant labels to the protagonists involved, although sometimes they are temporarily moved to the position of being slightly off-centre of whiteness - a position which this paper argues still holds some advantages of white privilege. Even when a deviant status has been initially assigned, the long-term result is a non-sticking of the status. It is argued that what has occurred here is the excusing of deviance. This draws on a racialised power imbalance born out of a deep rooted racism typically embedded in euro-centric Western societies, and where the use of diversion strategies under-play some deviant labels and over-play others. The result is that not only do any would be (or should be) deviant labels on white ethnic bodies not stick, but, if they do, they have greater possibility of shedding. This can occur through the potentially stigmatising deviant label being removed, as the deviant action is deemed understandable or as a justified response to *their* victimhood, by which we read: 'white victimhood' (13). Use of this victimhood rationale is clearly evident in the shooting of Menezes, where the Metropolitan Police's and officers' actions were defended as a rational and acceptable way of dealing with suspected suicide bombers, even though Menezes was innocent of *any* criminal activity (Vaughan-Williams 2007; O'Driscoll 2008). This was illustrated in the reluctance to view officers as having acted wrongly, or in deviant/criminal ways. Furthermore, the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, even called for us to give our support to the officers involved (O'Driscoll 2008), which further valorized the killing (Vaughan-Williams 2007, p. 178). In fact, wider calls were made for us to excuse them of their 'mistake' (Sir Ian Blair, quoted in The Daily Telegraph 31st January 2006). The officers involved were presented as having made the right choice, given the stressful conditions that *they* were working in, and it was suggested that for this *they* should be excused of their 'error' and credited for *their* bravery. Any status of deviance had in this case been de-constructed and replaced with heroic ones instead. This was made possible because of the reluctance to admit 'white guilt', which as Pugliese (2008) notes was evident in how the Menezes surveillance was framed within a 'regime of visuality' which fused 'fantasy and fiction.....into factual reality' (Pugliese 2006, p. 3), evidenced in the presentation of a light-skinned Brazilian into a darker-skinned Asian (Vaughan-Williams 2007). Even after his death, the Metropolitan Police Force released images that had been doctored to show Menezes as having a much darker skin tone (similar to that of the original target of the operation, Hussein Osman) than was really the case (The Times 17th October 2007). This was a practice used in an attempt to 'explain' their shooting 'mistake'. In comparison, the very real status of innocence for Menezes had been replaced with a deviant one instead, even when that status proved false. Using cases from the USA, Garner (2007, p. 20) notes how the white power to define even allows the crimes of white perpetrators to be blamed on fictitious black and minority ethnic groups.

Also in these rungs, there are those sub-divisions of white deviance which are seen as undesirable and as a result hold a less amount of power than their central-white or off-centre-white counterparts (Hartigan 1997; Yulkins 2003). Haylett (2001) refers to them as 'abject whites' who are 'seen to embody an unsettling mix of whiteness, "working classness", and poverty' (Haylett 2001, cited in Rhodes 2011, p. 107). Such groups, who are often referred to as: 'white trash' (Hartigan 1997, p. 53), are seen as being of a lower class status, part of which involves engaging in problematic behaviour, i.e. single parenthood (usually motherhood); alcoholism or drug addiction; welfare-dependency; etc. They are

accused of being prone to laziness and criminal behaviour, whose presence goes on to threaten (white) social order. Thus, white labels are also negotiated on an 'intra-racial' basis (Hartigan 2005, cited in Rhodes 2011, p. 107), meaning that belonging to whiteness does not always bring with it a high status of privilege and an automatic ability to shed deviant labels. For example, it is important to note that in the off-centre spaces of whiteness, there is another off-centre rung, more away from the centre, whose behaviour is clearly racially motivated and universally abhorrent. Consider for instance the cases of David Copeland, the London nail-bomber in April 1999, and, more recently, Anders Behring Breivik, who carried out murders in Oslo, Norway in July 2011. However, it is argued that often in such cases, the racist motives of these white criminals are represented in a narrative that detaches the significance of 'white terror' and racial oppression (hooks 1992). Instead these bodies are presented as lone, psychologically disturbed, individuals, unlike the rest of society, who harbour problematic views which are uncommon.

Whiteness does though bring with it an easier ability to shed deviant and / or racist labels, when compared to the opportunities afforded to their brown counterparts. Within the terror-panic context, the case of white converts to Islam has often been presented as an example of how particular categories of whiteness within certain contexts struggle to obtain (and may not always successfully achieve) a fully 'excused' status. Accused of being a 'white Paki', they are seen as traitors to the white race (Franks 2000). White converts, especially those who mark out their faith by wearing visible signs of ethnic difference, which for men includes growing a beard or wearing *sunnah* clothes, or for women wearing the *hijab*, *jilbab* or *niqab* for instance, are open to similar types of discrimination to that faced by their brown bodied counterparts. However, it is argued that, although considered to be 'race-traitors' and undoubtedly subjected to a gaze of hate, their experience of race-hate differs to that of the brown body. It is argued that white converts are considered by other white bodies as oppressed (especially female ones) and confused. They are at the same time viewed with pity, for having fallen under the spell of the brown body, and for ultimately having denied themselves *their* own right to superiority (Franks 2000). In this sense, *they* are a victim; a victim that needs to be guided through these dark and confusing times. For the white convert then, there may be a way back - an absolution of their 'dark' sin. Despite spiritually (i.e. through religious customs) and physically (i.e. through dress) having crossed the boundaries of whiteness, they are and always will be given that they possess *natural* (biological) whiteness, afforded the opportunity of being able to return to their whiteness. This is a constant in their lives, which means that although as white converts to Islam they become racially 'otherized' and subsequently experience a form of what Franks calls 'racism by proxy' (2000, p. 923), they nevertheless hold the ability to excuse *their sin* or to *tell white lies* by masking their conversion - an opportunity ill afforded to brown bodies, whether they be of the Muslim faith and choose to visibly symbolise this, or otherwise - see Jensen (2008) for an interesting discussion on white Danish converts to Islam.

Conclusion

Using the case of terror-panics, this paper has considered perceptions of deviance within post-race times. It has been argued that constructions of deviance draw on a racist discourse that is framed within anti-Muslim and white centrality rhetoric. This rhetoric is abundant in daily speech and is legitimated by local and global politics that are pre-occupied with notions of failed multiculturalism and the need to reinforce membership to a particular version of national identity, via the protection of borders, community cohesion and increased immigration controls. In heightening some black and minority ethnic identities over others, subjects are made visible, or as Khoury (2009) argues, they are presented as 'hyper-visible'. They are seen as 'outsiders', 'dangerous others', 'hostile enemies', which are further viewed with suspicion and as objects in need of state intervention. Their visibility, or 'stigma' (Goffman 1963), is not only marked out by biological features such as skin pigmentation, but is also considered to be voluntarily developed by cultural factors. In this sense black and minority ethnic groups are often blamed for being co-conspirators of their stigma. Meer and Modood (2010)

note for instance that attempts to highlight anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia have often led to criticism of Muslims themselves. At the same time, racialisation processes within the terror-panic context allow for the deviant behaviour of white ethnic bodies to have greater power and access to de-stigmatisation opportunities. This is because of the normative and central status of whiteness, and the new racisms of a post-race era. This involves presenting whiteness as an ethnic category that is normal, moralistic and just. Their deviant label is thus shed, and they are presented as the guardians of whiteness and civilisation. Given its moral centrality, whiteness is passed over for questioning or not sufficiently held to account, even in the face of wrong-doing. Their ethnicity certainly doesn't act as a pre-fix to their deviance in the same way as it does for black and minority ethnic bodies. The result is differential treatment and outcomes in matters relating to crime, justice and victimisation.

This paper has argued that because brown bodies, as ethnically marked suspect populations, are in a relatively powerless position, along with the popularity of Islamophobia and new forms of racism themselves framed within white superiority rhetoric, the ability of brown bodied subjects to remove the allocation of a deviant status, and its pro-longed stigma, is somewhat limited. It is true that some challenges may be successful, for instance illustrated in the response to the increased use of CCTV cameras in the Washwood Heath and Sparkbrook wards of Birmingham (UK), areas known to be predominantly populated by Muslims (14) (BBC News 6th August 2010). However, to do so successfully depends on the power held by control agents and the socio-political climate within which the 'battle' unfolds (Pfohl 2002). And, although to challenge the assigning of a deviant label is especially important for those who have been labelled a deviant, but who in fact have not broken a rule (Becker 1963), it is argued that as a relatively powerless group in society, deviant labels on brown bodies tend to stick. For example, consider the cases of those post 9/11 arrestees and detainees, who years after being cleared of all links to terrorism were unable to resume their normal lives, sometimes even when they left the USA and returned home to Turkey, Egypt or India, because the presumption of guilt followed them (Mathur 2006, p. 32). The situation however differs for white bodies, which are able to more easily shed stigma and have their deviance excused. They have this power, and use it because of the privileged position that they as white bodies hold in contemporary Western societies.

Notes

(1) Code A of the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* (1984) states it is unlawful for a police officer to discriminate on the grounds of race or ethnicity. However, an update of the Act following the *Terrorism Act* (2000) does allow officers to take into account the individual's ethnicity in their selection of persons to search: '.....[t]here may be circumstances, however, where it is appropriate for officers to take account of a person's ethnic origin in selecting persons to be stopped in response to a specific terrorist threat, for example, some international terrorist groups are associated with particular ethnic identities' (*Police and Criminal Evidence Act* 1984, code A, para.2.25).

(2) Sections 44 and 45 of the *Terrorism Act* (2000) enabled the police and the Home Secretary to define any area in the country and a time period wherein they could stop and search any vehicle or person, with section 45 allowing this power to be exercised 'for the purpose of searching for articles of a kind which could be used in connection with terrorism, and.....may be exercised whether or not the constable has grounds for suspecting the presence of articles of that kind' (*Terrorism Act* 2000, section 44, 1-a/b). In January 2010 these stop and search powers were ruled illegal by the European Court of Human Rights, and at the time of writing this paper the British government were reviewing its use and powers.

(3) Previously, reference to ethnic grouping often talked about all those who were non-white. This was based on the assumption that whiteness was *the* ethnic norm, and thus unmarked, rendered invisible and unbefitting examination (Burdsey 2011), and certainly something that was viewed as unobtainable or unmatchable - although Ignatiev (1995) highlights some ability to do this within certain boundaries. Discussion of whiteness as an ethnic category in itself was therefore almost absent from public recognition, and limited in academic discussions, even anthropological ones, and certainly criminological and sociological ones. This is not surprising given the racist roots of these disciplines (Patel and Tyrer 2011).

(4) The English Defence League is a far-right movement which uses, amongst other strategies, street protest, as a way of demonstrating its opposition to what it considers to be a spread of Islamism, Sharia Law and Islamic extremism in England. It is a group that boasts of non-white membership and thus claims not to be a racist group. However, it has been alleged by critics that anti-Muslim sentiment and sympathies with the British National Party, as well as connections with other far-right groups in the USA and Europe, are key to the group's ideology.

(5) Having been 'mistaken' (Sir Ian Blair, quoted in The Daily Telegraph 31st January 2006) for a suspected terrorist, 27 year old Brazilian Jean Charles de Menezes was shot seven times and killed by officers of the London Metropolitan Police at Stockwell Tube Station on 22nd July 2005 (Justice4Jean 17th July 2011).

(6) This paper does not dispute the fact that that nineteen of the 9/11 hijackers were of Arab origin (Spencer 2008), and themselves had claimed to have committed these attacks in the name of Islam, as others have in terror attempts in the years that followed.

(7) *The Macpherson Report* (1999) followed the 1993 racist murder of Stephen Lawrence, a black African Caribbean youth in London. The report highlighted failures of the Metropolitan Police Service, highlighting problems of institutional racism in the investigation, and made a number of recommendations for criminal justice institutions.

(8) Consider for instance the £12.5 million government funded Channel Project, set up in April 2007 under the British government's wider Prevent Counter Terrorism programme, which at time of writing this paper was under review. The Channel Project asked school teachers to seek out and report pupils which they suspected may be at risk of radicalisation and participating in violent behaviour.

(9) This is the screening of personal data in order to track individuals presenting suspects' features. The criteria established in this case included being male, Muslim, and from one of 26 listed countries with a predominantly Muslim population (De Schutter and Ringelheim 2008, p. 359).

(10) This is laid out in various UK based and European wide anti-discrimination legislation, i.e. Articles 2 and 26 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1976); Protocol 12 to the *European Convention on Human Rights* (1953); the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (1969), and so on, all of which prohibit racial, ethnic or religious based discrimination and the right to security and protection of fundamental human rights.

(11) Malmvig (2005, p. 335) highlights how 'securitization' does 'not necessarily mean that the word 'security' is used, but that an imminent danger is constructed, that a threatening future is invoked, which demands urgent attention. Securitization is about dramatizing and bringing urgency to a certain matter, because it threatens the world as we know it'.

(12) Here I take from Wirth's (1945) definition of a 'minority' group, as a label used to refer to 'a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out.....for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination' (p. 347).

(13) The notion of 'white victimhood' refers to a white perception that they are a socially, economically and politically marginalized group. In recent years, this notion has gained increased momentum, utilized not least by far right groups, who have argued that 'black advantage' has led to 'white victimisation'. It has thus been used to justify new forms of racism and discriminatory behaviour. At the time of writing this paper, notions of 'white victimhood' were being presented as way of re-framing the July 2011 terrorist actions of Anders Behring Breivik in Norway, this was after initial media reports ran with a story that blamed a 'homegrown al-Qaeda convert' and a 'homegrown Islamic convert' (Sun Newspaper 23rd July 2011).

(14) Upon discovering that the cameras had been paid for by a Government grant from the Terrorism and Allied Matters Fund, after initially being told that the cameras would be there to reduce vehicle crime, drugs offences and anti-social behaviour in these areas (Guardian 4th June 2010), some residents responded by

challenging the presented reasons for having so many (i.e. a total of 216) cameras erected in these areas.

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Comment

Mapping Ethnic Segregation and Diversity in a Digital Age

by Laurence Brown, University of Manchester

The 2011 census in Britain and the 2010 census in the US have powerfully shaped public debates over race and ethnicity in both countries over the past two years. While media interpretations of population growth amongst ethnic minorities have ranged from the polemical to the apocalyptic, they have often relied on maps as key evidence for increasing ethnic or racial concentration, segregation or exclusion. This proliferation of mapping has been fueled by digital technology (especially Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and internet-based mapping) which has made it easier to convert large demographic databases into bespoke, interactive or localized maps. Yet, while digital mapping has resulted in an explosion of maps of ethnic, racial and migrant groups, the cartographic choices and categories used to construct these images have been increasingly hidden from view (Monmonier 1996). This article explores the divergent approaches to mapping ethnicity and race that have emerged with the recent census, and then considers the extent to which these maps contradict or correspond with the emerging research on ethnic segregation.

Varieties of Mapping: Choropleth maps, Cartograms, Dot maps and Statistical Surfaces

The ubiquity of digital mapping has increasingly standardized cartographic representations of ethnic populations over the past two decades. Debates over method, scale, symbology and classification, which have kept cartographers awake over the past century, can now be bypassed with a few clicks of a mouse as GIS has fueled a radical intensification of map production. Yet, if the superabundance of map-making is encouraging us to think more spatially, paradoxically there is less discussion of the choices that shape each aspect of map design (Krygier and Wood 2011; Monmonier 1996; Dorling and Fairburn 1997). This paper explores four approaches to mapping ethnic populations to emphasize that given their differing strengths and limitations, such methods of visualization should be seen as opening up questions on the dynamics of ethnicity rather than as providing a single answer. The implications of these divergent cartographies are then discussed through focusing on Oldham in Greater Manchester, which has been a focus for British research on ethnic segregation.

The choropleth map in which administrative areas are coloured based on their demography has become the standard method of visualizing ethnic populations, partly as it can be rapidly produced using GIS or interactive Google Maps (Goodchild 1988, p.313) (1). Such an image emphasizes geographic concentration, the homogeneity of the social group being represented and the significance of the geographic boundaries which demarcate each unit. Choropleth maps of ethnic populations therefore tend to visually suggest segregation through their focus on the spatial distribution of a single ethnic group (Figure 1). At the same time, other factors such as the broader demographic composition of an area or the impact of the built environment in shaping settlement are left invisible in this method of mapping. Such tendencies are exacerbated given that choropleth maps are usually deployed to visualize the population share of a particular ethnic group in an area, whereas cartographers emphasize that choropleth maps are most accurate for mapping population density (2). A final issue with choropleth mapping of ethnicity is that they tend to be structured by administrative boundaries, which suggests that these 'neighbourhoods' are coherent areas and the primary social space within which specific ethnic or racial groups are segregated or isolated (Monmonier 1996, pp 145-162).

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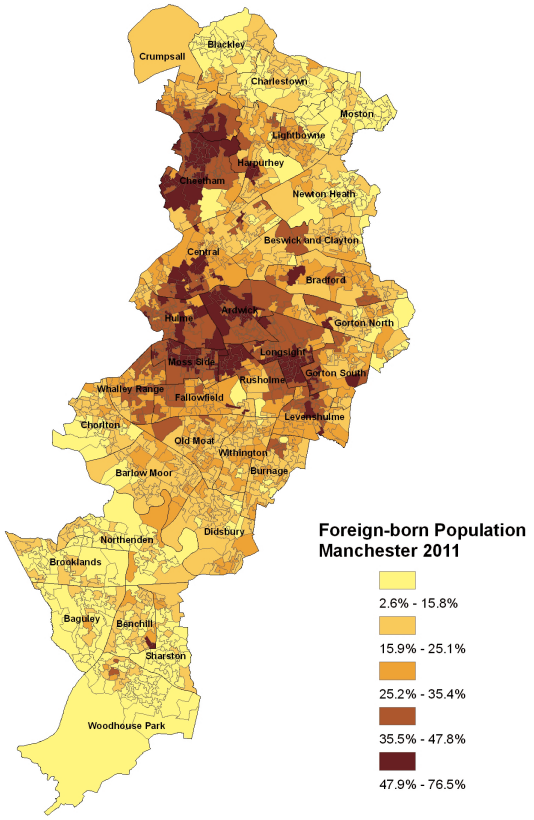

Figure 1: Choropleth map of Foreign-born population of Manchester, 2011
Source: 2011 Census (Crown Copyright)

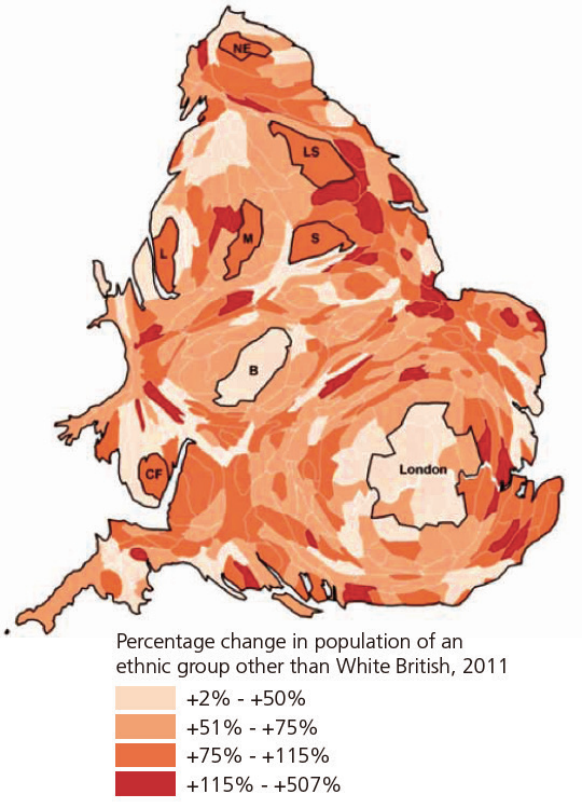

Figure 2: Cartogram of change in ethnic diversity in Local Authority Districts, 2001-2011
Source: Stephen Jivraj, "How has ethnic diversity grown 1991-2001-2011", www.ethnicity.ac.uk

One approach that has emerged to challenge the ways in which choropleth maps distort demography into geographic structures has been the development of cartograms. Led by the work of Danny Dorling this method of mapping modifies the size of spatial units to reflect a given characteristic, such as population density (Dorling 1996). This distortion makes them a striking medium to visualize inequalities between large and small sections of the population. Dorling's research has used cartograms to emphasize the socio-economic divides within British society, and particularly how these impact on large urban populations which are usually overshadowed by rural areas in traditional mapping. Applying cartograms to ethnic populations based on the 2011 census (Figure 2) compensates for the distortion that often occurs when total numbers are visualized through a choropleth map, where large areas tend to produce large population totals (3). By distorting the map to show large populations, cartograms emphasize ethnic settlement within Britain's major conurbations, and tend to minimize rural workers or migration to the suburbs.

Dot distribution maps, which have for a long time been central to medical geography (such as mapping individual deaths or the locations of epidemics), have recently re-emerged as a powerful way of visualizing ethnic populations. In 2009, Bill Rankin produced his map of 'Chicago Boundaries', which visualized racial / ethnic self-identification based on block-level data from the 2000 census (Rankin 2010). Using a single dot to represent 25 people, Rankin argued that demographic transitions within Chicago were not simply based around administrative boundaries but also occurred within supposedly 'homogeneous neighborhoods' (4). Dot mapping therefore offered a much more precise vision of population segregation and dispersal that was at a larger scale than the polygons of census tracts used in choropleth maps.

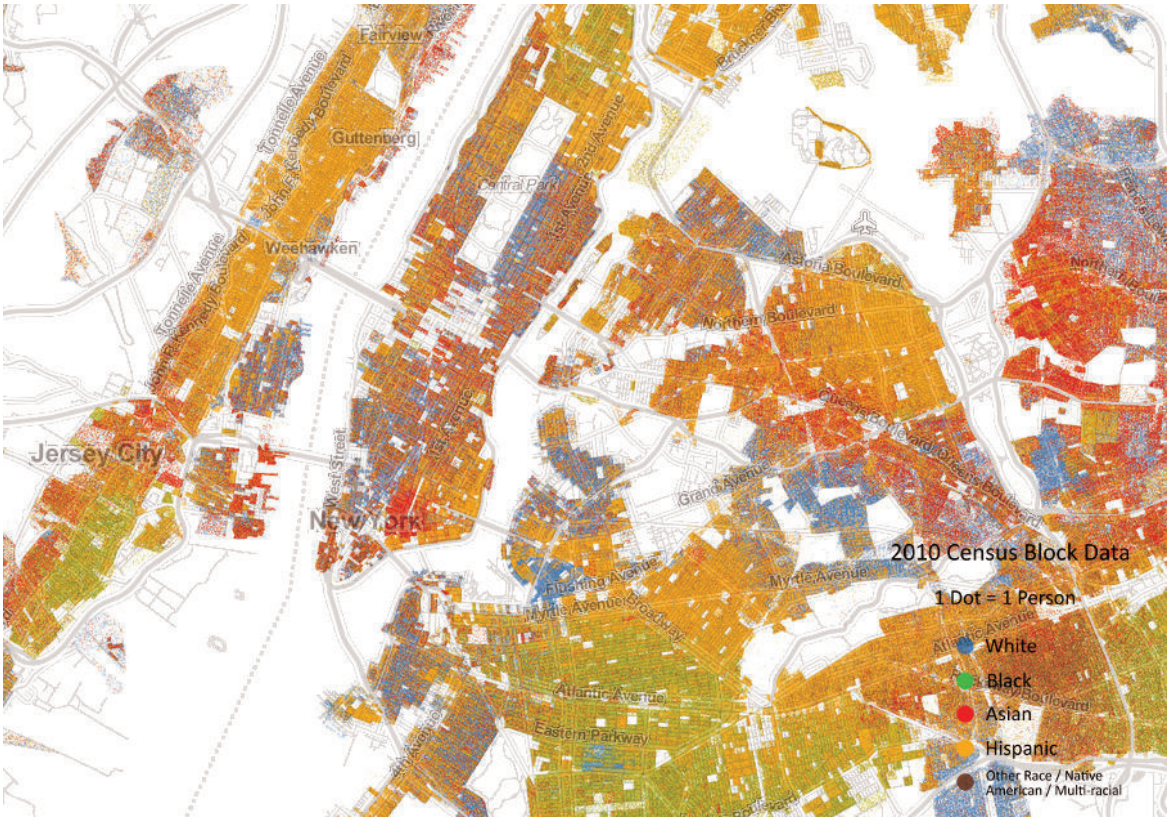

Figure 3: The Racial dot map
Source: Dustin Cable (Copyright), http://www.coopercenter.org/demographics/Racial-Dot-Map

In July 2013 Dustin Cable published online 'The Racial Dot Map' (Figure 3) in which each individual in the US census was rendered as a coloured dot employing the same block-level data used by Rankin

(5). Cable's internet-based visualization provides a striking tool to analyse ethnic and racial diversity, as the 308 million dots on his US map overlap to produce smudges of purple, teal or other colours to indicate the mixing of different ethnic groups. Whereas internet-based choropleth maps tend to require users to select a single ethnic group to be visualized in isolation, Cable and Rankin's dot maps capture ethnic diversity by mapping all census ethnic categories simultaneously. If choropleth maps privilege ethnic segregation and isolation, these dot maps at national or regional scale suggest plurality and interaction, whereas at street level there may be intense concentrations of a single racial or ethnic group. As online resources the ability to move between different scales provides a powerful way of thinking about ethnic segregation and diversity as not an absolute value but as contingent on the scale of communities or activities being studied.

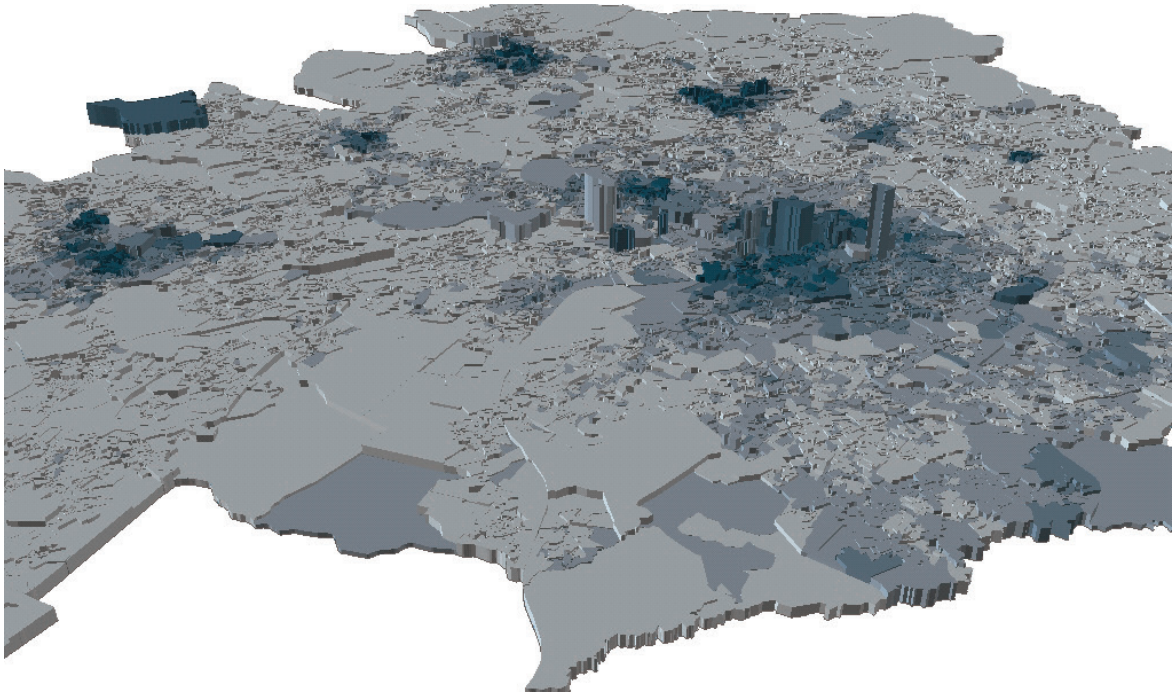

Figure 4: Statistical surface of Black Minority Ethnic (BME) population of Greater Manchester, 2001 with height representing total population and shading representing foreign-born (e.g. UK born dominant in lighter areas)
Source: 2001 Census (Crown Copyright)

One of the challenges of mapping ethnic groups based on census data is that census categories tend to homogenize different identities. Contemporary research on race and ethnicity has increasingly focused on exploring the diversity of experiences within these broad labels, disaggregating groups in terms of migration experience (first / second generation or different cohorts of migrants), class, gender or citizenship. To move beyond constructing ethnicity as a single variable, a three-dimensional representation through a statistical surface map (Figure 4) can visualize two attributes simultaneously thus giving more depth to our analysis of specific ethnic groups. Adding height in a standard choropleth map of ethnic residence can suggest significant internal variation within a single group. One limitation of statistical surfaces is that despite their dramatic impact, it is difficult to read precise values from the map (Kraak and Ormeling, 2010, p. 150).

Oldham in Greater Manchester has been a focus for debate and research about ethnic segregation, especially following the outbreak of riots in 2001, and so is a useful case study to explore how these divergent approaches to mapping ethnicity can be applied. By 2011, almost a quarter of Oldham's population had an ethnic identity other than White British, of which Pakistani is the largest ethnic minority group accounting for 10% of the population. Over half of this group (56%) are resident in

the central wards of St Mary's and Werneth. The second largest ethnic minority group in Oldham is Bangladeshi, which is 7% of the population. Coldhurst has 49% of the Bangladeshi residents of Oldham. Such concentrations are revealed through a statistical surface map of Oldham, although we can disaggregate the groups involved by using the hue of the polygons to represent the extent to which members of an ethnic group were first generation migrants, and the height to refer to the total ethnic population in a particular area (Figure 6). The distinction between first and second generation migrants is particularly important in Oldham as immigration and reproduction are the two key drivers of ethnic population growth. Ludi Simpson and Vasilis Gavalas have rightly stressed how debates on ethnic segregation in Oldham have conflated these two processes which have produced both a growing South Asian population in the town's inner core and dispersal of the same groups through internal migration across the town (Simpson, et al. 2008).

Examining the distribution of populations across the Borough of Oldham, almost three quarters of the White British population reside in the outer wards surrounding the town, while nearly 90% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi residents are located within the town centre and its immediate surrounds (Figure 5). In 2011, 60% of the residents of Coldhurst identified as Bangladeshi while 49% of both Werneth and St Mary's residents identified as Pakistani. Despite these concentrations, all three wards were marked by increasing diversity within their ethnic minority populations. In each of these three central wards, the smaller ethnic minority groups increased their share of the non-white population by 10% between 2001 and 2011. Oldham's post-industrial landscape and ethnic demography could be mapped in various ways – through choropleth maps to emphasize the concentration of South Asian groups in the centre of town, through cartograms to reveal the demographic significance of those central urban areas for specific ethnic groups, through dot mapping to highlight the varieties of ethnic diversity within inner city areas and the suburbs (Figure 6), or through three-dimensional statistical surfaces to explore differences within a single ethnic identity.

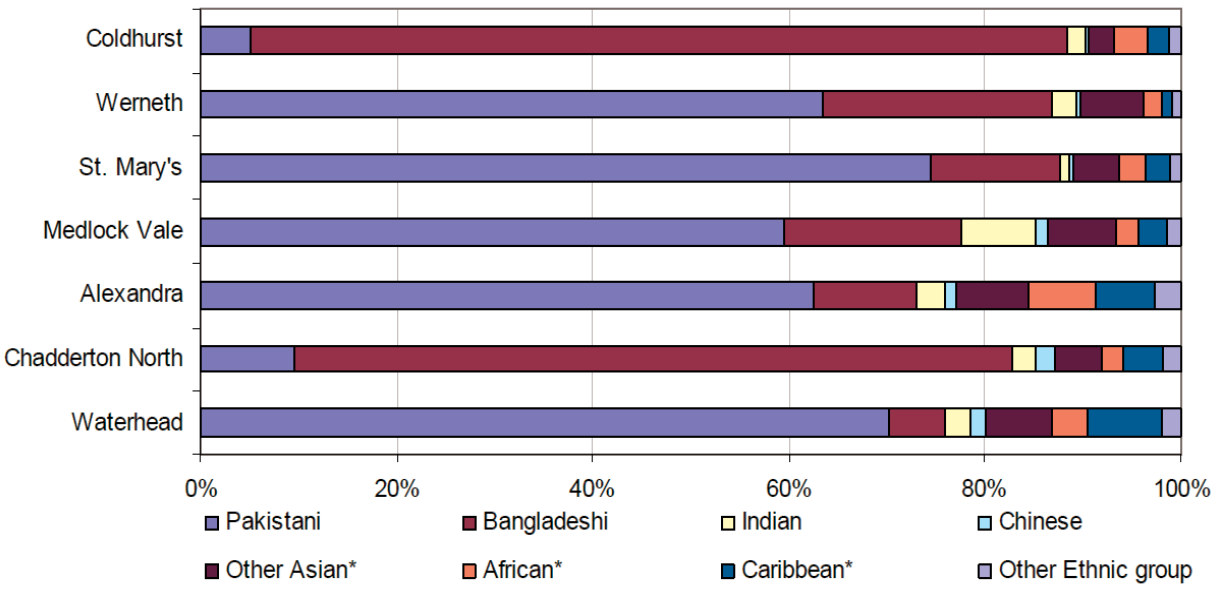

Figure 5. Geographic dispersal of ethnic groups in Oldham by ward residence, 2011

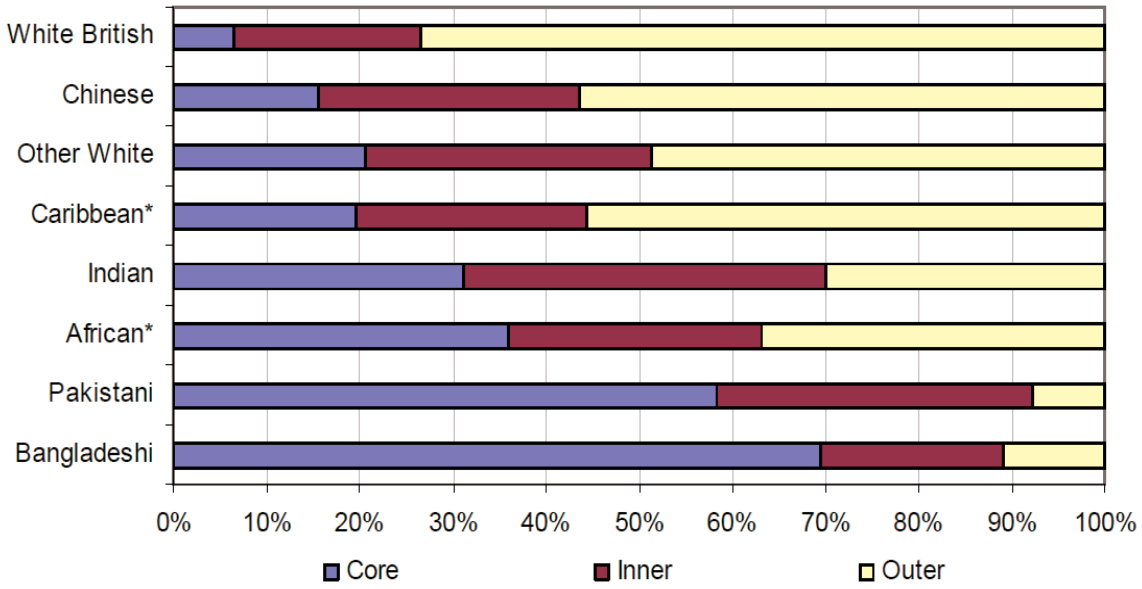

Figure 6. Ethnic minority composition of Oldham wards with greater than 20% ethnic minority population in 2011

* Includes mixed ethnic category, eg. White and Asian, White and Black African, White and Black Caribbean

GIS is increasingly transforming the visualization of ethnic segregation, as maps that would have taken hours or days to construct can now be produced in seconds. Yet, despite the increasing sophistication of GIS-based studies of migration such as the visualisation of ethnicity through name origins, this growing field of research has tended to reinforce the focus of scholars on immigrant residence as central to understanding experiences of segregation (Mateos 2011). Existing approaches to the temporal dynamics of segregation based on the comparison of census periods are problematic due to the shifting definition of ethnic categories in the census, alterations in the administrative boundaries used to collect and project data, changes in the physical environment as well as demographic change within ethnic groups. Equally the focus on inter-censual change, may miss other forms of periodisation linked to economic crises, political events or long-term demographic transitions (Mayer 2009, p. 414).

GIS is a powerful tool for managing fragmented quantitative and qualitative data, enabling them to be integrated together to analyse change over time. GIS also has the particular advantage of allowing the analyst to move between national, regional, local and individual scales, for example relating a single life-course to broader processes within communities or a city (Frank 2007). Mapping different layers can be used to connect national census data and more locally-based surveys of factors such as employment, health, or education. Equally the ability to overlay maps based on different conceptions of ethnicity (birth, parentage, race, religion) in GIS will enable us to analyse the relationships between these different factors.

Connecting archived research materials from the past with census data, longitudinal surveys, local studies and new qualitative research enables us to explore how experiences of ethnicity changed over time in a particular area. Through connecting data based on its spatial attributes we are able to build up a dense body of evidence to explore the extent to which experiences of segregation in a specific location may have varied across a migrant's life course.

Notes

(1) See '2010 Census Interactive Population Map', http://www.census.gov/2010census/popmap/ ; 'Mapping the 2010 U.S. Census', http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/map; 'Census 2011 mapped and charted: England & Wales in religion, immigration and race', http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2012/dec/11/census-england-wales-maps-religion; and http://www.londonprofiler.org/ (all accessed 1 August 2013)

(2) A large geographic area with a small population would not be highlighted in a density-based choropleth map, but would be the focus for a map of ethnic population based on the same data, if it had one ethnic group that had a high share of the total population. Thus it would be possible for a small groups of migrant rural workers to distort the map to suggest an immigration that was extremely disproportionate to its size.

(3) In London Profiler's choropleth 'Multicultural Atlas of London' many of the areas of largest ethnic concentration (e.g. Black Caribbean) are due to their total being based on the largest geographic area - http://www.londonprofiler.org/ (accessed 1 August 2013)

(4) http://www.radicalcartography.net/index.html?chicagodots (accessed 1 August 2013)

(5) http://demographics.coopercenter.org/DotMap/index.html (accessed 1 August 2013). For a British equivalent see http://projects.andrewwhitby.com/uk-ethnicity-map/ (accessed 1 September 2013)

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Extended Review

LIFE BEHIND THE LOBBY: INDIAN AMERICAN MOTEL OWNERS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

Pawan Dhingra

Publisher: Stanford, Stanford University Press, Stanford
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0804778831
Pagination: pp.254
Price: £22.50

Review by James West

This insightful study opens up broader debates into American immigration policy and the continuing resonance of the 'American Dream' for many self-employed migrants, through focusing on the lived experiences of Indian American motel owners - a group increasingly held up as an embodiment of the 'model minority' stereotype. Despite comprising less than one per cent of the total population, Indian Americans own around half of all the motels in the United States. In Ohio, which serves as a key setting for Dhingra's research, the disparity is even greater. Whilst Indian American Ohioans constitute around 0.3 per cent of the total state population, they operate more than a quarter of hotels and motels in the region. Taken as a collective, Indian American motel owners can be argued to have created the 'largest ethnic enterprise in U.S history'. Almost all of these motel owners, many of whom originated from the state of Gujarat in Western India, arrived in the US in the post-civil rights period with limited resources. Their ability to establish themselves as successful and self-sufficient citizens has been used by media sources and high profile politicians alike to champion the meritocracy and tolerance of American neoliberalism, yet at the same time can be seen to obscure continuing racial inequalities and social marginalisation.

Such uncritical celebration of Indian American business success ignores the daily struggles and discrimination faced by many motel owners and their families from the pressure to balance social aspirations and cultural stereotypes against local community hierarchies and the complex terrain of the American hospitality industry. As Dhingra highlights, the majority of Indian American motel owners run lower-budget establishments, and therefore do not fit the dominant depiction of Indian American immigrants as elite professionals. The depiction of Indian American motel owners as a 'model minority' sits uneasily alongside the common association of low-budget motels with prostitution, drug dealing and other illicit activities. Furthermore, the suggestion that Indian American motel owners have achieved full citizenship stands in contrast to more common representations of Indian and other Asian American groups as explicitly 'other'. Dhingra opens up the disparities between the public framing of Indian American motel owners within the rhetoric of the American dream and their varying economic and social realities. Whilst some owners are happy to champion their own status as poster children for American entrepreneurship and the rewards of a neoliberal state, others are more wary of continuing inequalities.

The opening chapter 'Building the Diaspora' adopts a transnational, postcolonial approach to Indian immigrants as racial minorities in the United States. The author focuses in particular on those from Gujarat in the third quarter of the twentieth century – a critical period for immigrants following the elimination of immigration quotas in 1965. Dhingra highlights not just the declining economic fortunes of Gujarat state which may have prompted migration, but also circumstances in the diaspora such as the occupational and social pressure applied to East African Gujurati's after the colonies achieved independence. By developing an understanding of contextual factors affecting Indian migration, Dhingra gives a sympathetic account of Indian migration which more effectively outlines why Indian Americans immigrated to the United States and their often unwanted reasons for doing so. Chapter 2, 'Reaching for the American Dream', explores how Indian Americans became so prolific as business owners compared to other ethnic immigrants.

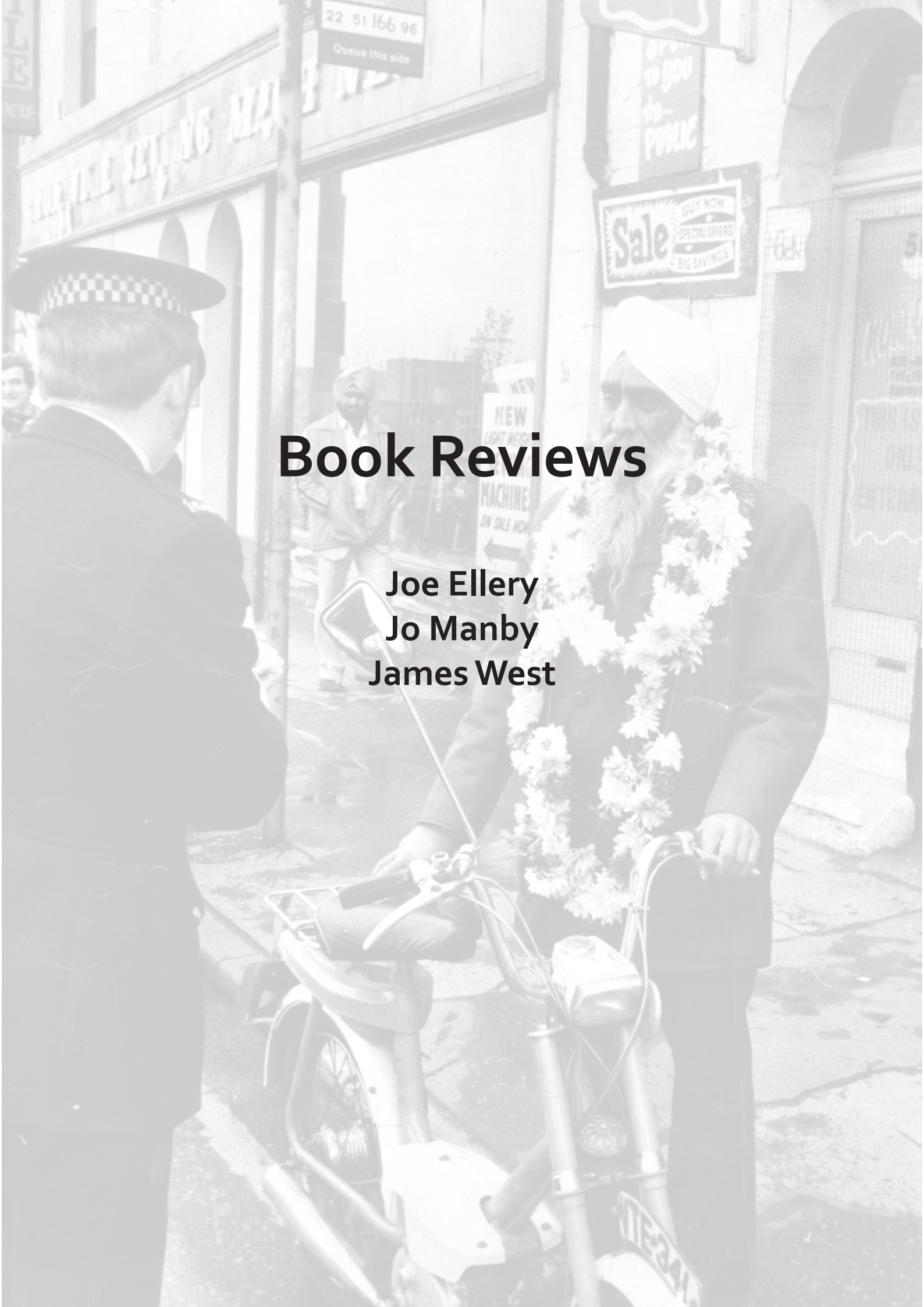
Whilst Indian Americans turned to entrepreneurship as a result of factors that affected other ethnic entrepreneurs – primarily frustrations at continuing disadvantages in the labour market and the ability to take advantage of new opportunities in the business field through the pooling of personal and family resources – Dhingra suggests that the predominance of Guajarati's amongst Indian American motel owners is also significant, citing a strong belief in self-employment stemming from Gujarati class culture.

The text's core chapters 'Business Hardships and Immigrant Realities' and 'Professional Appearances and Backstage Hierarchies' document the everyday challenges faced by Indian American motel owners, both on a personal and professional level. Focusing on acts of everyday struggle and resistance, Dhingra examines some of the cumulative problems of working in the motel industry; from getting a foothold in the industry and establishing a franchise, to individual tensions with customers, rival motel owners (both Indian and non-Indian), and paid employees. It is here that the in-depth interviews, which form the core of Dhingra's study, most benefit the text and allow the author to ably document the multiple ways in which the day-to-day experiences of an Indian American motel owner or employee differ from the unproblematic 'model minority' image of motel ownership. Dhingra contends that far from committing themselves to fully overcoming racial, economic, cultural and gender-based inequalities, many owners instead took the more realistic option of working within these concerns. As a result whilst moteliers often became successful enough to stake a claim on the American dream, in doing so they 'did not fully challenge, and at times inadvertently sustained, the basis of their subordination'.

These central chapters are perhaps the most impressive, with Dhingra demonstrating his ability to connect a host of expansive concepts including race, neoliberalism, postcolonialism, gender and class with the human side of the story. Whilst acknowledging the overarching factors that played a major role in the emergence of a specific group ownership model, Dhingra pays close attention to individual accounts and documents the day-to-day struggles and challenges faced by many Indian American motel owners in a sensitive and nuanced way. As Dhingra rightly acknowledges, how ethnic entrepreneurs manage their businesses has received far less attention than how they start them. However, a focus on the everyday balance of social, economic, and cultural pressures in a business can tell us a great deal - firstly how motel owners view themselves, and secondly how they may fit into, or problematise, the notion of the 'American Dream'. This is expressed most successfully in his fourth chapter, where Dhingra posits the question – 'how can an ethnic group simultaneously be honored as representing the American dream yet experience sustained hierarchies?' The constraints of racial, gender and class hierarchies are evident in the way owners deal with their own status as minorities in relation to a predominantly White clientele, for example through a 'whitening' of the motel lobby. This relationship between ethnicity, race and space within the motel setting is fascinating, particularly when linked to other cultural and linguistic factors. One owner remarks that early Indian migrants found themselves drawn to the motel industry as their inability to speak English would not inhibit motel work where entry into the motel is facilitated by the 'front desk', and the loss of language mirrors the physical silencing and removal of non-White features of the motel landscape. The sensitivity of motel owners to the 'front stage' as a place of ritual interaction between guest and owner points to the enduring relationship between race and space. It would have been fruitful to balance this against the thoughts of both motel guests entering what is increasingly seen as a minority owned space, and the feelings of the local residents to the place of Indian American motel owners within the community. In many ways motel and hotel owners form important first contact points for visitors and travellers to a region, yet Indian American motel owners may be expected to provide a suitably 'American' (read 'White') introduction through the 'front stage', whilst at the same time struggling to integrate themselves into the same community.

In Chapter 5, 'The Possibility of Belonging', the author examines one of the central tensions between

professional motivation and personal happiness that affects many Indian American motel owners and a question that is particularly pertinent regarding Ohio, where Dhingra conducts the bulk of research for his study. In moving further and further away from immigrant enclaves, motel owners must balance the need for business and therefore the demand to move to increasingly rural and White dominated areas in the American heartland against their desire to form a sense of attachment to their locality and community. This question points to the heart of Dhingra's study – not just a reflection on the impact of Indian American motel monopolisation but more broadly the conflict between the quest for full citizenship and the way in which relationships with the local community are formed 'within a capitalist enterprise that hovers over interpersonal dynamics'. It is here that Dhingra's focus on Ohio as a source for motel case studies and interviews also serve to limit the scope of his study. Whilst he is able to offer a detailed and sophisticated analysis of the success and failures of Ohioan Indian Americans to integrate themselves into their local community, there is little scope for a comparative model against the experiences of motel owners in other regions. It would be of analytical value to contrast the attitudes of motel owners in the Midwest, an area often romanticised as America's 'heartland', with a more racially diverse location such as California (the origin of Indian Americans in the hospitality industry), something Dhingra touches on in his conclusion but does not develop. Similarly, by focusing on the experiences of budget motel owners there is little opportunity to discuss the gradual entry of Indian Americans into the higher-end motel market and how their experiences may differ, or indeed support some of the challenges faced by budget-motel owners. However, such mild criticisms should not detract from a well-written and thought-provoking text which for the most part successfully connects the continuing duality of accomplishment and marginalisation for Indian Americans within the motel industry.



Book Reviews

Joe Ellery
Jo Manby
James West

Reviews

ARTS, LITERATURE AND SPORT

THE SEMBLANCE OF IDENTITY: AESTHETIC MEDIATION IN ASIAN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Christopher Lee

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7870-1
Pagination: pp.191
Price: £44.95

Assistant Professor of English at the University of British Columbia, Christopher Lee reframes the arena of literary/political representation as critically- rather than identity-based, and raises a concept of identity as an aesthetic figure, poised on the intersection of varying knowledge projects and identity politics. This 'idealized critical subject' as he terms it, is comparable to a work of modern or contemporary art – a portal onto worlds of imagination, constantly critiquing histories of racialisation. Lee refers in his study of Asian American literature to a broad range of texts including works by Maxine Hong Kingston, Chang-rae Lee, Michael Ondaatje and José Garcia Villa, and opens his introduction at the origins of Asian American Studies, within the radical social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The book aims to promote readings of Asian American literature that, by using the notion of the 'redemption of semblance' that is 'central to aesthetics' (quoting Theodor Adorno, p.17), can 'illuminate the theoretical structure of race and identity' (p.17).

Lee's study is arranged chronologically, although he does not set out to deliver a 'developmental narrative' (p.20) but rather, an examination of the way the focus on 'historicity in Asian American literary and cultural criticism is itself tied to its investment in the ideal/ized critical subject' (pp.20/21), and how this investment surfaces at historical intervals, the framework that links the chosen authors being genealogical rather than linear. Lee begins with the 'transnational Cold War career' (p.23) of Eileen Chang (Zhang Ailing, 1920-95) which offers the possibility of charting a 'prehistory of the Asian American idealized critical subject' (p.23). Chang's career – she was known as a Chinese-language author who focused on Chinese topics, and was opposed to communism, contributing to the 'exercise of American power in the Asia Pacific' (p.23) – incorporated themes that would later resurface in Asian American literary culture. Lee concentrates on Chang's novel *The Rice-Sprout Song* (1954), set in a village near Shanghai, a form of what he describes as cultural translation, with two main figures , 'the exiled native informant and the oppressed peasant' (p.43).

Chapter 2 looks at 'The Ironic Temporalities of Cultural Nationalism' and from the starting point of time, explores the reasons why literature, specifically that of critic Bruce Iwasaki and co-editor of *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (1974), Frank Chin, became so contested a concept for cultural nationalism. Chin and Iwasaki, through divergent means, both highlight theoretical problems arising from cultural nationalism's 'attempts to imagine a political role for literature' (p.55). Iwasaki selects 'politically enlightened' (p.54) writers as archetypes for Asian American literature while simultaneously deferring that literature to 'an emancipated future that has yet to arrive' (p.54). Chin's is an 'angst-ridden desire for literary achievement' (p.55) that fragments his 'temporal frameworks ..... precisely because his identity politics / unravels in the terrain of the text' (pp.55/56), time a constant struggle to negotiate past and future in a 'racialized society' (p.56).

During the 1980s and 1990s came the 'infamous "Chin-Kingston" debates' (p.73), where Chin as a cultural nationalist disputed with feminist Maxine Hong Kingston in a dialogue about identity, heterogeneity and difference. Kingston's was a new, anti-racist politics making use of 'Chinese culture, family stories, and literary traditions from the United States, China and elsewhere' (p.75). Two of her

novels, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Childhood* among Ghosts (1976) and *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* (1989) are discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 ranges in focus from Denise Ferreira da Silva's book, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*, 'foreground[ing] the dangers of the transparent I and its manifestations as the idealized critical subject ..... ' (p.99), to Lukács's *The Theory of the Novel*, claiming that '[t]he realist novel is characterized by a self-reflexivity' (p.99), to an examination of Korean American author Chang-rae Lee's novel *A Gesture Life* (1999) which conflates 'transnational memory and responsibility' (p.99). Chapter 5, 'Semblance, Shame, and the Work of Comparison', deals with the impact of 'new critical rubrics such as diaspora, hemispheric studies, globalization, and polyculturalism, and denationalized frameworks such as Asian North America, the hemisphere, and the Asia-Pacific' (p.121), and takes Sri Lankan Canadian writer Michael Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost* (2000) as its central text. Here, the tensions of a novel that 'ends up confronting its own inability to escape its Western positionality, [with] angst-filled realization that sheds light on the condition of literary representation in the post-colonial world' (p.140), are reiterated in Lee's concluding lines: 'the politics of post-identity inheres precisely in the ongoing work of abandoning Asian American Studies while abandoning ourselves to it' (p.152).

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

ASPIRING TO HOME: SOUTH ASIANS IN AMERICA

Bakirathi Mani

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7800-8 (pbk.: alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.311
Price: £17.50

Bakirathi Mani, Associate Professor in the Department of English Literature at Swarthmore College, employs an interdisciplinary structure to frame her close observation of 'the constraints of form and genre that shape the ways in which we look at diasporic popular culture' (p.8). Her ethnographic context is the immigrant communities of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan origin in America; the cultural productions she examines embrace documentary, a Broadway show, visual art festivals, films and literature. Herself an Indian national from Japan, Mani describes her engagement with South Asian public culture as demonstrating how 'locality is experienced relationally and contextually, as an ideology of situated community that includes my own diasporic experience' (p.9). In this volume, '[r]eorienting the purview of Asian American studies westward toward the subcontinent' (p.10), 'the unexpected relation between frameworks of racial politics in the United States and formations of postcolonial nationhood in South Asia' (p.10) are thoroughly examined.

The first chapter, 'Postcolonial Locations', explores Jhumpa Lahiri's collection of short stories, *Interpreter of Maladies*, and her novel, *The Namesake*, 'both texts that feature stories of middle- and upper-middle-class Bengali immigrants' (p.31). Here, Mani describes how diasporic subjects negotiate differences between 'their national, religious, and regional identities on the subcontinent and their ethnic and class identities in the United States' (p.34), and reads these works as postcolonial literature, thereby '[r]ealigning the relationship between immigration, postcolo/niality, and citizenship [to enable] us to see the ways in which South Asians produce and inhabit locality' (p.35).

'So Far from Home' tracks the factual narratives of three documentaries, *Knowing Her Place*, *Calcutta Calling* and *Bangla East Side (BES)*, using them as 'ethnographic texts' (p.25). The first documentary features Vasu, a middle-class woman who has migrated more than once between Madras (now Chennai) and New York. For *Calcutta Calling*, the filmmaker Sasha Khokha interviewed teenage girls from Calcutta who had been adopted by White American families in Minnesota. *BES* is a collaboration between the co-directors and young people in an after-school programme aimed at establishing dialogue about Muslim American experiences post 9/11. In *Knowing Her Place*, the protagonist is treated as an individual; in the other two films, the focus is on 'youthful protagonists who reflect new forms of multiculturalism in the United States' (p.81). However each film contributes

to a blurring of difference in class, religion and national origin, leading to a more 'heterogeneous quality of what it means to be "South Asian"' (p.81).

In Chapter 3, 'Beauty Queens: Gender, Ethnicity, and Transnational Modernities at Miss India USA', Mani returns to the subject she opened her introduction with, the Miss India USA pageant. The author attended several such pageants between 1999 and 2004 and compiled an archive of Miss India USA and Miss India pageants in India from 1996 to 2006. The aim of this chapter is to exemplify how the beauty pageant acts as 'a multifaceted site for the formation of South Asian identities and communities' (p.123). Mani also traces the course of charity donations 'from the Miss India USA pageant to various nonprofit organizations in India [outlining] the transnational circuits of gender, culture, and capital that bind together ethnic beauty pageants in the United States with the political and economic development of the Indian state' (p.123).

'The Art of Multiculturalism: Diasporadics, Desh Pardesh, and Artwallah' explores the more domestic annual art festivals organised by young immigrants between 1999 and 2005 in Toronto, New York and Los Angeles, as embodiments of locality with 'an affective experience of belonging' and as 'ethnographic, historical, and performative texts' (p.165). Desh Pardesh, for example, which translates as 'Home Away from Home' (p.171), was the first South Asian art festival in North America and developed out of Salaam Toronto!, a one-day event in 1988 sponsored by Toronto-based South Asian gay men's organisation, Khush, and was a forerunner of Diasporadics and Artwallah.

The concluding chapter, '"Somewhere You've Never Been Before": The American Romance of Bombay Dreams', analyses Andrew Lloyd Webber's Bollywood-inspired musical during its New York run, framing the production as 'a social text about South Asians in diaspora' (p.209). As an archetype of 'being a racial minority in the United States' (p.251), it compounds the way South Asians have 'dynamically reshaped the multicultural landscape of the United States' (p.251), while the cultural works they have produced still reproduce 'notions of postcolonial citizenship' (p.252). South Asians become postcolonial and multicultural subjects who contest the latitude of Asian American studies.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

ACROSS MERIDIANS: HISTORY AND FIGURATION IN KAREN TEI YAMASHITA'S TRANSNATIONAL NOVELS

Jinqi Ling

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7801-5
Pagination: pp.227
Price: £31.86

In this elegantly written, intellectually meticulous reframing of Asian American studies, Jinqi Ling shows that the novelistic oeuvre of Karen Tei Yamashita proposes a South-North axis to extend and reconfigure the pre-existing East-West axis that had been paradigmatically established in Edward Said's *Orientalism*. In his preface, Ling sets out his agenda: 'the reading strategy I adopt involves extension, / revision, or recoding of Yamashita's politics through my own critical methods, which I see as spatial-materialist and neohistoricist in orientation' (pp.xii/xiii). Dividing the corpus of Yamashita's work into two groups, novels which adopt 'extrater/ritorial perspectives' and deal with 'events outside the United States' and those which adopt 'partial or complete U.S. points of view or fictional settings' (p.xiii), Ling is concerned with the ways in which Yamashita highlights Japanese immigration to Brazil pre-World War II and the exploitation of Brazilian-born Japanese manual labourers in Japan, contributing new perspectives on previously under-explored elements of Asian American experience. Yamashita's examination of transnational connections and her 'choice of a South-North per/spective' (p.3) stemmed from her personal experience as a third-generation Japanese American in Southern California, from a desire to understand her family history in Japan, and from her 'incidental discovery of the existence of large Japanese diasporas in contemporary Brazil' (p.3). In the first chapter, Ling discusses Yamashita's 'spatial politics' and 'narrative strategies', harnessed to 'create historical space

in an increasingly commercialized American culture' (p.14). Ling argues that Yamashita's 'spatial and geographic engagement' represents an Asian American literary avant-garde.

'Southward Migration: Empire Building and Transculturation in *Brazil-Maru*', examines the novel *Brazil-Maru*, published in 1992. Yamashita began her research for this novel in the mid-1970s with a fellowship to study Japanese immigration to Brazil, and a 'burgeoning transnational consciousness' (p.31). Japanese migration to Brazil is seen as a 'spill-over effect of Japanese immigration to the United States' (p.33), linking 'transpacific Japanese labor migration and the pre-World War II formation of Japanese diasporas in Latin America' (p.33). Yamashita focuses, however, on three families; the Teradas, the Unos, and a bachelor intellectual Shūhei Mizuoka, who emigrate to fulfil 'a vision they share among themselves as Christian socialist intellectuals' rather than to be 'contract laborers' (p.34). In the novel, a cooperative is constructed, but 'when transplanted to essentially agrarian Brazil ..... this idealized Japanese village becomes utterly anachronistic and self-contradictory ..... / a mechanism directly contributing to the immigrant community's isolation from its human and natural environments' (pp.36/37). The novel, Ling suggests, can be seen as 'an authorial attempt to demystify Japan's interwar project of government-sponsored imperialism via emigration' (p.45).

In Chapter 3, 'Subterranean Transnationality', the novel *Circle K Cycles* (2001) is seen as having its roots in the 'Japanese Brazilian dilemma' (p.61) of the earlier Brazil-Maru; 'migration of Japanese Brazilians to Japan almost half a century after the passengers of the Brazil-Maru reached the shores of Brazil represents a redistribution of a racially marked labor force back to its ethnic origins, in response to the peculiar workings of a self-regenerative transnational market' (p.61). This novel is based on blogs Yamashita wrote for the Japanese-American website *Cafe-Creole*, an 'online-journal form' that can be seen as 'her conscious decision to authorize facts and to demystify fictions, from the intersection of her role as a narrating subject and her actual participation in the migration process' (p.64).

'Writing Against Reification' looks at 'Temporality and Popular Genre in *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest'*, a novel from 1990 through which participants in Nikkei migration can be seen as witnesses 'to the systematic devastation of Brazil as a third world country because of the relentless workings ..... of post-World War II global capitalism' (p.84). 'Thinking Magic, Reinventing the Real', explores 'Consciousness and Decolonization in *Tropic of Orange*', a novel from 1997 and a 'quintessential transnational text', while the final chapter, 'Toward a Critical Internationalism', examines 'Nation, Revolt, and Performance in *I Hotel*', published in 2010. In his conclusion, Ling notes that 'in transforming almost every facet of the existing Asian American literary tradition, Yamashita succeeds not only in displacing and exceeding its orthodoxies but also in contributing to its revitalization – by providing it with greater latitude, fresh life force, wider readership, and new literary prominence' (pp.189/190).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Economics and Globalisation

AFRICA SPEAKS, AMERICA ANSWERS: MODERN JAZZ IN REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

Robin D.G. Kelly

Publisher: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass. and London, England
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-674-04624-5
Pagination: pp.244
Price: £18.95

Hailed as a 'collective biography' and written by the author of *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original*, this four-part volume vividly evokes the network of calls and responses across continents that linked modern Jazz and Africa at a time of burgeoning revolutionary freedom – the 1950s and 60s. Robin Kelly began the book when he was asked to deliver the *Nathan I. Huggins Lectures*, sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University, in the Spring of 2003. In these lectures, he explored the contributions of four artists: pianist Randy Weston, drummer Guy Warren (Kofi Ghanaba), bassist Ahmed Abdul-Malik and saxophonist Kippie Moeketsi. Each of these

men shared connections with Thelonious Monk. During the research period for this book Kelly decided to include South African composer and vocalist Sathima Bea Benjamin.

The book takes its title from one of Guy Warren's jazz compositions, *Africa Speaks, America Answers*. Warren claimed that he introduced West African music to the United States; however it is indisputable that it arrived in North America with enslaved Africans. When he left Ghana, his birthplace, and arrived in Chicago in 1954, he was 'ready to make his mark on the jazz world' (p.17). He had played in highlife bands, won a scholarship to the Gold Coast's prestigious Achimota College and worked as a jazz disc jockey. He had been assistant director and DJ for Liberia's Eternal Love Broadcasting Corporation which was 'like earning a postgraduate degree in music' (p.22).

Warren recorded *Africa Speaks, America Answers* at Universal Studios in Chicago, 1956, 'arguably the first LP in history that fused jazz and African music' (p.23). Central to this chapter is the dispute over the authenticity of African drumming – 'who can play "African" drums and who cannot' (p.8). Michael Babatunde Olatunji's Columbia Records release of 1959/60, *Drums of Passion*, essentially 'overshadowed Warren's entire output' (p.32). Warren was in the end not 'African enough to be marketable' (p.38).

While Warren 'dreamed of coming to America and infusing jazz with his unique African rhythms, Randy Weston dreamed of coming 'home' to Africa' (p.41). Weston was descended from Jamaican Maroons and although his parents separated, he divided his time between the two Brooklyn households and enjoyed the 'rollicking, soulful music of the black church' (p.43) with his mother and the 'cultures of the British and Spanish Caribbean' (p.43) with his father. Weston became a 'serious student of folk music and traditional African music' (p.52); moved by the political upheavals of decolonising Africa of the 1950s he wrote the famous suite *Uhuru Afrika (Freedom Africa)* in 1959, a record that 'celebrates the bonds between Africans and the African diaspora – past, present, and future' (p.61).

Months later he visited Africa, a trip to Nigeria that would change his life. Kelly makes the case for Music from the New African Nations being as significant as Uhuru Afrika, in that it 'grew directly out of Weston's visit to Africa' (p.78). Eventually he took two of his children to live in Morocco for five years. He opened the African Rhythms Cultural Centre in Tangier, and was deeply influenced by the Gnawa, musicians and descendants of slaves taken from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Randy Weston had a childhood friend, the bassist Ahmed Abdul-Malik, whose aim was to 'revitalize jazz by composing pieces based on 'Eastern' modes or scales that extend beyond the Western diatonic and chromatic scales' (p.91). He converted to Islam, being born Jonathan Tim Jr., and became a member of the Muslim Brotherhood (not the Egyptian group of the same name). Kelly narrates the story of how Abdul-Malik negotiated representations of the 'Arab' in American culture; how he formed his first Arab-jazz fusion group in 1957; and made the first Arab-jazz fusion LP, *Jazz Sahara*: 'he made astonishingly modern music using ancient materials' (p.119).

The final chapter of Kelly's study tells of the 'Making of Sathima Bea Benjamin'; like Guy Warren, he suggests, she 'was not "African" enough to be marketable, and too "African" or exotic to be taken seriously as a great jazz vocalist' (p.122). However, despite turns of bad luck, Benjamin 'found joy in the most oppressive circumstances because she was part of a generation who lived through some of the worst ravages of apartheid and managed to create some of the most beautiful and joyous music on the planet' (p.159). Modern Africa certainly helped mould the jazz of the 1950s and 60s, jazz which 'speaks and will continue to speak, from every continent, every city, every culture around the globe' (p.169).

Also relates to:
History

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

BARRIO LIBRE: CRIMINALIZING STATES AND DELINQUENT REFUSALS OF THE NEW FRONTIER

Gilberto Rosas

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8223-5237-2
Pagination: pp.188
Price: £16.99

This unflinching, gritty ethnographic work is a study of the youths of the Barrio Libre, or Free 'Hood, at the border between Arizona and Sonora, Mexico. Underneath the Barrio Libre is a sewer network providing passage for illegal migrants; above, 'the border wall that a special US military unit reinforced and extended with sections of mobile runways from the first Persian Gulf War ..... [and] Mexico's Grupo Beta – a special police force marking the country's modern foray into policing of its northern border' (p.4). The Barrio youths, aged 9 to 16 when Rosas began working with them – exist in a state of 'low-intensity warfare' (p.7), supplementing legitimate income with the proceeds of mugging migrants underground; a warfare that 'collapses the distinctions between the police and the military, between regulating life and killing it' (p.7).

Rosas begins his fascinating analysis with a history of the Mexico-US border, which falls into three main epochs, firstly the 'old frontier' (p.30) of the colonialist settlers with their 'projects of sovereignty' (p.30) of what became southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico in the late nineteenth century. At this time, 'race and criminality began to emerge as key strategems [*sic*] of rule' (p.30). Secondly, the period of the modern border (1920 to the mid-1990s) with its 'creeping militarization of border law enforcement' (p.30) and concomitant flows of legal and illegal migrants. Lastly, from 1990 to the present, the 'new frontier' (p.29) when neoliberalism is established and becomes salient 'in certain managements of migration in the United States and warlike exercises of an incomplete sovereignty characterizing this period's Border Patrol campaigns' (p.30). The chapter also describes the birth of the Barrio Libre and 'the now anxiety-filled category of youths in border and migration scholarship' (p.53).

The second chapter is initially occupied by Rosas' reasons for writing 'Against Mexico' because, for example, of 'the widespread assumption that a large proportion of its citizenry should be exiled ..... abandoned in the scorching neoliberal ovens of the killing deserts of Sonora and Arizona as they seek to cross into the United States' (p.56). Also criticised are Mexico's disproportionate wealth and the Mexican authorities' arrests of 'potential immigrants' (p.57). Rosas interviewed many young men and women from the Barrio Libre, becoming, as he put it, contaminated in the eyes of the authorities, because of his association with them. Here in Chapter 2, we see him accompany Javi as he washes windscreens in the street. Living in the Barrio is a combination of legal and illegal practices; some earned money from sweeping factory chimneys, selling chewing gum or mixing cement on construction sites. Rosas maintains that the 'intensified policing of Mexico's new frontier coalesced what had been a loose solidarity of street youths engaged in petty crime into a hardened group of delinquents who identified themselves as *cholos* [gangsters]' (p.71).

Chapter 3 examines two specific border figures, the *cholos* and the *chúnteros*, the former preying upon the latter, usually taken to mean the 'undocumented' (p.23). Rosas' volume is permeated with visions of the nightmare specters of the dark, criminal underside of life at (and under) the border, where *cholas* and *cholos* 'evoke nightmarish insecurity; they bear signs of unauthorized, unsanctioned, and unchecked cultural and racial flows' (p.73).

There follows an '"Interlude", Post-September 11 at the New Frontier', a vivid account of time Rosas spent watching footage of the Twin Tower tragedy with youths from the Barrio Libre, documenting their reactions, for example, their 'love and sympathy for their countrymen' (p.91) who had been working in the buildings as janitors. Chapter 4, 'Against the United States: The Violent

Inaugurations and Delinquent Exceptions of the New Frontier', tells of the death of Beto, one of the Barrio youths; the 'regimes of surveillance and the militarization of the border' (p.23).

Chapter 5 uses vignettes of young men and women based on interviews in the Barrio, arguing that 'the youth of Barrio Libre embrace their imminent death as a final strategy of refusal to the order of the new frontier' (p.23). Following a second Interlude, this time detailing a cockfight organised by one of the youths, the concluding chapter, 'The New Frontier Thickens', shows how 'many of the youths have matured into young adults and have found new ways to make a living in Mexico's current drug war' (p.138) and that there are now 'new conditions of the socially exorcised' as well as revealing 'the criminal depths of contemporary state power' (p.146).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Education
Employment
Economics and Globalisation
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS

BRITISH ASIAN MUSLIM WOMEN, MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES AND COSMOPOLITANISM

Fazila Bhimji

Publisher: Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, Hampshire
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-137-01386-6
Pagination: pp.162
Price: £55

From the *Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series*, this trenchant and timely book celebrates the diversity and humanity of second generation British Asian Muslim women, their cosmopolitanism and their traversing of creative, virtual, political and religious arenas, and stands as a defiance of monolithic conceptions of these women. Bhimji, Senior Lecturer in Film and Media studies at the University of Central Lancashire, aims to 'contribute to scholarship on cosmopolitanism, gender and spatiality, and positioning of Muslim women' (p.1), and to 'contest certain common sense understandings of British Asian Muslim women as a fixed, static and homogenous group' (p.4). Based on interviews with 30 women and research into women's online discussion threads, the book shows how these women occupy different transnational, virtual and artistic spaces and are not necessarily tied by boundaries of race, religion or ethnicity. Bhimji fluently and persuasively argues the case for the cosmopolitan perspective, citing Kwame Appiah (2006) and Beck (2002) who see cosmopolitanism as 'challenge' (p.16) and as 'an alternative way of viewing lives and rationalities which include the otherness of others' (p.16).

British Muslim women of South Asian descent have been misrepresented by the British tabloid and broadsheet press, and in her second chapter, Bhimji examines a number of these newspapers to illustrate ways in which they have been 'homogenized' (p.30) in a racist manner. Young British Muslim women are often 'depicted as needing to be rescued from their oppressive positions' (p.39). The nation is seen as needing to 'save' 'victims' of 'forced marriages' (p.38), as if the women's families were assumed to be criminal and the women themselves lacking in agency and the wearing of the hijab or niqab is often portrayed as a means of refusing Western ideologies. These restrictive stereotypes deny the 'diversity and plurality' (p.51) among British Asian Muslim women.

The demonstration of how second generation British Asian Muslim women 'engage with multiple spheres' (p.51) begins with a chapter exploring these women's experiences of 'belonging to their parents' homeland as well as Britain' (p.52), using interviews that include narratives of visits to the homelands. Instead of travelling in fear of arranged marriage, as has sometimes been implied by the media, they 'exhibited cosmopolitan traits such as those of openness, flexibility and appreciation of cultures and lifestyles' (p.52). The numerous testimonies divulge 'connections with their parents' homeland but at the same time displayed strong associations with Britain' (p.60).

For her research, Bhimji attended study circles at two mosques in Manchester, the Muslim Youth Foundation (MYF) in the city centre's Northern Quarter, and a mosque in the well-known area of Longsight. Chapter 4 explores British Asian Muslim women's diverse engagement with religious spheres. They are shown to be 'active agents in expanding the meaning of the mosque where it could be simultaneously understood as a site of leisure and politics as well as sacred' (p.77). Women attended for various overlapping reasons: for the social network, to 'pass out flyers for marches and meetings' (p.75); to discuss fashion; as well as to pray.

Case studies of prominent British Asian Muslim women are presented in Chapter 5 in order to exemplify their negotiation of boundaries within the domains of art, comedy, poetry and politics, 'demonstrating their cosmopolitan selves' (p.89). Three women artists are chosen: Shazia Mirza, a comedian who 'helps ..... create a liminal space where diverse members of different groups come together whose lives may not necessarily always intersect' (p.95); Shamshad Khan, a performance poet, whose 'work varies greatly, but which definitely includes her subjectivities as a racialized woman within a difficult political and economic climate in Britain' (p.105); and Fareda Khan, a curator and deputy director of the international visual arts organisation Shisha, who 'also facilitates, creates and encourages cosmopolitan spaces' (p.113).

Bhimji's penultimate chapter, 'Expressions of Cosmopolitanism in the Virtual Sphere', focuses on discussions within two British-based virtual sites, *The Revival: Voice of the Muslim Youth* and *Spirit 21*. 'Conclusions' include the fact that 'overt references to religiosity in the virtual sphere challenge the idea that religiosity is always exercised and expressed in built environments such as mosques, churches and temples' (p.142). Finally, Bhimji raises the question of the 'Integration of Muslims' (Chapter 7), asserting that 'politicians as well as the media need to urgently promote a greater understanding of the heterogeneity of Muslim communities in Britain as well as in the transnational context, so that fears and anxieties about Muslims among the British public is put to rest and the diverse and cosmopolitan characteristics of Muslims are foregrounded' (p.147).

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
Science and Technology

TRANSCENDING BLACKNESS: FROM THE NEW MILLENNIUM MULATTA TO THE EXCEPTIONAL MULTIRACIAL

Ralina L. Joseph

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Year: 2013
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ISBN 978-0-8223-5344-7 (pbk.: alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.265
Price: £16.99

Ralina Joseph's preface describes her own 'race story' as she negotiated class and race as an undergraduate in the early 1990s. The introduction establishes the representations of 'mixed race' the book advances, exploring the history of hypodescent (the 'one-drop rule'); racialised nomenclature; antimiscegenation laws; and unfolding the genealogy of two emblematic mixed race figures. Joseph then examines in brief US popular culture's versions of the 'mulatto/a' and the 'multiracial', while deploring the way in which, amidst these anxieties about race, Blackness is characterised as deficit, something to be erased: 'the exceptional multiracial figures fight so much with their racialization that the texts have them metaphorically transform races in order to escape blackness' (p.20).

In Part I, 'The New Millennium Mulatta', examples of the stereotype of the 'tragic mulatta, a self-reflexive, highly sexualized, and, to varying degrees, ultimately angry and sad figure whose salvation would come about through black transcendence' (p.31), are explored. Jennifer Beal's portrayal of 'angry race girl Bette' (p.31) in the popular television drama *The L Word* is the subject of the first chapter. Bette, in what was billed as a 'lesbian soap opera' (p.37), is a 'primary signifier for multiracial African American women on television' (p.39) who constantly 'oversteps her bounds' (p.39). She is volatile and outspoken; what becomes clear however is that while her intersectional

identities of class, gender and sexuality are foregrounded, race is distinguished as 'a separate, nonintersectional, and ultimately damaging add-on' (p.39).

The 'punishment' (p.40) of Bette when she has been over-demonstrative is typical, Joseph writes, in 'representations of the historic tragic mulatta, the damned mixed-blood whose racial illegitimacy marks her as destined for tragedy' (p.40). However, she sees Bette as, as a new millennium mulatta, as stopping 'just short of becoming tragic' (p.40), because she refutes punishment. Joseph proceeds to discuss the nature and meaning of the 'race card', the concept of 'superwoman' in relation to *The L Word*; the implications of Bette's '"bad behaviors"' (p.62) and 'outside knowledge about Jennifer Beals' (p.63) and the way it informs viewing of *The L Word*.

The second chapter, 'The Sad Race Girl: Passing and the New Millennium Mulatta in Danzy Senna's *Caucasia*', deals with Birdie, a contrastingly 'sad, self-hating, perpetually passing race girl, whose mixed-race gloom tortures her internally' (p.67). Taking up the correspondence between her desire in *Transcending Blackness* to critique post-feminism in addition to post-race, Joseph analyses the way Senna 'presents Birdie's physical body' (p.68) as a 'vehicle' (p.68) for the core aspect of Black feminism – '"both/and"' rather than '"either/or"'. This leads to 'white-appearing subjects who identify as African American with greater flexibility in moving between many categories, including gender and sexuality, not just race' (p.68). Joseph examines the ways Caucasia presents 'whiteness [as] akin to invisibility while blackness means visibility' (p.71), and how Birdie affords 'multiple ways to understand passing in a contemporary moment' (p.71).

'Part II, The Exceptional Multiracial', is centred on 'the other half of the historic image of mixed-race African Americans' (p.21). Pro-abolitionists argued that there was a value in the mulatto/a figure for having 'a measure of whiteness' (p.21). Joseph cites Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) where 'mulattoes were imagined to be imbued with greater humanity than full-blood blacks' (p.21). Chapter 3, 'Transitioning to the Exceptional Multiracial: Escaping Tragedy through Black Transcendence in *Mixing Nia*', focuses on the independent film, *Mixing Nia* (1998) by Alison Swan, which concerns 'a mixed-race African American identity crisis' (p.97). Joseph shows how Nia changes 'elements of her identity in a bid to embrace, articulate, and perform her shifting notions of blackness until, at the end of the film, blackness is completely excised' (p.123), and we are left with the exceptional multiracial.

The final chapter charts race-switching in the popular reality television show *America's Next Top Model*, where the 'exceptional multiracial is produced through the white, black, Latino, Asian American, and multiracial contestants learning how to perform racial transcendence' (p.126). In effect, aspiring models have their appearances transformed in photoshoots: 'the show dictates that the winner must be able to transform her own racialized looks and ultimately appear post-racial' (p.128), rendering 'African Americanness as exceptionally multiracial: a malleable, performable, transformable escape from blackness' (p.129).

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
History
Social Theory

KURDS AND THE STATE IN IRAN: THE MAKING OF KURDISH IDENTITY

Abbas Vali

Publisher: I.B. Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84885-788-9 (hardback)
Pagination: pp. 215
Price: £50

Abbas Vali argues that the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906, in its 'marginalization of ethnic differences and their expulsion from the political process' (p.4), denied the Kurds of Iran their voice and identity, and that it was this effect, rather than an alleged Soviet conspiracy to divide Iran, that blazed the trail for the Kurds' own formation of an ethno-national community. In early 1946, the Kurds forged an independent republic in north-west Iran, at Mahabad, which, while temporary,

was influential in successive Kurdish nationalist movements. Vali refers to a wealth of sources here, from Kurdish newspapers between 1942 and 1946 to official documents of the Kurdish Republic, to underpin a trenchant theoretical analysis of 'the genealogy of Kurdish identity in Iran' (p.xii), countering historicist and essentialist versions.

The Constitutionalist era of Iran is explored initially, with its drive towards 'political and administrative centralism: a modern bureaucracy, a national army, a uniform tax regime and secular education' (p.5), which belied a 'latent authoritarianism' (p.5), later to characterise Pahlavi rule. The Kurdish community, ethno-linguistic in composition, is shown to have been largely 'pre-capitalist and agrarian' (p.6) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, without a 'secular intelligentsia' (p.7), instead structured around tribal politics. Following discussion of 'Pahlavi Absolutism and the Prelude to Kurdish Nationalism' (p.11), clandestine organisation Komalay Azadixwazi Kurdistan (Society for the Liberation of Kurdistan) is described, which led to the formation of the Komalay Jiyanaway Kurdistan (Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, KJK) in 1942 in Mahabad, together with KJK's mission to 'create a united independent homeland in Kurdistan' (p.24).

The KJK, as charted in Chapter 2, had a brief existence before becoming reinvented as the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) in 1945, an organisation committed to autonomy. The 'dissolution' (p.26) of KJK, in the 'radical nationalist view' (p.26), is seen to 'signify the political capitulation of its leadership/to Soviet policy, which opposed its radical political project, fearing adverse consequences for Soviet security' (p.26/27).However, Vali, as mentioned above, sees the combined forces of the 'political, economic and institutional requirements of mass political organization and modern popular politics' (p.28) as far more pertinent in the transformation of KJK to KDPI than the 'strategic considerations of the Soviet Union' (p.28). Rather, the 'growing need for a central political authority with a territorial institutional base came into conflict with the parochial organizational structure' (p.47) of KJK, and the formation of the KDPI and its 'adoption of the autonomist political project by its leadership' (p.47) solved the problem that arose from the conflicting security interests of the Soviets and the economic / political interests of the Kurds.

Chapter 3 examines the structure of political power of the Republic of 1946, itself 'as it were the institutional form of the KDPI's political authority, its practical existence' (p.49). While centred on Mahabad, its purview reached the south and south-western sectors of the Kurdish territory. Although technically Mahabad was outside the Soviet zone, the Republic benefitted from 'the presence of the Red Army to the north of the Saqqiz-Baneh line ..... a barrier effectively keeping the Iranian army outside its formal jurisdiction' (p.49). Social and political structures of the Republic are explored, such as the reliance of governmental revenue on taxation, defined as '"the soul of the nation"' (p.61), and the contrast between the government's 'social structure and modern ideological outlook' (p.66).

The last chapter deals with 'Ambiguities and Anomalies in the Discourse of the Republic', beginning with the '...silence, a closure, on the subject of Komalay JK and its place in the formation and development of nationalist history and politics' (p.85) that can be found amongst the textual discourse of "Kurdistan", published by the KDPI, which seems to indicate 'forced amnesia, an attempt to suppress Komalay JK in the national memory' (p.85). Discourses such as anti-imperialism 'imbued with Marxist class categories, deployed to aid political analysis' (p.103) are traced.

Ultimately, it can be seen that 'the constituent elements of Iranian national identity were formed in the Constitutional period' and 'welded together by the processes and practices of state formation and consolidation of power under Pahlavi absolutism during 1925-41' (p.113), while the Republic was 'both the site and the object of significations of Kurdish national identity in the political field for a brief period in post-Second World War Iran' (p.113). Vali concludes that 'freedom does not arise in the absence of power', and that the Kurds should remember this and 'empower themselves if they want to be heard in a democratic Iran' (p.138).

Also relates to:
History
Politics and Government

FIRE IN THE ASHES: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AMONG THE POOREST CHILDREN IN AMERICA

Jonathan Kozol

Publisher: Crown Publishers: New York
year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-4000-5246-2
eISBN 978-0-7704-3595-0
Pagination: pp.354
Price: £43.72

Jonathan Kozol has been working with children in inner-city schools in the United States for almost fifty years. Over several years, he has been in conversation with a group of children from one of its poorest urban neighbourhoods. He begins his story – the story of these children – with a picture of New York City's poor and homeless people on Christmas Eve 1985, thousands of them 'packed into decrepit, drug-infested shelters, most of which were old hotels situated in the middle of Manhattan' (p.3). Kozol focuses on one hotel, the Martinique, where 1,400 children and some 400 of their parents struggled against the odds. Asthma and diarrhoea were prevalent among the children; depression and drug abuse among the adults. All were hungry and exposed to the 'documented presence of widely known carcinogens' (p.7) such as asbestos, not to mention sexual exploitation. In 1988/89 the hotels were finally closed and the 'several dozen families..... all but two of whom were black or Latino' (p.11) – those whom Kozol had got to know – were moved into poor, and segregated, areas of the Bronx.

Kozol is the author of numerous books on this subject, and *Fire in the Ashes: Twenty-Five Years Among the Poorest Children in America* is a response to those who have read his previous work and wondered what became of his subjects. He stayed (and stays) in touch with many of them over the decades and here tells the story of those who 'prevailed, a few triumphantly' (p.12); those who merely survived; and those who did not. His first chapter outlines his agenda; his second tells the story of Eric and his sister Lisette, who, due to the kindness of a reader of one of Kozol's previous books, were able to resettle in Montana with their mother Vicky, in a house part-rented by the local church and with the best efforts of the community to embrace the new family. Sadly the situation worked well for a while but Eric eventually turned to serious crime, was unable to open up to people about his feelings, and committed suicide. This broke his mother's resilience and she died later of pancreatic cancer. Only Lisette survived and led a positive life.

In the third chapter, 'Pietro and His Children', a pattern begins to emerge whereby some of the people who had lived in destitution in somewhere like the Martinique Hotel were injured by the experience. Pietro Locatello's son Christopher became involved in 'panhandling' on the streets aged 10 and by the age of 15 was often out all night with no-one in the family knowing where he was. He was convicted later of attempted homicide for throwing, along with other youths, a boy they did not know onto the underground tracks, and served a jail term. He eventually apparently committed suicide with a heroin overdose.

Chapter 4 tells of Ariella Patterson, 'a self-possessed and level-headed woman' (p.81) whose son, Silvio, died age 14 while 'surfing' – lying flat on a train roof and riding through tunnels. Silvio's younger brother, Armando, also began to get involved in drug dealing and was in prison, but managed to extricate himself and 'lives for his wife and children now' (p.102). Conversely the subject of Chapter 5 is Alice Worthington, in regard to whom, Kozol reflects, 'victimhood is not the word that comes to mind ..... she rejected victimhood ..... she rose above the meanness that surrounded her' (p.139).

Part II of the book tells the story of 'A Bright Shining Light', the survivors of places like the Martinique, such as Leonardo, 'The Boy Who Ate a Giant Bag of Cookies While He Walked Me All Around the Neighborhood, And His Very Interesting Mom'; and Pineapple, whom Kozol met when she was six, a person 'in love with life ..... a buoyant and affirming personality' (p.173), who also features in a second chapter, 'Pineapple in All Her Glory (And Still Bossing Me Around)', as does Jeremy, a 12 year-old in Chapter 10 and at college in Chapter 11.

The final story is about Benjamin, who is Kozol's godson. It 'was the hardest one to write'

(p.283). Benjamin lost his mother when he was 12 and subsequently three of his brothers; but at the end of Kozol's narrative, lives a full and busy life, attending college and inspired by religious faith. Kozol's book is filled with a love of humanity and cries out for the attention of American public and politicians alike.

Also relates to:
Education
Employment
Economics and Globalisation
Housing
Health and Social Care

THE BIOPOLITICS OF MIXING: THAI MULTIRACIALITIES AND HAUNTED ASCENDANCIES

Jinthana Haritaworn

Publisher: Ashgate Publishing Limited: Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, Vermont
Year: 2012
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ISBN 978-1-4094-2502-1 (ebook)
Pagination: pp.187
Price: £55

Jinthana Haritaworn presents here a deeply intelligent, engaging study which draws on a wealth of sources; from interviews conducted in Britain and Germany to media debates, to bring into being new populations of 'mixing' (p.10). The book traces the 'reshuffling between what is assimilable and what is disposable ..... the good mixes that tend to be figured as white or whitening ..... the beautiful "mixed race" face of the multicultural nation', and on the other hand, 'the "bad mixes" of the mixed-up in between: the confused multiracialities that cannot escape marginality .....' (p.11). Championing the viability of intersectionality and the need to 'start at the intersections, and then go further' (p.13), Haritaworn asks 'How are some invited into life while others are discarded from it? How are the realms of life and death, value and pathology reshuffled at certain moments and conjunctures?' (p.13).

Following the introductory chapter which maps out the main arguments of the book, a study which 'retells the chronology of a typical "What are you?" encounter' (p.22), Chapter 2 begins by questioning the 'celebration of multiraciality as a model of postmodern (non-)identity that subverts or even abolishes race' (p.22). Haritaworn's claim is that even while multiraciality is, in its contemporary framing, described as positive and 'enriched' (p.23), it is still haunted by past evocations of degeneracy. Chapters 3 and 4 examine 'the ascendancy of multiraciality across various sites' (p.23), exploring the 'revival of notions of "stock" in knowledges of "mixed" and "mongrel" (Mischling) bodies' (p.23). First, 'From Monster to Fashion Model: Regenerating Racialized Bodies' draws on interviews and popular culture, and second, 'Is it Better to be Mixed Race?' discusses ways in which, despite technological advances such as the human genome project, which appear to 'look past the loaded surface of "phenotype", the reimagining (and re-imaging) of the racialized body through notions of "genotype" nevertheless reinvests in the idea of biologically distinct populations with measurable traits' (p.23).

The way that in the 'new biopolitics of "mixed race", the heterozygous (aka the interracial) may join the heteronormative on the condition that its diversity can be turned into value' (p.91), raising questions about who has to be sidelined in this utopia, is discussed in Chapter 5, 'Hybrid Nations, Mixed Feelings: From Marginal Man to Obama'. In contemporary politics and media, Muslims, particularly Muslim youth, have been portrayed as the 'Other' that does not 'mix enough' (p.92), emerging as 'disaffected, disloyal and hostile to national peace' (p.93). Haritaworn traces the figure of the 'marginal man' of confused identity through census debates and across 'German integration reports' (p.93). She constantly queries the credibility of the celebratory status of the 'mixed' subject as a 'privileged performer of a tolerant, loving, free and multicultural nation/US/Europe/West' (p.112). 'Exceptional Cities, Exceptional Citizens: Metronormativity and Mimeticism' then asks, 'how does this celebratory figuration co-exist with a marginality that continues to haunt research, auto/biographical and other accounts?' (p.113). Here, the '"Mixed Race Londoner"' (p.114) is evoked by transcriptions from interviews with people such as Mark Hock, a twenty year old of Jewish-American and Chinese-

Thai parentage who also appears earlier on in the book. Haritaworn finds a conflict between her own experiences and those of Mark; his 'account is ..... casually agnostic to wider questions of racism' (p.116); his is a 'utopian world of tolerant intermingling' (p.116). Thus, she contests, 'Mark's "mixed" people become "new" and "unique" only by dis(re)membering earlier generations of diaspora and interraciality, as well as the histories of genocide and imperialism that gave rise to them' (p.116).

Chapter 7 opens with a quote from an artists' statement by the young Filipina-American artists, the Mail Order Brides (MOB), who are promoters of 'a cultural activism that thoroughly refuses the sexual conservatism of a diasporic collectivity which is ..... imagined as the source of cheap "maids" and "brides"' (p.133). 'Reckoning with Prostitutes: Performing Thai Femininity' is a chapter that Haritaworn previously contributed to a book published in 2011. She maps the territory of 'the state, market and media ..... Western feminism ..... with its material and ideological investment in the "trafficked victim", and its historic complicities in the rescue, objectification, patronage and "protection" of female subaltern bodies and sexualities' (p.135) from her own 'transnational entry point, of Thai multiraciality and second generationality in Northwest Europe' (p.135).

Haritaworn ends the book by 'imagining different beginnings ..... that include both accountability to those who deserve to be regarded in their specificity and an awareness that all our entry points, from Thai to queer, from trans to multiracialized, are inevitably haunted by unassimilable difference, both beautiful and terrifying' (p.158).

Also relates to:
Science and Technology
Social Theory
Arts, Literature and Sport

RACIAL IMPERATIVES: DISCIPLINE, PERFORMATIVITY, AND STRUGGLES AGAINST SUBJECTION

Nadine Ehlers

Publisher: Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis
Year: 2012
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ISBN 978-0-253-22336-4 (paper : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-0-253-00536-6 (e-book)
Pagination: pp.184
Price: £25

The introduction to this richly textured, intelligent study opens with the scenario of the court case in Westchester County, New York, 9 November 1925, *Rhinelander v. Rhinelander*, in which Leonard 'Kip' Rhinelander, who had filed for an annulment of his marriage to Alice Rhinelander, née Jones, a year earlier, charged Alice with fraud, accusing her of 'having lured him to wed by claiming that she was white and not "colored"' (p.2). Alice 'was stripped naked and paraded before the all white, male jury' (p.2), who finally absolved her, 'stipulating that her blackness was indeed visible and that she had not deceived Leonard' (p.2). Rhinelander is a central element in the book, in which the question, 'how do individuals participate in their own racialization and how might it be possible to challenge the workings of race in order to realize new socialities?' (p.3) is posed.

In Chapter 1, Nadine Ehlers questions how Foucault's ideas on discipline, as 'a set of practices and techniques that "makes" individuals' (p.4), can be applicable to accounting for race, arguing that 'race is a form of discipline that produces subjects – as raced' (p.5). She demonstrates that 'rather than being corporeal "truths", blackness and whiteness are (a) normative and regulatory ideals, (b) coercive demands, and (c) forms of power, as they are enmeshed with certain forms of knowledge that invest bodies' (p.5). Ehlers concludes this chapter with the assertion that 'race as a corporeal truth has been believed to inhere in color (or skin) and in blood, and it is these ideas that have both structured racial discipline and exhausted racial logic' (p.31).

The way law, as seen in Rhinelander, is a 'key instrument in the technology of power that is racial discipline' (p.5) is explored next, as Ehler shows law entering 'into a network of relations that together augment ..... racial discipline' (p.5). Laws were passed in the eighteenth century that defined

race, proscribed anti-miscegenation, and allocated status, thus formulating 'the idea that race is a truth' (p.32). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the notion of descent – 'bloodlines and fractions or drops of blood' (p.49) was used to define and identify 'racial "truth"' (p.49).

In Chapter 3, Ehlers investigates Judith Butler's work on performativity. Given the situation where 'race is a disciplinary practice, it is also performative ..... because it is an act – or, more precisely a series of repeated acts – that brings into being what it names' (p.6). As with her expansion on the work of Foucault (who only briefly touches on the subject of race itself), Ehlers takes Butler's claim that 'race is performatively produced in ways similar to gender' (p.7) as a springboard for further analysis, since Butler's work does not itself include 'a consideration of racial performativity' (p.7). This chapter explores passing, which is only a duplicity 'if the notion of hypodescent is accepted' (p.61); which 'is only ever tenuous or provisional as it relies on those around the individual recognizing and validating the performance of white subjectivity' (p.63).

Ehlers returns to Rhinelander in Chapters 4 and 5, to the 'courts' resecuring of Alice as black' (p.9) and to the 'failed performance of white masculinity' (p.9) of Leonard, respectively. Leonard's counsel, Isaac Mills, 'firmly entrenched Alice within the dominant discursive imagery of "black / womanhood" that has persistently positioned black feminity as marked by the traits of sexual aggressiveness, potency, and promiscuity' (pp.82/83). Leonard is also shown to have attempted passing, albeit of a different form, having deviated 'from the performative demands of white masculinity in terms of both his mental and social behavior' (p.91).

Examining how the concept of 'agency' has been interpolated, 'specifically focusing on how it has been formulated by Foucault and Butler' (p.107), Ehlers asks in Chapter 6 'how can Alice be thought of as a subject who exercizes racial agency? Indeed, can she be interpreted in this light at all? And if so, is there resistant potential in her actions?' (p.107). The concluding chapter begins with Eddie Murphy's 1984 *Saturday Night Live* sketch, 'White Like Me'. The African American 'conduct[s] a mock-serious experiment', made-up as Mr White in order to experience New York as a White man. This, Ehlers suggests, 'may indeed hold more radical potential for unsettling race than undetected acts of racial passing, for the excessive or hyperbolic production of white identity holds the potential to expose race as artifice' (p.125). Ehlers advocates a kind of vigilance about 'how subjects might reflexibly and critically approach the production of themselves and others as raced – within existing realities' (p.142).

Also relates to:
Social Theory

MY JOURNEY: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY BY MALUK SINGH CHUHAN

Maluk Singh Chuhan

Publisher: Gulab Publications: Manchester
Year: 2009 (UK 2011)
ISBN: 978-0-956-86430-7
Pagination: pp.114
Price: £15

The autobiography *My Journey* is a compelling story of the life of Maluk Singh Chuhan, a male born and raised in a rural Indian village in Punjab during the 1920s. The life of Chuhan represents one of multiple transitions through society and culture, transitions that were both challenging and exciting. Chuhan was born into an agricultural family, but retained vast ambitions to become a professional individual, realising such ambition as a practising lawyer within India and after migrating to the UK.

The autobiography is less of a historical and chronologically ordered life story, acting more as an assemblage of significant events and reflections that shaped Chuhan's identity and attitude towards life. The composition of nostalgic stories are portrayed through a conversational informal narrative, effectively allowing the writer to personally convey his experiences to the reader, allowing emotions and feelings to be reflected throughout the text. Chuhan tells sentimental anecdotes involving people close to his heart, those that had an influence upon his life involving personally significant characters, such as that of Kharka the kitchen cook at Chuhan's boarding school, who acted as a 'second mother'

offering care and support in the absence of his real mother.

Chuhan's mother is a central figure within the text illustrating the importance of her within his life. A widow at the age of 33, when Chuhan was only 2 years old, his mother was tasked with being the sole carer for her six children, providing all of the vital services to allow the healthy perpetuation of the family. The difficulties that faced his mother are reflective of the role of females in Indian society in general, positioned as figures constrained within the domestic realm to offer care and support to the family, and denied the same rights and social status as males. This realisation is a constant problem for Chuhan who, despite believing that there has been change in the male/female divide in Indian society, considers such change to have occurred at a 'snail's pace'.

The frustrations levied by Chuhan towards Indian society, specifically the corruption of public life, contributed to his decision to migrate in 1964 to Britain, with its emphasis on the rule of law, fair administration and freedom of speech without fear. This move, representing as it did a transition in his way of life, raised issues of integration for Chuhan, particularly in relation to racialised barriers in employment; issues he was able to overcome to become a successful legal practitioner. Wider societal issues are thus shown through the lens of the individual experiences of Chuhan and his family.

Overall, the text offers a personal narrative of the challenging life of a young male in India, who through the undying love and support of his mother managed to gain an education and ambition to succeed in life. The transition to life in the UK offers an individual perspective of societal problems that faced migrants in the UK during the 1960s, many of which are currently prevalent today. *My Journey* is an intriguing, insightful and relevant autobiography that charts the challenges faced by Maluk Singh Chuhan throughout his life, many of which are prevalent in contemporary society and experienced across the globe: class division, migration, cultural integration, sexism and religion. The autobiographical nature of the text situates *My Journey* as largely descriptive, hence it lacks a critical or theoretical perspective, but the narrative style and sentimental discussions help to facilitate a stimulating story through which Chuhan's changing viewpoints are portrayed to the reader. The text therefore primarily appeals to a wider audience beyond academia, but its strength offers an uplifting and interesting discussion to the reader, encouraging them to engage, relate and reflect upon their life experiences through that of Maluk Singh Chuhan's.

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

ECONOMICS AND GLOBALISATION

AFRICA'S MOMENT

Jean-Michel Severino and Olivier Ray, translated by David Fernbach

Publisher: Polity Press: Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA
Year: 2011
ISBN: -13: 978-0-7456-5157-6
Pagination: pp.317
Price: £20

The title, *Africa's Moment*, refers to the point at which the continent's population will reach one billion, and the book gives a trailblazing and incisive vision of Africa's imminent future from a French perspective, co-authored by a former vice-president of the World Bank and CEO of the Agence Française de Développement and a worker at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department for Policy Analysis. While the rest of the world has taken note of Africa's recent economic growth:

> the societies on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and above all their economic actors, have turned their backs. There is no longer any reflective, coherent and prospective public thinking about Africa. It is high time, then, to get to know Africa again (p.2).

This lively account of a continent in perpetual motion, poised on the brink of unprecedented transformation, begins with Part I 'The Peopling of a Continent', Chapter 1 'Who Wants To Be A Billionaire?' The constant flux of populations are traced; the viciousness of slavery and colonialism ('two successive bloodlettings' [p.8]); sudden increases in population density following advances in healthcare; the 'veritable demographic earthquake' (p.9) conjured by African independence movements, 'bloody crises' (p.9) following the fall of the Soviet Union, and the 'economic convulsions of the 1980s' (p.9).

The second chapter shows that while contemporary times are often epitomised by fluid global migration, 'Africa has arrived too late ..... the time of massive intercontinental migrations is essentially past, the window of opportunity closed' (p.20), citing examples such as Ireland's mid-nineteenth century famine when up to 1.5 million Irish emigrated to North America in a decade, out of a population of 8 million. The co-authors investigate the limitations of Thomas Malthus' theories of a 'geometrical progression in human population' (p.21), pointing out that Africa is not alone in its convulsive demographic expansion unmatched by adequate infrastructure; 'even today, in China, Malaysia or Tunisia, economic growth, political stability and national unity – the premises of "peaceful" demographic transformation – take precedence over human rights and democracy' (p.24).

'Africa on the Move', Part II of the study, sets forth some barely acknowledged statistics: 'Africa south of the desert has already between 16 and 35 million immigrants, whereas only 4 million ..... of its citizens are settled in OECD countries' (p.29), and asks 'What will the situation be tomorrow?' (p.30). There will be an inevitable increase in entry to the African labour market, as well as 'a class of young urban unemployed' (p.31), although 'the Western systems of production depend on a regular transfusion of new blood from abroad' (p.33). The desperate need for doctors, nurses and pharmacists in African countries is exacerbated by the "brain drain", and together with 'the spread of epidemics and a fresh rise in African fertility' (p.35), this will only get worse, the co-authors predict; however, 'new models of co-operation and exchange seek to replace the current "exodus of skills" by a "circulation of skills"' (p.36).

Chapter 4, 'Crowded Roads', asks 'Who are these travelers now journeying on the roads of Africa?' (p.41) and explores xenophobia, internal migration, and the 'fabled African melting pot [ ] still bubbling today' (p.50). Part III, 'Africa against Growth?' begins with Chapter 5, 'The Undiscoverable Curse', interrogating preconceptions of Africa as 'permanently poor, outside of globalization, abandoned to famine and war' (p.55). The ideas of 'fatality of race' (p.55), 'geographical accident' (p.57) and 'colonial drama' (p.59) are discussed – 'Geographism, structuralism, culturalism: these three theses ..... clumsily support the argument of [Africa's] fated underdevelopment' (p.62). Chapter 6 examines the 'pitiless mechanism of economic cycles' (p.64).

Part IV, 'When Africa Awakes', views contemporary Africa in a cycle of 'emergence' (p.77), 'The Great Shake-Out' and 'Emerging Africans' looking at the double explosion of population and urbanisation. Part V, 'Between God and Mammon', explores African identity; urban composition; the impact of Islam and Christianity; the 'age of globalized media' (p.122); 'The End of Ethnicity'; and African democratisation. Part VI opens by discussing how Africa's resource riches enclose 'whole societies in a political economy of capture or predations rather than production' (p.152). There follow chapters on 'The Vanguard of Development' and 'Fragile Africa: One Crisis after Another'. Part VII concerns 'The Limits to Growth', 'The Hunger for Land' and 'The Human Struggle', among other subjects, and the final part celebrates Africa as 'The Newcomer at the Feast of Nations'. Concluding, the co-authors configure a vision of Africa as at 'a new chapter in its history. As with every new era, the page is blank' (p.262).

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

THE CORPORATION THAT CHANGED THE WORLD: HOW THE EAST INDIA COMPANY SHAPED THE MODERN MULTINATION (2ND EDITION)

Nick Robins

Publisher: Pluto Press: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-745-33195-9
Pagination: pp.260
Price: £18

The second edition of *The Corporation That Changed The World* expands upon Robins' widely acclaimed first edition, placing the British owned East India Company at the locus of discussion to explore historical themes of corruption, business malpractice and social (un)responsibility. The historical tracing of 'the first multinational corporation' and its legacy reflects the emergence of contemporary business practices, pioneering the shareholder model of corporate ownership, and operating as a global trader of commodities. Robins explicitly presents an affinity to modern corporations, perceived through the economic challenges encountered by the company. The role of the East India Company in the 'Bengal Bubble' crash resulted from an over-accumulation of capital, with the firm becoming an emblematic figure of 'too big to fail' through it's nationalization by the British government. Thus the experiences of the East India Company are considered in a contemporary context following the 2008 global economic crisis.

Robins analyses the divergent historical representation of the company between Europe and Asia, one eradicated from thought in the UK, but having played a significant role in the construction of Indian national identity, particularly in light of its re-emergence under Indian ownership in 2010. The public memory and its construction are called into question, suggesting that Britain has conveniently forgotten the destructive actions of the company. Initially a spice and textile trader, the unrestricted power embodied by the East Indian Company enabled the firm to utilise its private 250,000 strong army to control parts of India and the previously thriving Bengal, reflecting a colonial legacy of territorial control. The subsequent nationalisation of the firm due to extreme management and practice failures reinforced the colonial relationship between Britain and India, with the British government extending their geographical control.

Discussion of the East India Company's role in facilitating the illegal opium trade from India to China reveals the corruption that characterises the company and situates profit-making as its primary pursuit, regardless of social and political costs. The costs of the newfound relationship between India, China and opium were immensely damaging for China; essentially causing two wars and further benefitting Britain through the subsequent market liberation of the Chinese economy.

The practices of the corporation illustrate how political power is gained through economic prominence. The ability to overcome national and international legislation, disregarding the rights and wellbeing of people in the relentless pursuit of profiteering, reflects the dominance of trade and economics over morality and ethics; a perceived characteristic of many multinational corporations in the twenty first century. The underlying moral of the text focuses on this ability to transgress political boundaries for economic gain, operating in socially unaccountable ways with profoundly detrimental effects. The lessons presented through such historical representations have potential for education and there is an explicit call by the author to utilise historical knowledge to learn from previous malpractice. Dominant global firms, Robins asserts, consistently act in socially, economically, politically and environmentally destructive ways, and valuable lessons should be learnt from the case of the East India Company.

The narrative style includes 'live' aspects of public discussion and walks at key locations visited by Robins in his attempt to physically understand the East India Company, aiding the reader by contextualizing history in the present day. The focus of the text is not traditionally academic in style, yet offers an empirically rich and historically accurate discussion of a corporation whose actions had global reverberations, through both the production and reinforcement of inequality, and the business structure revolutions it embodied. The book thus appeals to a wide audience, but particularly those interested in colonial relations and the historical emergence of multinational corporations.

Also relates to:
History
Politics and Government

EDUCATION

MIXED MATTERS: MIXED-RACE PUPILS DISCUSS SCHOOL AND IDENTITY

Denise Williams

Publisher: Matador: Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicester
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1848765-719
Pagination: pp.165
Price: £22.99

Written in response to the lack of literature on the subject of mixed-race pupils in British schools, this book argues that it is not always appropriate to fuse the issues of Black and mixed-race pupils. The author uses the term 'mixed-race' to refer to those with a White British and Black British/ Caribbean parent. The book communicates the perspectives of young people who have attended youth conferences on the subject and aims to 'progress a crucial discussion for teachers and other professionals in education' (p.2). It also contains resources that can be adapted to support work with mixed-race pupils and provide assistance in training and development of teachers.

The first chapter establishes the importance of the subject of the book and introduces the Multiple Heritage Project, which the author worked on with founder Bradley Lincoln. 'Acknowledging that pupils who identify as mixed heritage hail from a vast and diverse range of cultures, nationalities and backgrounds, Bradley coined the term "Mix-d" to encapsulate the desire to reflect all of oneself and not feel the need to deny any single or multiple parts of one's heritage' (p.7).

Chapter 2, 'Mixed-race: past and present', gives the background that allows the reader to comprehend the 'current position of the mixed-race group' (p.5). This includes information such as the fact that there were two distinct groups of mixed-race Caribbean people in nineteenth century England, one of which resulted from White West Indian plantation owners and Black slave women, and tended to be relatively more wealthy, and the other, 'generally poor, British-born white/black Caribbeans' (p.12). The British perspective on mixed-race people over the centuries is divided into four types: 'invisibility, marginality, homogeneity and community' (p.13). These attitudes interweave and even contemporaneously, 'features of all four are still apparent' (p.13). Here, the model for conferences used by the Multiple Heritage Project is outlined in detail.

Next, what teachers and other educational professionals feel to be key issues for mixed-race pupils are examined, part of the work of Mix-d being to elicit such information. A clear perception regarding underachievement among mixed-race pupils typically includes the following: 'a conflict of identity and no sense of belonging'; 'a lack of positive role models'; 'low expectations'; 'low self esteem'; and 'racism' (p.29). However, there are 'impositions, assumptions and stereotypes' underlying these ideas and these are explored in the subsequent chapters.

Two of these key ideas – that mixed-race pupils 'inevitably suffer identity confusion' and that mixed-race pupils 'should adopt a single racial identity – preferably a black one' (p.5) are discussed in Chapter 4, and the fact that '[s]ociety's fixation with pigeon-holing and labelling creates a chaotic situation with matters of race mixing' (p.38). This emphatic misunderstanding and misrepresentation is examined further in Chapter 5 which deals with assumptions made about mixed-race pupils, some of which are either untrue or not relevant all of the time.

Chapter 6 is devoted to mixed-race pupils' accounts of their own perceptions of the operation of racial stereotypes in school. Some of these include: '"People are surprised that I am intelligent"'; '"People have low expectations of your behaviour, but assume you can do sports well"' (p.73). Examples of challenging those with stereotypical attitudes through actions are also cited: '"I do positive things like picking up the litter off the bus to show the bus driver I'm not what he thinks"' (p.74).

'Talking Matters' shares the views of young people after they had taken part in a Mix-d

conference, asking, 'Do the conferences make a difference to young people's lives? Does getting pupils to talk about their racial identities have any impact on their schooling?' (p.82). Their positive feedback, Williams points out, which included feelings of new respect, self confidence and a sense of community, can be recreated in schools. 'Schools that demonstrate respect to mixed-race pupils and value their racial identities build strong home-school relations and reassure pupils that school staff care and the pupils matter' (p.84).

Chapter 8 specifically focuses on the accounts of nine mixed-race people aged between 19 and 35 years, who 'felt comfortable and confident with their racial identities' (p.97). They illustrate some of the 'potential barriers erected by schools and education professionals concerning pupils' identities' (p.97) including disrespecting and devaluing and 'reticence in dealing with racist incidents' (p.97). Chapter 9, 'Mixed matters in schools', gives guidelines for working with mixed-race pupils and advocates 'A whole school approach'. Ten appendices complete this groundbreaking and essential study, packed with practical activities for use in the classroom and in training and CPD for teachers.

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

RACIALIZED IDENTITIES: RACE AND ACHIEVEMENT AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH

Na'ilah Suad Nasir

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN:978-0-8047-6019-5
Pagination: pp.200
Price: £19.95

Beginning with a survey of existing literature on the influence of constructions of identity on educational achievement, this volume provides a new perspective on social and educational stratification and on the potential extracurricular activity can bring to African American students' learning. Na'ilah Suad Nasir draws on years of research, both inside schools and outside, together with studies of African American adolescents. Central to her inquiry are questions such as '[how] can we understand the relation between processes of learning and processes of identity? How are identities and learning related for African American students as they take part in school and/or community-based learning settings?' (p.9)

Nasir's first chapter, 'Identity as Possibility and Limitation', presents the background to the theoretical discussion that unfolds throughout the book. It opens with a case history of a student, Victor, whose 'identity as a student and as an African American male were limited by the ideas he perceived in the world around him, with severe consequences for both his educational trajectory and his identity' (p.13). Initially successful in his junior year, his performance then declined and he 'spoke candidly about his effort to craft a sense of who he was racially' (pp.12/13).

Chapter 2 relates interactions between 'learning and identity processes in learning settings outside of school and highlights the ways in which these settings provide resources for learning identities to African American youth' (p.10). Here, the opening case study is Octavia, who became involved in 'track and field' (p.32), learning to be a hurdler, and being seen to excel in hurdling, even though it had not been her original intention to be involved in sport. 'Octavia's story is an example of the possible strengths of out-of-school learning settings for supporting both learning and identities of young people' (p.32).

Chapters 3 to 5 deal with the connections between 'engagement and achievement in school and students' racialized identities' (p.10). 'Wrestling with Stereotypes' begins with Clem and Jordan discussing the pervasiveness of stereotypes about African Americans. Nasir asks 'what role do stereotypes play in the lives of contemporary youths as they make sense of what it means to be African American? Are stereotypes still alive in this "postracial" era?' (p.63) analysing data from research she undertook into the 'ways that race played out in math classrooms for African American students and the ways that racial identity was shaped and expressed within school and classroom life'

(p.63). Secondly, 'On Being Black at School' examines two categories of African American identity, 'street-savvy and school-oriented and socially conscious' (p.105).

In the third of these chapters, the experiences of three individual students are focused on, two of whom originate from the study analysed in Chapter 4, and one from the study of sport in Chapter 2, emphasising 'particular ways that aspects of the learning settings make some identities available to students, while constraining other identities' (p.110). The aspects concerned comprise 'material resources', 'relational resources' and 'ideational resources', the latter referring to 'ideas about oneself and one's relationship to and place in a practice and the world, as well as ideas about what is valued and what is good' (p.110).

A synthesis of the preceding pages of the book is given in Chapter 6, 'Reflections on Identity and Learning', covering 'Access to Learning Resources'; 'Scaffolding and Support for Learning'; 'Evaluation and Feedback'; 'Access to Identity Resources'; 'Putting Something of Oneself into the Practice'; 'Material Resources'; 'Relational Resources'; 'Ideational Resources'; 'Range in African American Identities'; and 'Relation Between African American Identities and School'.

'Up You Mighty Race: Teaching as Identity-Building', quoting Black nationalist leader and civil rights activist Marcus Garvey, explores the concept of 'purposeful identity construction' (p.144), emphasising those educational spaces that have 'effectively (or rather, positively) attended to issues of identity and learning for African American students' (p.145). These include 'Developing Identity in African American Segregated Schools', showing how teachers, administrators and families mobilized to support their young peoples' education in the segregated south; 'Encouraging Positive Identities in an African-Centered School', which began as a 'Saturday enrichment and tutoring program in 1972 amid the Black Power movement' (p.155); and 'Deconstructing and Supporting Racial Identities in a Community Youth Program', in Oakland, California, run by non-profit organisation The Mentoring Center. As Nasir concludes, 'these examples provide a set of ideas that can advance a conversation about how learning settings can be designed to support the racialized and academic identities of African American youth ..... inspiration – both for better theoretical accounts of these processes and better design work in schools and classrooms' (p.168).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Social Theory
Arts, Literature and Sport

STREETSMART SCHOOLSMART: URBAN POVERTY AND THE EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT BOYS

Gilberto Q. Conchas and James Diego Vigil

Publisher: Teachers College Press, Columbia University: New York and London
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8077-5318-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-0-8077-5319-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp197
Price: £29.50

Gilberto Conchas and James Diego Vigil bring a visceral perspective and an incisive theoretical framework to the argument that schooling is the key to allowing urban boys, from different ethnic backgrounds, the opportunity to succeed despite socioeconomic impediments. Their essential concern is 'how to create interventions that will facilitate the transition of young men of color who belong to gangs from the culture of the street to the culture of the school' (p.xi) and their deduction is that it is schools in conjunction with community-based organisations that will accomplish this together.

The first chapter presents the theoretical frameworks of cross-ethnicity and 'multiple marginality' (p.11) which are used in the book to capture 'the multilevel factors and influences of the Asian, Latino, and African American youth who grew up in poor neighborhoods', addressing 'ecological, economic, sociocultural, and psychological factors that underlie street gangs and youths' participation in them' (p.11). Chapters 2-8 consist of research-based analysis concerning boys and

gangs; boys 'once disaffected but then re-engaged via linked efforts between communities and schools; and boys doing well in school despite disparities in economic and social opportunities' (p.7). Chapter 2 examines Vietnamese gangs in Southern California where one of 'the world's largest concentration of Vietnamese immigrants' (p.25) resides. The case study of Jared, son of Vietnamese immigrant parents, is used in a sensitive portrayal of 'The Rise of Anger in a "Dirty Asian"', as Jared entered a life of violence with gangs such as the Viet Family (VF), having fallen behind at school and having a very economically poor background.

Similarly, Chapter 3 unfolds 'A Portrait of A Mixed-Race African American Man', covering 'recent economic and historical forces impacting African Americans – the Great Migration, the Watts Riots, the rise of the Crips and Bloods, and the increase in the rate of unemployment' (p.37), before proceeding with the story of Samuel, initiated into street gangs at the age of four when he entered the Shelley Street Piru Blood Gang (named for Piru Street in Compton) and given a second chance by his mother when he was 17. This helped him to turn his life around; although Samuel, 'like many other young men in the streets, could have been benefited from community programs like the Big Brothers/ Big Sisters of America ..... shown to address poor self-esteem and limited hope for the future among low-income youth' (p.48).

The third case history is 'A Portrait of a Chicano Living in and out of the Margins', tracing the 'rise of Latino street gangs and the criminalization of Latino youth' and recommending ways of increasing opportunities for 'upward mobility for Latino youth' (p.49). In their conclusion to his story, the authors recommend programmes that 'institutionalize academic success and encourage high college and career aspirations' (p.61) such as AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination), discussed more fully in Chapter 1.

For '"I Call Myself Chicano": Multiple and Shifting Mexican American Identities', two Los Angeles schools were studied, one urban, the other suburban, across three time periods, 1974, 1988 and 2004, in an attempt to understand 'the relationship between acculturation and engagement' (p.65). The authors concluded after this extended investigation that 'a multilingual and multicultural strategy is the best acculturation route and one on which to build other significant elements' (p.77). Typically of the optimism of their book, they state that 'Latinos are poised for major contributions to the United States in the 21st century' (p.78).

Chapter 6, '"They Make Me Feel Like I Am Somebody": Empowering Urban Youth Through Community-Based Action' looks at dealing with truancy, the impact of after-school college success programmes, and youth advocacy among other topics. Chapter 7 explores the 'Medical Academy and the Graphics Academy', embracing Asian, Latino and African American student perspectives on inclusion, optimism and teamwork. Chapter 8, 'Obama Has Opened the Door: Understanding African American High School Boys' Career Expectations in an Era of Change', focuses on the exciting potentiality that Barack Obama's election has broadened career aspirations for Black students.

The conclusion, Chapter 9, examines 'The Possibilities of Comprehensive School Reform', re-emphasising how essential social capital is in enabling urban youth to break out of the cycle of poverty. It enumerates recommendations for school improvement, and in summary underlines how 'educational reform that embraces a comprehensive agenda is an imperative to the economy' and how an understanding of this will help build 'communities of opportunity' (p.133). Finally, two appendices chart the personal experiences of the co-authors in vivid detail as they struggled against the same kinds of streetsmart/schoolsmart issues as their respondents.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Employment
Economics and Globalisation

INEQUALITY FOR ALL: THE CHALLENGE OF UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

William H. Schmidt and Curtis C. McKnight

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Year: 2012
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ISBN 978-0-8077-5342-2 (hardcover: alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.264
Price: £27.50

William Schmidt, University Distinguished Professor at Michigan State University and Co-director of the Education Policy Center, and Curtis McKnight, Emeritus Professor of Mathematics at the University of Oklahoma, tackle the extensive problem of inequality in the American education system, with particular emphasis on 'coverage of subject-matter content' (p.xi) and the distribution of opportunities to learn among American schoolchildren. Mathematics and science vary significantly between different schools' content coverage. This has led to a set of Common Core State Standards, defined and currently being implemented by over 40 US states. The issue at stake in this book, however, is not the 'pros and cons' (p.xii) of standards but an interrogation of the situation whereby the greatest inequalities of content coverage occur not between communities or even schools but between classrooms, and the focus is on mathematics and mathematics literacy.

Introducing the subject matter of the book in 'A Story and A Myth', the co-authors emphasise that there are 'no villains in this story; everyone acts with the best of intentions' (p.1); but there many factors define the outcomes for each student, down to the detail of which teacher they have or which textbooks the school orders. In other words, chance plays a significant part, a metaphor the authors use along with the notion of an 'unlevel playing field' (p.1). Here they examine, variously, 'Potential Consequences Related to Differences in Content Coverage' with case studies; the 'founding myth' (p.8) of America's ideal of opportunity for all; the definition of 'opportunity to learn' (OTL); and the fact that many still believe the 1954 legal ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* corrected inequality and that to be American is to be able to '"make it"' (p.14).

The six chapters in Part I explore the 'Inequalities that Permeate the American Educational System', from the idea of personal liberty in 'One Indivisible Nation?' which tracks intended coverage of specific topics across the states, the grades at which topics are covered, and focus and coherence of school topics; to 'Social Class, Race, and Equality of Opportunity' in Chapter 3 which looks at the issue of variability in learning opportunities in relation to socio-economic status (SES). Variations in intentions for equality were not apparently 'systematically related to SES or racial composition' (p.66) although the policies that were actually implemented 'produced very different learning opportunities in the high poverty/low SES districts than in the high SES districts' (p.66). Children, for example, in lower SES districts, 'took more basic mathematics' (p.67).Chapter 4 similarly tackles what content opportunities are actually experienced in the classroom, from coverage in elementary classrooms to middle and high schools, finding that students did not cover the same content, even if they took the same courses. Ability grouping and tracking are discussed in Chapter 5 and 'cross-school variation' (p.123) across classrooms in Chapter 6.

Part II, 'Factors that Shape Content Coverage and Increase Inequality', looks at the role of teachers and the role of textbooks and tests in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively. The first finds that elementary and middle school teachers self-identified as 'not well prepared academically to teach the mathematics they were being asked to teach' (p.162). There appeared to be a lack of knowledge as to the required choice, sequence and depth of coverage of the given topics, leading to further inequality and variation. The second, working from the premise that 'textbooks are probably the most ubiquitous feature of US classrooms after teachers' (p.165), asks 'do different textbooks provide similar content coverage?' (p.167) and concludes that textbooks 'appear to offer the worst of all worlds' (p.180), being, in the US, highly complex and various.

Part III 'Facing the Consequences' summarises the findings of preceding chapters, that in American education, 'children do not receive equal content coverage or equivalent learning

opportunities in mathematics' (p.191). Citing the controversial formulations of *The Bell Curve* (1994), the authors of which argued that schooling had little real impact on cognitive ability, among other examples, here the claim is that schooling and learning opportunities do relate to academic achievement.

Chapter 10, 'From Inequality to Equality: The Road We Must Follow', presents 'What Is and What Has Been', which celebrates, in a reserved manner, the potential within the Common Core State Standards for allowing the '40-plus states that have adopted them ..... [to] move in a coordinated way' (p.215). The book has been written in order to inform the American public and the education policy community, and makes an incontrovertible case for the Standards, which are now being put into practice.

Also relates to:
Politics and Government
Economics and Globalisation

CREATING SOLIDARITY ACROSS DIVERSE COMMUNITIES: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION

Edited by Christine E. Sleeter and Encarnación Soriano

Publisher: Teachers College Press: Teachers College, Columbia University, New York and London
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8077-5337-8
Pagination: pp.230
Price: £45.50

Originating in a symposium held at the 2009 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association which explored 'challenges and possibilities of building collaboration across racial, ethnic, and language differences in education settings' (p.vii), this edited two-part volume collates research studies that investigate ways of transcending barriers to relationships of solidarity between schools and marginalised communities in Chile, France, India, Mexico, New Zealand, Spain and the United States. In their introduction, Christine Sleeter and Encarnación Soriano outline the various interpretations and conceptualisations of the term 'solidarity', from the building of a 'community among children' (p.4) to a 'civic virtue in which youth learn to regard all of humanity as sharing common concerns' (p.5). They also examine the term in the context of disciplines other than education, such as 'sociology, philosophy, and feminist studies' (p.7) and examples such as 'unity in the face of marginalization' (p.9).

Part I of the book centres on the concept of solidarity as 'building social unity' (p.13). Chapter 1, 'Enacting Solidarity to Address Peer-to-Peer Aggression in Schools: Case Studies from Chile', presents two studies that advance the thesis that this is 'one form of student violence that can be reduced by reducing [the] institutional violence that is engendered by school policies that promote exclusion and social segregation' (p.23). Schools fared better where management practice focused on solidarity.

Chapter 2, on a less positive note, finds that indigenous and nonindigenous teachers in Mexico have opposing views of solidarity which 'hinder dialogue' (p.13). Here, José Luis Ramos explores intercultural education in national contexts (p.46); identity as social representation (p.49); the ethno-political indigenous identity (p.52) and the 'Case of Mixtec Indian Teachers' (p.52), identifying different meanings invested in the concept of solidarity due to 'cultural differences and socio-political positions occupied by people when they come into contact' (p.58), and concluding that oppositions such as these make bridge-building difficult, a situation that requires 'a greater effort in educational policies in Mexico' (p.59).

Chapter 3 looks at 'Multiculturalism and Education in France and Its Former Colonized States and Territories: Prospects for Intercultural Solidarity Within a Secular Model'; 'analysing how language and culture are taught' (p.62). As they present research from working in schools and language training centres, the co-authors of this chapter can 'observe a strong tendency toward cultural isolation of communities and a deep dissension between the latter and French society ..... the beginnings of that dissension with the children who, experiencing monolingual teaching, are learning that they

have no right here....' (p.74). Citing the example of the Islamic headscarf ban (1994), they note the danger of arguments originally based on the idea of equality, as enshrined in the French constitution; 'laws against wearing the burka have led France to be seriously threatened by the Al-Qaeda terrorist movement' (p.75).

The final chapter of Part I, 'Spanish Students Abroad: An Intercultural Education', focuses on Spain's system of schools abroad, which aim to build solidarity among Spanish emigrants and the country of Spain. The first chapter of Part II looks at 'Multicultural Coexistence in Schools in Spain: New Challenges and New Ways of Organizing Education Through Solidarity', and the way that many teachers of classrooms with immigrant students see them as 'problems they do not know how to work with' (p.14).

All seven chapters of the second part of the book deal with 'challenges and possibilities in building allies across sociocultural and ethnic/racial differences' (p.14). From an oral history project in a Utah school; the Latino Spanish-speaking parent community of a Californian middle school; and relationships between Māori and New Zealand European teachers in Aotearoa, New Zealand; to Srujan, a programme the chapter's author directed in tribal villages in India, whereby a bridge was built between formally trained teachers who 'disregard the traditional knowledge of villages' (p.15) and the villagers for whom solidarity is a 'normal value' (p.15).

In the concluding chapter, 'Building Solidarity for Education in Complex Societies: What Have We Learned?' Christine Sleeter brings together the messages of the contributor's chapters, iterating how 'under-theorized and under-researched' (p.198) the concept of solidarity has been and how it can contribute to the ways in which people can work together and connect.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Economics and Globalisation
Social Theory

ISLAM AND EDUCATION: THE MANIPULATION AND MISREPRESENTATION OF A RELIGION

Lynn Revell

Publisher: Trentham Books Limited: Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire and Sterling, VA.
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-85856-489-0
Pagination: pp.135
Price: £20.99

This important and productive book aims to expose the key changes that are needed in the promotion of a just, empathetic representation of Islam in British education. It shows how, despite good intentions, teaching approaches and resources are often flawed in that they contain 'Orientalist assumptions' and a 'multitude of factors and agendas' (p.viii), ignoring on the whole 'the activities and beliefs of British Muslims themselves' (p.viii). Lynn Revell points out in her introduction that it is not sufficient to simply apply the arguments of Edward Said in *Orientalism* onto the subject of education; it is necessary rather to analyse 'what is new, what is specific to contemporary education and what continues from the past' (p.ix). The book poses the question, 'if it is the case that Islam remains the Other ..... Can that Other be represented fairly? And if so, how?' (p.ix).

Changing perceptions of Islam are traced in Chapter 1, and the differing approaches to teaching Islam in schools, focusing on 'key changes in pedagogy, policy and the philosophies that underpin the development of Islam as a discrete subject area for the curriculum' (p.3). The status of Islam has changed in Western eyes, from a 'religion considered inferior and dangerous to being accepted as part of a canon' (p.3). A basic history of RE teaching is described; Islam was not widely taught at all in schools until the advent of the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus in 1975 when Islam was recognised alongside Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism, Judaism and Hinduism, followed by the Education Reform Act (1988). However, as Revell suggests, this is a simplified narrative that requires further depth

of study, and she progresses the discussion to the ways Islam has been presented in the areas of anthropology and theology in the context of 'nineteenth century European identity and the changing status of Christianity in the postwar years' (p.6).

Opening with the scenario of Prime Minister David Cameron at a 2011 international conference on security in Munich, where he announced that '"state multiculturalism" was dead' (p.21), arguing for a '"much more active, muscular liberalism"' (p.21), the second chapter explores the way Islam is represented in multiculturalism within education, particularly in RE, and 'asks why Islam has been blamed for its failure' (p.22). The arrival of Commonwealth immigrants led to an often hostile reception, and the 'decades from the 1950s through to end of the '70s in education were characterised by neglect, colour blindness and ineffectual tinkering' (p.23). Urban unrest in the early 1980s led to reports subsequently acknowledging that Black and Asian children were at a disadvantage in the British education system; the *Rampton Report* (1981) covering the education of West Indian children and Swann's Education For All (1985) promoting multiculturalism in schools. Prior to the Salman Rushdie affair, the 'presence of Islam in the UK was subsumed under other identities: Asian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian' (p.31); the development of a voice and an identity for Asian Muslims 'cast the notion of a distinct Muslim culture into the public consciousness' (p.31). What are needed now are new policies and strategies 'to address diversity and integration' (p.x).

Chapter 3 reviews textbooks and resources used in schools across all key stages and including both historic and contemporary publications. Revell specifically seeks to analyse 'the way presenting an abstracted and narrow view of Islam presents any meaningful engagement with Muslim lives' (p.40). Subsections of this chapter include: 'Books by Muslim authors or Islamic publishing houses'; 'Women and the family'; 'Citizenship Education textbooks and Islam'; and 'Omission as misrepresentation'.

Chapter 4 looks at Islam, education and the Home Office. The Home Office, it begins, 'sees the teaching of Islam and other world religions as a key part of their strategy to oppose terrorism' (p.65), and explores the political and social background to community cohesion initiatives including the Prevent Strategy (2007, 2011) and the school-based mentoring programme, Resilience (2008). Revell shows how at the core of these initiatives 'is the assumption that Muslim communities have failed to integrate into British society' (p.68).

A new strategy is described at the beginning of the concluding chapter, 'Tolerance and Representation': 'to meet the standards that define their professional conduct, teachers will be required from September 2012 not "to undermine fundamental British values"' (p.27). This, and the call for tolerance towards Islam, Revell suggests, could be seen as a 'recent form of Orientalism' (p.97) marking 'new boundaries between "them" and "us"' (p.97) and Revell finishes with a timely call for a review of the way Islam is approached in schools.

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

HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

GENDER AND NATION BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HEALTH FROM MANDATE PALESTINE TO REFUGEE CAMPS IN JORDAN

Elise G. Young

Publisher: IB Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-84885-481-9
Pagination: pp.189
Price: £54.50

Elise Young's intricately constructed volume consists of a study of how British health campaigns in Palestine and Jordan have served British imperial objectives, including policies used to control the

practice of Palestinian *dayat* (healers/midwives) during the time of Mandate Palestine. The use of health controls is shown to be innate to empire building historically, and to state building in contemporary times, and to be a gendered/raced/classed process. Three aspects of the changes wrought by modern state building on definitions of health are explored. First, a 'gender analysis of ways in which science and medicine in the twentieth century contributed to colonialist processes of state building; second, the effects of factors resulting from state building on women's health, including 'military occupation, war, displacement and expulsion'; and third, how certain women from the region define health and interact with health care systems' (p.11).

Following her contextualising introduction, Young's second chapter provides 'a textual analysis of the politics of British colonial medicine in the Mandate period' (p.38), which lasted from 1919 to 1939. The chapter surveys British- and American-led malaria eradication programmes post-WWI, and while acknowledging that these brought beneficial effects, it is clear that health care can play a 'paradoxical role' (p.47). Malaria eradication paved the way for 'policies related to water control, development, and regulation of land use' (p.48), and as such 'cannot be separated from colonial politics in the twentieth century' (p.49).

There was at the time a view that '"primitive" colonized regions' (p.49) and their diseases stood in contrast to a civilised, sanitary Europe. In terms of disadvantages for women, for whom agricultural labour had given 'societal power' (p.56), 'when family labor was subsumed under a capitalist wage labor system targeting men as the primary source of income, women's labor became the "unrecognized property of the family"' (p.56). Meanwhile, gradually, 'women began seeking health support in separate spheres ..... Hospitals began to service separate populations' (p.62). Concluding this chapter, Young emphasises that 'British health policies included re-education of Palestinian mothers and Palestinian women healers, or *dayat*', and that the restructured health care system 'resulted in further separation of Jews from Muslims and Christians' (p.70).

'Between *Daya* and Doctor: A Formidable Abyss?' relates to Palestinian women's negotiation of Palestinian and Jordanian health systems and practices, opening with the text of a petition protesting economic hardship under the British Mandate from July 1937, a plea to the Senior Medical Officer of the British-led Department of Health from '"licensed midwives practicing in Jerusalem"' (p.77). They were losing their livelihoods as more women were giving birth in hospital. Even if the women had to go to hospital, the midwives asked for permission to attend them there, for their '"usual fee"' (p.78). A typical fabrication of the *daya* by a European traveller to Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Palestine and Transjordan, is quoted here: Ruth Frances Woodsmall (1883-1963) saw the local midwife as '"untrained, ignorant, old, often blind and half blind, always filthy and always of the lowest class ..... the harbinger of disease' (p.80). In 1922 a course was founded in a government hospital for 'retraining local midwives' (p.81), one of many forms of controlling indigenous knowledge. In 1950 the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was created 'to provide humanitarian assistance and emergency relief for Palestinian refugees' (p.96). The chapter then explores the Palestinian *dayat's* experiences under the UNRWA health system.

Chapter 4 traces the 'traumas of exile and camp life' (p.37) in '"The Camp of Return" – Health and Palestinian Women Refugees in Jordan, 1950-1995'. Young discusses the establishment of refugee camps in the early 1950s and after the Six-Day War (1967), examining 'dispersion, refugee status, and relief efforts' (p.37). She then writes around the themes of 'effects of militarization, including rape, on women in the region; ..... of Jordanian-Palestinian politics on women in the camps; refugee women's activism in the camps; how conditions and health-related policies and practices in the camps are affecting women's health ..... and issues of health and human rights' (pp.37/38), using oral history research she undertook in Jabal al-Hussein and Baqa'a refugee camps.

Many Palestinian women equate the notion of homelessness with ill-health, Young found; most of the women she spoke to in the camps 'said that the right of return was the single most critical factor affecting their health' (p.147). Significantly, in all her interviews, religion was not brought up as a subject; antithetically, some women 'connected their struggle for survival with the necessity for cooperation among women worldwide' (p.148).

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

MEDICATING RACE: HEART DISEASE AND DURABLE PREOCCUPATIONS WITH DIFFERENCE

Anne Pollock

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Anne Pollock contextualises the advent of the drug BiDil, the first to be approved by the United States Food and Drug Administration for use by a specific race, within the broad interwoven narratives of medical and racial histories and thought, rather than restricting the phenomenon to 'discussions of race and genetics and pharmaceutical marketing' (p.1). Drawing on mainly published and archival documentation for the first half of the book, and research process for the second, the chapters are approximately chronological. They advance from 'preoccupations with coronary heart disease, race, and modernity of the founders of cardiology' (p.23) between 1910 and World War II in the first chapter, through discussions of the 'racialization of the Framingham Heart Study' (p.23) and the 'durability of African American hypertension as a disease category' (p.24) to the contested 'slavery hypothesis' (p.24), 'medical debates about thiazide diuretics' (p.25) and finally the blatantly racialised BiDil drug. Chapter 2 emerges from the author's dialogue with current and previous researchers at the Framingham and Jackson heart studies, the former, 'an extremely influential longitudinal study' (p.23) begun in Massachusetts in 1948, a predominantly White area; the latter, the 'all-black Jackson Heart Study' (p.24) began in 2000 and ongoing. Pollock emphasises that Jackson is not a 'simple repetition' of the Framingham study (p.54). On the contrary, 'the research designs have changed in the fifty years between the two studies, and that is just one part of the discontinuity' (p.72).

Both studies are caught up in the debate around what constitutes a 'normal' demographic in the US. The reasons why these particular populations were chosen seems to have been as much for encouraging 'amenability' (p.74) to research among the people, who could be united under a commonality of identity, as for the demographics themselves, although following the landmark 1993 National Institute for Health Revitalization Act, women and minorities had to be included in research studies.

The fourth chapter, 'The Slavery Hypothesis beyond Genetic Determinism', opens with the scenario of a 'midday colloquium' (p.107) at the W E B Du Bois Institute for African American Studies at Harvard, where an ambitious young economist, Roland Fryer, was delivering a talk entitled 'Understanding Racial Difference in Life Expectancy'. He aimed to 'explain the persistent difference between African American and white morbidity and mortality' (p.107). He used the 'slavery hypothesis' (p.107), first invoked in 1991 in the journal *Hypertension*.

The theory suggested that 'selection pressures in Atlantic slavery predispose African Americans to salt retention, leading to hypertension and thus to cardiovascular disease' (p.107). This was explained as a result of the way that those who had survived slavery's sufferings and 'diarrheal diseases' were salt-conserving. Pollock argues that critics of the theory 'fail to engage with medicine as a field, one that not only arbitrates racialized bodies but also intervenes on them' (p.108). She views the hypothesis as 'an excellent site at which to interrogate race at the intersection of the social and the biological ..... located not just in epidemiology but also in clinical medicine' (p.130).

The presentation of a paper on the 'diverse responses of African Americans to racial therapeutics such as BiDil' (p.155) by theorist and legal scholar Dorothy Roberts, at a two-day conference entitled

'Race, Pharmaceuticals, and Medical Technology' (April 2006) held at MIT's Center for the Study of Diversity in Science, Technology and Medicine, is described at the opening of Chapter 6, 'BiDil: Medicating the Intersection of Race and Heart Failure'. During questions following the paper there was a debate concerning consensus on BiDil on the part of the Black community, both present and in the wider context of society. Pollock argues that 'BiDil is irredeemably a pharmakon – a remedy and a poison. The pill is also irredeemably both material (stuff) and semiotic (meaning)' (p.156), and that this 'polyvalence' (p.156) is central to an understanding of the attraction and unpleasantness of BiDil. In conclusion, Pollock conjures the image of the 'hydra'; 'a common way of describing the tenacity of race in science' (p.193) and 'an opportunity to consider an ethical praxis' (p.194). 'I argue', she continues, 'that if we ever leave an argument about race and medicine with a feeling of satisfaction, that is a symptom of error. I hope that the reader of this book is uncomfortable, both with the story told and about the stakes going forward' (p.194). Indeed, her book raises many ethical queries and reservations and as such remains rightly open-ended.

Also relates to:
History
Science and Technology

HISTORY

THE WAR ON POVERTY: A NEW GRASSROOTS HISTORY – 1964-1980
Edited by Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian

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Year: 2011
ISBN: 13: 978-0-8203-3949-8 (pbk.: alk. paper)
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Pagination: pp.503
Price: £22

Rightfully heralded as 'one of the best overviews of the War on Poverty ever written' (Michael B. Katz), Annelise Orleck's introduction to this impressive volume captures the breadth of its contributions, surveying the 'fierce, proud energy with which a group of poor families reclaimed and revitalized a long-impoverished community', with a spirit that 'bubbled up from community meetings in coal-mining hollows and among councils of elders on Indian reservations ..... , animated late-night fireside discussions in the camps where Mexican migrant workers lived' (p2). Those who heeded the call for '"maximum feasible participation"' (p.8) by the poor engaged in two decades of 'community activism and political struggle' (p.9) and this collection of essays celebrates their achievements 'from the bottom up' (p.2), in the face of uneven funding, disregard to job creation and lack of recognition that gender oppression was keeping women and children poor.

Part I opens with Guian A. McKee's '"This Government Is with Us": Lyndon Johnson and the Grassroots War on Poverty', and President Lyndon Baines Johnson's visit to the HQ of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), a community-based job training programme founded three years earlier in 1964 by African American ministers, that received federal funding via Philadelphia's Community Action Program. Johnson decided after this that he needed his aides to make inner-city missions to find out what was happening rather than rely on the bureaucratic reports of 'experts'. McKee's essay refers to a hitherto underused source, 'the telephone conversations that Johnson secretly recorded throughout his presidency' (p.32). These illustrate three main points: Johnson's 'personal concept of what the War on Poverty should be'; the fact that the Community Action Program 'was initially misunderstood by Johnson, never won his full support, and eventually became a target of his outright hostility', and thirdly, that Johnson 'distrusted direct grassroots action and feared that it would undermine political support for the War on Poverty and potentially weaken his presidency'. (p.33). Other essays in Part I explore 'Community Action and Representational Politics in 1960s Baltimore'; 'Ideological Diversity and the Implementation of the War on Poverty in Houston'; and 'Defining the Space of Participation in a Northern city: Tejanos and the War on Poverty in Milwaukee'.

In 'Poor Mothers and the War on Poverty', Laurie B. Green examines the role of poor Black women in mother and child health and social care, tracing the work of women like Barbara McKinney with the Memphis Area Project – South (MAP-South) which had federal funding for anti-poverty work. Christina Greene in '"Someday... The Colored and White Will Stand Together"' shows how women's politics has often been sidelined by male radicals, particularly the activism of poor women, and how '[w]omen's local antipoverty activism also pushes us to rethink the links among civil rights protest, the War on Poverty, and Black Power' (p.161). Adina Back's essay looks at '"Parent Power": Evelina López Antonetty, the United Bronx Parents, and the War on Poverty', and Robert Bauman's focuses on 'Gender, Civil Rights Activism, and the War on Poverty in Los Angeles'.

Part III 'The War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Movement, and Southern Politics' ranges from 'Poverty Wars in the Louisiana Delta: White Resistance, Black Power, and the Poorest Place in America', to 'Plantation Politics: The Tufts-Delta Health Center and Intraracial Class Conflict in Mississippi, 1965-1972'; 'Fighting for the Child Development Group of Mississippi: Poor People, Local Politics, and the Complicated Legacy of Head Start'; 'Going Back to Selma: Organizing for Change in Dallas County after the March to Montgomery'; and 'The War on Poverty and the Chicano Movement in Texas: Confronting "Tio Tomás" and the "Gringo Pseudoliberals"'.

In the concluding Part IV 'What Do They Really Mean by Community Development?' Thomas Kiffmeyer offers 'Looking Back to the City in the Hills', with an account of the Council for the Southern Mountains (CSM), 'an Appalachian aid society founded in 1913 that channeled much of the War on Poverty money that came into rural Kentucky' (p.359), analysing the way these mountain people resisted attempts to improve their lot. Daniel M. Cobb examines how '[i]n Mississippi and Oklahoma, the Community Action Program's mantra of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" disrupted the political, legal, and economic relationships between Indians and local, state, and federal institutions' (p.389). Karen M. Tani presents 'The House that "Equality" Built: The Asian American Movement and the Legacy of Community Action', while fittingly, Annelise Orleck provides the conclusion, looking at 'The War on the War on Poverty and American Politics since the 1960s'.

Also relates to:
Politics and Government
Economics and Globalisation
Health and Social Care
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Employment

MALCOLM X: A LIFE OF REINVENTION

Manning Marable

Publisher: Penguin: London and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-713-99895-5
Pagination: pp.592
Price: £30

Manning Marable's new biography of Malcolm X is heralded as 'a stunning achievement', as he plumbs the depths of this legendary twentieth century figure. He uses fresh material including the testimony of people who knew Malcolm X but had never until now spoken of him 'on the record'. Following years of research, uncovering, for example, that there were several chapters 'deleted prior to publication' (p.9) from his autobiography, and gaining access to recordings of speeches not hitherto granted, Marable was led to ask of the life of the activist, 'How much isn't true, and how much hasn't been told?' (p.10), capturing it as a 'series of reinventions' (p.10).

Narrated chronologically, the sixteen chapters begin with '"Up, You Mighty Race!" 1925-1941', contextualising Malcolm X's origins – his father and mother, 'militant Garveyites' (p.16) and the political background to his early upbringing in Omaha, Nebraska. Coinciding with the development of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the 'explosive rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in America's heartland' (p.21). The family moved several times, their house near Lansing,

Michigan, burned down by White racists. Malcolm's father, Earl Little, maintained his activism undaunted and Malcolm, aged five, already accompanied him to UNIA meetings. This chapter also tells of the harrowing experiences of Earl's death in a streetcar accident and his mother's subsequent admittance to an insane asylum.

'The Legend of Detroit Red, 1941-January 1946', details Malcolm X's 'first major reinvention' (p.38), as a member of Boston's Black nightlife, involved in 'hustling, petty thievery, and seducing fast women' (p.43), followed by his life in Harlem and his conscription, when he feigned insanity and was deemed '4-F, unfit for duty' (p.60). Malcolm's growing misogyny and his probable homosexual encounters are also related in some depth.

'Becoming "X", January 1946-August 1952' describes Malcolm's experiences in prison and the way he railed against his situation with Job-like profanities, earning him the nickname 'Satan' (p.71). It examines his transfer from the foul Charlestown State Prison to the relatively preferable Norfolk Prison Colony, where he discovered the Nation of Islam (NOI) along with his siblings, and began to devote himself to re-education through wide-ranging reading.

Chapters 4-6 detail the period August 1952 to January 1961, following Malcolm's release, his discharge from parole, his work within the NOI creating new temples and recruiting members; his Southern campaign, his marriage to Betty and his increasing high profile in politics and the media, which coincided with criticisms from the NOI. Chapter 6 ends with discussion of his controversial attempt at brokerage with the Ku Klux Klan in January 1961.

'"As Sure As God Made Green Apples", January 1961-May 1962' describes Elijah Muhammad's rumoured 'messy sex life' (p.183); Malcolm's ongoing oratory, often now aimed at university students; and troubles such as the 'parking lot mêlée' (p.207), the result of protesting Muslims clashing with the authorities, and the killing of NOI officer Ronald Stokes. 'From Prayer to Protest' ranges from Malcolm's 'strategy of limited political engagement' (p.211) and promotion of a 'cult around Muhammad' (p.223). '"He Was Developing Too Fast"' explores the contract with Alex Haley to write the autobiography and the March on Washington.

Chapters 10-12 deal with the period of the assassination of John F Kennedy to Malcolm's trip to London in July 1964. He returned to Cairo to begin a 'nineteen-week sojourn to the Middle East and Africa' (p.360): 'If hajj had brought Malcolm to full realization of his Muslim life, the second trip to Africa immersed him in a broad-based pan-Africanism that cast into relief his role as a black citizen of the world' (p.360). Chapters 14 and 15 tell of the lecture tours, the split with Muhammad, the firebombing of Malcolm's home, and the events surrounding his death. Malcolm was a difficult target out of the country; 'as long as he was abroad, he was safe' (p.423) but 'from where the Nation stood in late 1964, the benefits of killing Malcolm outweighed the potentially significant costs' (p.423).

The act of the assassination is traced in great detail, as is the aftermath, in Chapter 16, 'Life After Death'. Here, also, the FBI surveillance of people involved, the links between Muhammad, Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan, and various law enforcement agencies and the success of the autobiography are described. As Marable summarises in his epilogue 'my initial breakthrough came when I finally realized that critical deconstruction of the Autobiography held the key to reinterpreting Malcolm's life' (p.490).

Also relates to:
Politics and Government
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

PRINCELY INDIA AND THE BRITISH: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE OPERATION OF EMPIRE

Caroline Keen

Publisher: IB Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-84885-878-7
Pagination: pp.282
Price: £59.50

Unlike other monographs on the subject, this detailed and engaging volume centres on the specific period 1858 to 1909, to examine British policy towards Indian princes and their states. Instead of characterising the late nineteenth century as a 'golden age' (p.IX) for princes, it highlights their significant loss of power in a time of transition when the British were consolidating indirect rule, gradually Westernising the traditional rulers and establishing British-style bureaucracy. The introduction sets out the political topography of the states, their diverse physical geographies, their range of religions and types of population, as well as the exchange of the rule of the East India Company to the colonial Government of India responsible to a minister in London.

The 'process of succession' (p.25) is examined in the first chapter, lines of inheritance following 'no absolute or clear rule' (p.27) for most Indian dynasties. The East India Company set an early precedence for 'asserting a degree of interference' (p.26) in Indian state ruler successions, which entailed incurring a degree of obligation on the part of the heir, since the 'nomination of a successor depended on the blessing of the Company' (p.27). This resulted in the Company's 'doctrine of lapse' (p.27), whereby if a prince died without heirs, the government 'assumed the right to take over his state' (p.28). Viceroy Lord Canning dispensed with the doctrine of lapse post-1857 when the British Crown assumed the government of India.

The introduction of 'princely tutelage' (p.47) is discussed in Chapter 2. After the 1857 mutiny, princes:

> were seen in a new light ..... Efforts were made from 1870 onwards both by formal education, through tutors or special schools and colleges, and by the influence of political officers at court to produce a new multi-faceted breed of ruler who would act as a force for progress within his territory (p.47).

Frederick Elliott of the Bombay Civil Service was tutor to the Gaekwar of Baroda, for example; Brian Egerton, District Superintendent of Police in Ajmer was tutor to the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The education of princes evolved over the span of the nineteenth century; in reference to Krishnaraja Wadiyar, successor to the Maharaja of Mysore, Stuart Fraser, his personal tutor and guardian, reported that '"the education that he has been receiving is not mere cramming nor the learning of a book-worm but ..... embraces every art and science which will help to make him a wise, sagacious, and highly cultured ruler"' (p.55).

'Marriage and Royal Women' is the subject of Chapter 3. To Victorians, 'Palaces were considered to be riddled with mystery and intrigue, often permeated with sex and excess' (p.90), and Indian women were viewed as morally degenerate. With the progression of the nineteenth century, emphasis was placed on the regulation and brokering of 'sound political matches' (p.93) rather than so much on reform. Some royal women, such as the maharanis of Mysore, 'demonstrated an extraordinary enthusiasm for improvements in matters of state' (p.108), issuing *kharitas* (formal letters to or from a ruler), to raise problems that needed addressing.

Chapter 4, 'Ruler of the State', discusses 'The Official Post-Mutiny Approach to Intervention', which attempted to deal with the pre-existing lack of clarity in relations with the states; the rise of political officers in the 1870s; 'Princely Misrule', partly augmented in Victorian eyes by their propensity to stereotype India as '"backward and uncivilized", associating the subcontinent with such depravities as oriental corruption, female incarceration and tyrannical rule' (p.141). The second section of this chapter deals with the 'workings of government' (p.149). The British favoured minor interference as a means of avoiding 'local intrigues' (p.149) and instead by 'operating through the medium of Indian ministers and bureaucracies the doctrine of liberal reform was applied in the states ..... justifying British imposition of land reform, law, and efficient and accountable government' (p.149).

The final chapter explains the 'highly detailed hierarchical structure of Indian society ..... designed by British officials' (p.173), for example the 1876 grouping of princes by region, 'with a fixed assignment of rank vis-à-vis other rulers in their area' (p.173). There were 'major changes in ceremonial practice' (p.202) and having examined 'imperial policy on the award of honours' (p.202), the author

concludes that although a 'collaboration between the paramount power and an individual prince could carry significant weight' (p.202), in effect the British could not bring themselves to 'relinquish power to the Indian rulers at the highest level of government, despite the political advantages of securing their loyalty' (p.203).

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

WORLD WAR I IN AFRICA: THE FORGOTTEN CONFLICT AMONG THE EUROPEAN POWERS

Anne Samson

Publisher: I.B. Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2013
ISBN: 978-1-78076-119-0 (hardback)
Pagination: pp.306
Price: £59.50

Coinciding with the centenary of the outbreak of World War I (WWI), Anne Samson presents a comprehensive and chronological perspective on the South West Africa and East Africa campaigns, specifically focusing on two major opponents, Jan Christian Smuts, leader of the army of South Africa who tackled German forces in East Africa, and Emil Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, renowned as the only German general to occupy British territory. These protagonists held each other in high esteem and eventually met in London in 1929. However, the book's aim is not to merely reproduce the military history of the campaigns, but to illustrate the fact that in war 'bland acknowledgements of success or defeat cover a whole interplay of individuals and organisations' (p.1). It also redresses the omissions of official accounts, which record scant information about Black and Asian involvement, despite their comprising the greatest contribution in terms of manpower.

Following her introduction Samson presents the composition of forces used by the British army during WWI; a table showing how different military ranks interlinked; a list of the 'main players' in the war in East and southern Africa; and a timeline of the main events. Chapter 1, 'Position on the Eve of War' discusses how, when war broke out in Europe, 'sub-Saharan Africa was divided under the control of five European powers – Britain, Germany, Portugal, Belgium and France' (p.5). Belgium dominated the Congo in the centre, while West Africa was divided between Britain and France with 'some German and Portuguese influence' (p.5).

On the eve of war, Lettow-Vorbeck had returned to Africa, where he had been posted in 1903, and gathered troops and allied forces to group together in East Africa to assist Germany's 'struggle in Europe' (p.7). Smuts, Deputy Prime Minister of South Africa and Minister of Defence, meanwhile led South Africa to declare war on German South West Africa in 1914. Samson sets out the position with emphasis on the people involved, such as Uganda's 'small settler community, a white volunteer reserve, and 4KAR (King's African Rifles)' (p.33), and John Chilembwe, 'an independent missionary, who was promoting '"Africa for the Africans"' (p.36).

Reactions to the outbreak of war are then dealt with. Patriotism led some colonists to immediately leave for Europe; the British colony in East Africa was 'caught off-guard' (p.45) – 'martial law was declared and the sale of ammunition banned, whilst German nationals were arrested' (p.45). The Magadi Defence Force was a 'motley arrangement' (p.45) of Whites enlisted against possible German attack: 'the force was mounted on mules and armed with every kind of rifle except the service .303' (p.46). Lettow-Vorbeck's efforts to recruit are reported, as are the complexities arising from the proliferation of British South Africa Company territories in central and southern Africa, and action in Nyasaland, Tanga and Longido.

Chapter 3 surveys such issues as the dangerous vacuum which could be left in South Africa if White South Africans left to fight in German South West Africa and there was a 'native uprising'; Smut's encouragement of an invasion of German South West Africa; and the Portuguese controlling of

certain Angolan natives likely to join forces with the Germans, by sending in troops. Chapter 4 explores the situation in German South West Africa, Angola and Southern Africa, 1915, detailing problems of communication, coordination and transport facing South African troops. Originally planning to use the railways in a three-pronged attack, a five-pronged attack was adopted, using airpower. Concerns regarding giving military training to 'non-Whites' (because it was 'generally believed that these men ..... would be in a stronger position to rise up against their white masters' [p.89]) are raised together with the impact of the 1915 election in South Africa – a time when uprising was threatened.

Subsequent chapters chart the middle years of the war; naval and air powers; balancing the need for reinforcements and supplies in Africa with the needs of the war effort in Europe; issues of 'leadership, loyalty, intelligence, supply, personal encounters with the enemy, communications, medical aspects, recruitment and life on the front' (p.131) in determining soldier's individual behaviour; and the last days of the war in Europe and East Africa. Chapter 11, 'All For What?' examines the initial aims of the war as articulated at the 1919 Paris peace talks. The conclusion ends with the meeting of Smuts and Lettow-Vorbeck and the note that while 'the impact these two men had on the African Continent remains ..... their names may no longer be associated with much of what they set in place' (p.231).

Also relates to:
Politics and Government

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN AND THE RACIAL NATIONALIST IMAGINATION

Teshale Tibebu

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ISBN: 978-1-58046-428-4
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Pagination: pp.219
Price: £60

From the *Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora* series, this detailed volume offers a critical perspective on the works of the modernist Black intellectual Edward Wilmot Blyden, a prolific writer and thinker who was the first to support the idea of a synthesis of Africa's 'triple heritage' – indigenous, Islamic and Western. The book attempts to reclaim the figure of Blyden, often hitherto marginalised, by charting the topography of his assessments of the relationships between the Black world and the modern West. Teshale Tibebu contextualises Blyden's output against a backdrop of 'classical black nationalism' (p.8); integrationism (believing in the 'need for the black race to appropriate the positive aspects of Western modernity' [p.9]) and the concept of the African nation, showing how Blyden 'was for the nineteenth century what Du Bois was for the twentieth' (p.18).

Blyden's opinion that the history of Africans is one of 'serving humanity, both materially and spiritually ..... that the glory of Africa lies in serving humanity' (p.21), is the overarching theme of Chapter 1. Quoting extensively from Blyden's writings, Tibebu traces the development of his 'philosophical and theological argument' (p.23); his 'grasp of global capitalism' (p.24); his articulation of 'most of Africa's lamentations' (p.25), such as *A Voice from Bleeding Africa on Behalf of her Exiled Children* (1856) where he calls American slavery '"that monstrous injustice"' (p.27). He refuses the Christian American defence of slavery, finding no connection between slavery and the teachings of Jesus: 'Blyden is a true intellectual,' Tibebu writes, 'he does not discriminate in his critiques' (p.30).

Blyden critiqued Eurocentrism well before the term itself came into use, and his emphasis was on 'culture, including education' (p.50). In this, he 'anticipated in remarkable depth the writings of such seminal figures as Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, and Amilcar Cabral by many decades' (p.19). He deplores the racist hegemony of the West whereby Black people are 'systematically dehumanized' (p.52) and effectively denied useful education. He is 'an advocate of concrete universalism, one enriched by the embrace of the myriad of humanity's cultural variations' (p.55). In Chapter 2, we see Blyden writing about Western-educated Black elites; about the need to educate Black women as much as Black men; and about the 'defective and racist' (p.59) methods of European missionaries in Africa.

Chapter 3, 'Ishmael in Africa: Black Protestant Islamophilia' looks at Blyden's philosophy of religion, as he felt that the different races inclined themselves towards different religions. He had 'a very high regard for Islam, which he saw as a major civilizing force in Africa' (p.64). Blyden's opinions of missionaries are further explored here, including the 'distinction between Arab and European missionaries in their relation with Africans' (p.71). However, in spite of his 'euphoric Islamophilia, Blyden believed in the superiority of the Christian religion' (p.71).

Chapters 4, 'The African American "Civilizing Mission"' and 5, 'The "Mulatto" Nemesis', discuss Blyden's 'ideology of the civilizing mission of African Americans' (p.75). In Chapter 4 his convictions come to the fore – that of '"the law of progress"' (p.76) typical of nineteenth century liberalism; of the '"numerous advantages"' (p.77) the Black person's '"residence in America has conferred upon him"' (p.77); of the way Black people in America were 'overwhelmed with powers beyond their ability to overcome' (p.79); and of the need to return to Africa. In Chapter 5 the kind of African American needed by Africa is shown, in Blyden's view, to be Black, not 'mulatto' – 'Blyden is a vehement opponent of race mixing' (p.112). Blyden 'blames them [mulattos] for almost everything that goes wrong in Liberia' (p.112). For this chapter Blyden's private correspondence is the main source material.

Finally, Chapter 6, 'Appraising the Colonial Enterprise', reasserts Blyden's consistent advocacy of the idea that Africa should progress towards modernity. He supported 'European enterprise in Africa' (p.127) and 'made Africa Europe's foster child' (p.127), with such advice as '"you must foster the native ..... and teach him how to make the best use of his country"' (p.127) and the suggestion that France and Britain join forces to construct a railway line from '"Algiers to the Cape of Good Hope"' (p.127). However, Blyden was of the opinion that European colonialism in Africa would and should only last a short time.

In the 'Epilogue', his intellectual legacy is evoked; his 'ideas live through the works of [these] intellectual giants' (p.172). As Tibebu concludes, 'Not knowing him, we may end up repeating what he said and yet think we are saying something new' (p.172), such is the freshness and visionary quality of Blyden's output.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Arts, Literature and Sport

BRITAIN, KENYA AND THE COLD WAR: IMPERIAL DEFENCE, COLONIAL SECURITY AND DECOLONISATION

David Percox

Publisher: I.B. Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-8485-966-1
Pagination: pp.250
Price: £25

A highly detailed study tracing the close connections between British defence and security issues and Kenyan decolonisation during the Cold War, this volume draws on previously classified primary sources to reframe neo-colonialism with 'precise, ironic, and martial economy' (John Lonsdale, Emeritus Professor of Modern African History, University of Cambridge). David Percox aims to 'bridge a significant gap in the current literature on post-war British defence and international security policy in Kenya' (p.1), and argues that Britain 'reacted in a calculated and pragmatic manner' (p.1) in response to 'nationalist pressures and fears of a post-Mau Mau Kenyan civil war, [ ] ultimately transferring power to an African majority government' (p.1). It led to a situation whereby Britain could sustain its interests in the country 'beyond Kenya's independence' (p.1).

The first chapter positions British defence and security planning in Kenya in the years 1945-52, in other words, post-war, and on the brink of the Cold War. Political and military manoeuvrings are discussed such as the way 'broad strategic decisions taken in Whitehall often impacted on parochial security issues' (p.21); the way 'East African governors had pressed [ ] for the War Office to assume sole responsibility for direct command and control, and financing of local military forces' (p.24); and

the way 'Britain's reversal on Middle East defence policy led ..... to a proportionate downgrading in Kenya's strategic importance' (p.24).

From late 1949 onwards, 'the Kenya government redoubled its efforts to plan for a possible State of Emergency' (p.6), such were fears of anti-colonial insurgency. Chapter 2 'seeks to demonstrate the reactionary nature of British Counter-Insurgency as opposed to the common, and erroneous, view that the campaign constituted a progressive precursor to eventual decolonisation' (p.6). It covers the period 1952-56 and charts the progression from 'Phoney War' (Kenya's 'Imminent Revolution', October 1952-May 1953) to 'Limited War' (the Colonial State 'Hits Them', June 1953-November 1956). The next chapter is introduced with a survey of the impact of the 'Suez affair' on Britain's Middle East situation, but more pertinently here, on 'an almost overnight upgrading of Kenya's strategic importance' (p.77). The chapter 'examines post-Suez British decision-making concerning the deployment in Kenya of an element of the United Kingdom Strategic Reserve' (p.77), bringing to the fore previously ignored, yet significant, aspects of the reduction of the British Imperial hold on East Africa. Percox concludes the chapter by observing that '[w]hile with hindsight it would be easy to suggest that Britain's strategic / flirtation with Kenya was doomed from the start, it certainly did not look that way to those involved at the time' (pp.93/94).

Britain's staggered approach to strategic development and its aversion to 'any meaningful statements about Kenya's ultimate future' (p.7), its 'political concessions ..... to African Nationalism' amounting to 'a holding operation' (p.7) are the topics under discussion in Chapter 4, 'East Africa, East of Suez II, 1957-9'. The appearance of 'political progress and stability' (p.98) that had built up alongside the initially problematic stationing of British troops in Kenya was suddenly called into question when the Africans refused to 'validate the process any longer in January 1959' (p.98).

Subsequent chapters explore Britain's attempts to 'secure "vital interests" in Kenya, while making further political concessions to African nationalists' (p.119). In Chapter 5, post-Suez, straightened economic circumstances are seen to have led to rising crime and militancy, 'on a par with levels seen before the Emergency' (p.143), and a situation whereby 'the myth of "normality" in Kenyan society could only ever be perpetuated while the African nationalists continued to legitimise Britain's interpretation of the nature and pace of political developments in Kenya through their participation' (p.143). Without this there was the threat of an 'irreversible loss of control' (p.143).

Chapter 6 looks at 'Internal Security and Decolonisation II, 1959-65', and the way in which Britain 'redoubled its efforts to build up Kenya's security services ..... [in order to] safeguard its "vital interests" without risking a blood bath and the ignominy of having to retain formal administrative control' (p.151). Chapter 7 examines the defence elements of decolonisation, a previously underexplored motive underlying Britain's political and security policy in Kenya at this time. It was of great importance that Britain maintained 'minimal "defence rights"..... in exchange for financial, internal security, and military assistance, whether overt of secret' (p.212) and that it kept Kenya pro-Western. Although Kenya has since been subject to huge levels of political corruption and many of its people suffer abject poverty, Percox concludes that in terms of African countries it 'represents a rare post-independence success story' (p.230).

Also relates to:
Politics and Government
Economics and Globalisation

MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

ACCIDENTAL IMMIGRANTS AND THE SEARCH FOR HOME: WOMEN, CULTURAL IDENTITY, AND COMMUNITY

Carol E. Kelley

Publisher: Temple University Press: Philadelphia
Year: 2013
ISBN: 978-1-439-90946-1
Pagination: pp.167

Price: £18.99

Accidental Immigrants and the Search for Home by Carol Kelley offers a reading of migrant experiences by those who encounter migration as a peripheral lived reality, as individuals who are not economically or politically motivated. The book focuses on conceptions of the 'home' and 'belonging', notions that migrants find difficult to associate with a specific geographical place, which in turn has a wider impact upon identities and life experiences. Kelley is heavily influenced by her sister's life as an 'accidental immigrant' moving from the USA to Norway after becoming married. Migration was thus a by-product of the choice to marry, yet the lived realities and emotional struggles that materialise through migration, despite the circumstantial difference to economic and political migrants, are clouded with uniform experiences, questions of the 'home', and a struggle to come to terms with a continual state of 'foreignness'. The heterogeneous forms of migration thus convey a homogeneity of experiences and emotions that challenges individual lives in different ways.

The text focuses upon the journeys and life experiences of four women as 'accidental migrants' whose lives were dramatically influenced and shaped through their migratory experiences. Each story is distinctly different, yet shares numerous commonalities, which Kelley focuses on through interviewing and analysis. The interviews operate through extracting the experiences, memories and emotions felt by the women through their lives. The ethnographic style informs the unique literary perspective of the text, operating through a 'double-biographical' style, placing Kelley's own perspectives into the discussion and personal narratives of the participants. This differs from traditional academic and scholarly literature, and is a result of the anthropological viewpoint of the author, offering a more personal interpretation of secondary experiences. The text thus does not focus upon purely abstracted theory, but successfully bridges the gap between academic and experiential writing, offering both a critique and discussion of the material realities of individual migrants to afford the reader a comprehensive understanding.

The text attempts to understand the personal narratives of the lives of the three women, thus examining how different experiences have influenced common feelings and shared emotions. The author analyses a multitude of experiences in a critical fashion to draw key conclusions. The 'reflectional' style of writing examines the long term views from childhood to adulthood to inform a level of intimacy often absent from academic discussion. This again reflects the anthropological perspective of the text as focused around experiences of the individual, and how these are adapted by specifically bound cultural and spatial relations. The text is concerned with how specifically Western conceptions of 'home', 'identity', and 'belonging' materialise within the context of globalisation.

The text essentially attempts to deconstruct the interrelationship between immigration and individual perceptions of home. By focussing upon women as the subject of analysis, Kelley examines the gendered influences and consequences of migration, including the perception of women as more emotionally attached to place and facing greater pressures to culturally integrate.

The text thus offers a critique of the influences of migration upon the lived experiences and material realities of four women, with contrasting circumstances, yet similar emotional consequences. The ethnographic influence attempts to deconstruct the complex assemblage of emotions attached to migration and the attempts to find a new sense of place so that individual belonging can be fostered. The book is insightful and fascinating, offering discussion of interest to those concerned with gender and migration studies, general students concerned with migration, and predominantly students studying anthropology. The unique writing style is appealing and successfully contextualises lived experiences with abstracted concepts for critical analysis.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

BORDER WATCH: CULTURES OF IMMIGRATION, DETENTION AND CONTROL

Alexandra Hall

Publisher: Pluto Press: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-7453-2724-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-0-7453-2723-5 (paperback)
Pagination: pp.199
Price: £20

This ethnographically researched volume uncovers the hidden day-to-day world of the immigration detention centre from the perspective of the officers. Its premise is that 'understanding the act of detention and its potential effects on individual lives requires knowledge of the ways in which the secure regime is produced within daily, even banal, social practices and interactions' (p.2). Theresa May has recently announced that the UK Border Agency (UKBA) is to be abolished with its work returning to the Home Office. Meanwhile to many, detention still denotes the preservation of national security and the control of 'populations of out-of-place, potentially risky immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees' (p.4). Its mechanisms and processes are shrouded in secrecy and it is only occasionally that, with incidents such as the fire at Yarl's Wood centre in 2002 or the death of a man undergoing forcible deportation in 2010, immigration detention comes to the public's attention.

Hall's first, introductory chapter outlines the backdrop of immigration law, border security; the reach of sovereign power; the creation of the condition the philosopher Giorgio Agamben describes as 'bare life', 'a biopolitical state where a person is stripped of political status and becomes abject: unworthy, excludable, undesirable' (p.12); and ethical systems in detention. It also summarises the staff structure and regime of the detention centre that is the focus of the study, which she calls 'Locksdon', as well as the existing literature and the methodology involved in her research.

Chapter 2 enters the daily life of Locksdon, beginning with material gleaned from discussion with Ed Davies, a 'long-serving officer' (p.27) who regretted changes made in the detention system whereby an officer no longer enjoyed the relative freedom of using their own discretion in certain situations. He felt there was a concomitant loss of control over the detainees, who, he was at pains to emphasise, '…"could be anyone. We have no idea who they are and what they are doing here"' (p.28). Visual control was referred to by Ed, including 'bodywatching'; the surreptitious, vigilant observation of detainees, 'a set of embodied visual habits, which constantly "read" the detainee's body as a site where intent and proclivity could be discerned ahead of time' (p.29). The chapter then moves into the reception of a new detainee, remarking on the language and attitudes of the officers, who took a new detainee through what they call a 'dirty room' – dirty in the sense of 'being liminal, "polluting" and ambiguous' (p.30), where they were strip-searched, measured and photographed, their fingerprints digitally recorded and their possessions examined.

Relationships among Locksdon officers are the subject of 'Being There: Social Life in the Centre'. Locksdon is a men's detention centre, although the staff includes some women; 'for male officers ….. work in a prison establishment enabled the articulation of a distinctive kind of masculine identity' (p.56). Many of the staff are ex-military, and their 'stories, anecdotes and reminiscences' tend to 'invoke [ ] the (male) sociality of the barracks, pubs and training grounds of forces life' (p.60). Hall examined intimacies and interactions between staff allied to trust and friendship, loyalty in working relationships, the gossip and speculation about one another, Locksdon's 'seething social complexity' (p.82) and its 'sense of egalitarianism' (p.82).

'Compliance and Defiance: Contesting the Regime' explores the ways detainees tactically negotiated the rules, for example, food refusal 'became an issue of power and control'. To officers, it was not a matter of the detainee expressing trauma or 'existential insecurity' (p.91) but more likely a means of securing a transfer to a different centre. This chapter also examines the conflation of detainees' 'complaints or expressions of frustration, anger or desperation ….. with discourses that posited this behaviour as evidence of "unreasonableness" or "not being all there"' (p.95); the way officers saw the detention centre as a prison, since the illegal act of 'fraudulent entry' invited detention as punishment; and the 2003 incident whereby detainee insurrection led to 'an afternoon of "concerted indiscipline"' (p.106) that had to be treated '"like a prison riot"' (p.107).

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss outbreaks of violence and control and restraint procedure, and the suicide of a detainee at Locksdon in 2003 respectively. The latter subject, 'the witnessing of a man's death ….. precipitated an ethical moment between detainee and officer that challenged the

"grammar of sovereign power" as it was lived in the detention centre' (p.172). Hall sees this as 'a hopeful, incongruous and unexpected reaction' that could signify a 'challenge to the logic of detention' (p.172), and thereby, positive change.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Politics and Government
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

EDUCATED FOR CHANGE? MUSLIM REFUGEE WOMEN IN THE WEST

Patricia Buck and Rachel Silver

Publisher: Information Age Publishing, Inc.: Charlotte, North Carolina
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-61735-620-9 (paperback)
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ISBN 978-1-61735-622-3 (e-book)
Pagination: pp.342
Price: £42

An unexpected outcome of war and migration has been an increase in Somali girls' and women's educational opportunities, when historically their literacy levels have been 'among the lowest in the world' (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 1998) (p.xv). Authored by Patricia Buck and Rachel Silver, co-founders of Matawi, a nonprofit NGO that works to increase educational opportunities for girls and women from the predominantly Somali Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, this anthropological work examines the impact of 'new-found access to schooling ..... in the everyday lives of Somali refugee girls and women' (p.xvi). The research was undertaken in two locations, Milltown, a small city in New England that has acted as a Somali resettlement site since 2001 and the three Dadaab camps in Kenya. Buck and Silver, as advocates for Somali girls and women, 'strategically use the research process to gather the voices and perspectives of [their] participants and to actively involve them in the process of constructing knowledge about themselves and their communities' (p.xix).

There are 13 chapters in the book together with a 'Foreword', 'Series Editors' Introduction' and an 'Afterword'. These begin with a detailed overview of the subject matter; the controversial situation of working with Somali refugees, given contemporary Islamic East–West relations, 'often framed with regard to whether the Islamic belief structure is compatible with secular, democratic ways of life and governance' (p.10) and with 'deep concern about terrorist proclivities among followers of radicalized Islam' (p.10); and the 'Enlightenment agenda of the UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees]', the influences of 'enlightenment, traditionalism, liberalism, and nativism' (p.20) that are brought to bear on the lives of Somali women.

The concept of traditionalism in Somalia is explored in a political and educational history of the country in Chapter 2; 'beginning in the colonial era and carrying through the collapse of Somalia's independent government and into the Cold War, foreign interests have attempted to manipulate clan, geography, and gender – often in the name of tradition – in efforts to control Somali citizens' (p.36). Chapter 3 portrays 'Enlightenment and Girls' and Women's Empowerment in the Dadaab Refugee Camps', from descriptions of camp life (climate, diet, sanitation) to abuses of power over the refugees and the 'enlightenment ideology' (p.85) that has resulted in a 'carefully inscribed power differential between the aid regime and refugees' (p.89).

Chapter 4 tracks refugees' perspectives on the polarisation occupied by Somali traditionalism and Western enlightenment and the way in which the traditionalism of Dadaab is far more allied to Islamic fundamentalism than was the case in the homeland of Somalia, due to 'stringent interpretations of customary law, or xeer, and Islam to counter the desires and agenda of the UNHCR' (p.93). Chapter 5 examines Somali girls and women in school. The women involved in Buck and Silver's research 'plainly advocated for girls' and women's education and made personal choices to reflect such a commitment ..... with a clear understanding that traditionalists strongly disapprove of their decisions' (p.112). The chapter looks at domestic and family responsibility among other obstacles to learning.

Chapter 6 uncovers ethnic and gendered discrimination in Dadaab, relations with Kenyan teachers, and the reception of international visitors to Dadaab from governmental and non-governmental organisations; some women react positively to Western visitors and others are 'rightfully skeptical' (p.171). 'Dialogues of Change' includes an account of how the authors helped a young Somali woman to avoid female circumcision, and supported her in the ensuing harassment from some family and community members.

Chapter 8, 'Bridge: From Dadaab to Milltown', acts as a centrepoint between the chapters dealing with the Dadaab camps and those that concern Milltown, and as 'a portrait of cultural orientation sessions' (p.201). The journey of Somali refugees to resettlement in the United States is described, including information on how they are 'instructed to reform their ways of being' (p.215). Chapters 9-12 focus on aspects of the Somali refugees' lives in Milltown, from 'The United States and Milltown: Traditionalism, Liberalism, and Nativism'; 'Somali Women in U.S. Schools'; and 'Crafting Identity Through Community Building', to '"You Better Say Your Prayers Before Prayers Are Said For You": Negotiating and Regulating Gender Change'. The book ends with 'Educated For Change? Some Concluding Thoughts' in Chapter 13 and 'Final Reflections on Our Project' in the Afterword. The authors include a plea: 'There are many ways for readers to get involved and we would be honored by any form of your support' (p.327).

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

BORDERLINE JUSTICE: THE FIGHT FOR REFUGEE AND MIGRANT RIGHTS

Frances Webber

Publisher: Pluto Press: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-745-33163-8
Pagination: pp. 256
Price: £19.99

Borderline Justice offers a critical reading of the British asylum and refugee system, reflecting upon the last 30 years of migration law and policy, using the themes of justice and human rights as underlying concepts to explore refugee experiences in the UK. Frances Webber's role as a legal practitioner has informed the viewpoint of the text to explicitly focus upon the administration of migration laws, analysing their consequences and interactions. Webber illustrates how changing asylum and migration policy has systematically adapted to attack the rights of voluntary and forced migrants. Exclusion is a dominant consequence of governmental policy, placing refugee and asylum seekers outside of society through differential benefits and a disparate set of rights, restricting the individual freedom held sacrosanct in British society. Webber attempts to deconstruct the complex political processes that constitute the image of refugees and asylum seekers through a negative lens, illustrating how laws are utilized to reinforce these constructions, in turn justifying and legitimizing further restrictions placed upon the subject.

The introduction presents the expanding topic of migration in academia, situating it within a British context to illustrate the contemporary landscape of refugee and asylum issues. Webber posits that the UK system is representative of a 'war against migration', a hegemonic characteristic of European and Western ideologies surrounding security and migration. The 'war' on migration embodies wider societal attitudes towards migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. Racism is suggested as an intrinsic element characterizing the UK's attitude towards asylum and migration control, informing and producing societal beliefs, subsequently influencing and legitimising policy decisions. Webber utilizes themes concerned with security, adding an empirically specific dimension by discussing the manifested implications of UK asylum policy.

The changing landscape of asylum is considered, analysing the shifting nature of asylum policymaking and laws in relation to three stages within the asylum process: 'Arrival: Contest at

the Border', 'Stay: Battles for Fair Treatment', and 'Departure: Resisting Total Controls and Mass Removals'. 'Arrival' focuses upon the laws and ideologies that implicate asylum seekers at the initial point of entry; at the border. Here, the dominant perspective that characterises the UK's asylum system represents a strategy of 'deterrence', presented as a hegemonic ideology. Webber suggests how this implicates institutional systems associated with the asylum process, illustrating how the 'culture of distrust' permeates asylum decision making at every level, demonstrating how the framing of asylum seekers heavily constitutes attitudes and beliefs towards asylum seekers.

'Stay' considers the situation of asylum seekers once in the UK, focusing upon the manifestation of internal asylum laws and policies. Webber posits that the UK asylum system is abusing and eroding the 'Law of Humanity', using deterrence and dispersal tactics that actively inhibit asylum seekers' rights. Webber offers specific discussion related to Section 4 and 55 welfare support; inherently exclusionary benefits, which encourage the process of subjugation and locate asylum seekers and refugees on the outskirts of society. Discussion considers migration in the context of global economic markets, asserting that policies have been informed through a neo-liberal perspective. Webber provides discussion of specific policies that control and restrict asylum seekers, infringing upon their movement, life conditions and families.

'Departure' considers the deportation and removal of asylum seekers who have 'failed' with their claims for citizenship in the UK. The impetus placed upon deportation has coincided with a growth in internal border officers, reflecting a full-scale drive through laws and policies to subordinate asylum seekers outside of the regular judicial system. The economic and political context of the last decade has both informed and enforced changes in asylum law, with the imperative of removal a direct policy consequence.

Throughout the text the theme of resistance is explored, analysing potential to overcome laws and policy to improve the lives of asylum seekers. The notion of 'justice' is carefully evaluated, with the injustices engrained in the UK asylum system displayed through changing asylum policy. *Borderline Justice* thus comprehensively reviews the UK asylum system, successfully analysing the diffuse implications of asylum policy, representing the physical and political consequences of policy upon refugees and asylum seekers. The text is of interest to students studying migration law and political geography, appealing to wider academia through a focus upon security and governance.

Also relates to:
Social Theory
Politics and Government
Economics and Globalisation
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence

REFUGEES, CAPITALISM AND THE BRITISH STATE: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS, VOLUNTEERS AND ACTIVISTS

Tom Vickers

Publisher: Ashgate Publishing Limited: Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, Vermont
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-409-44152-6
Pagination: pp. 211
Price: £55

Tom Vickers' recent text is a comprehensive review of the British state in relation to the asylum and refugee system. He employs an explicitly Marxist position to understand how the dominant class relations in British society, and the overarching imperative of capital accumulation have shaped the oppressive landscape of the refugee system. The text discusses how the interplay between social and political structures has informed both the historical and contemporary processes of oppression in relation to the 'international working class', and how these processes have resulted in exploitation of these very workers, discussing how this can be deconstructed to represent capitalist and imperialist ideologies. A major theme of the text is the examination of state policies, specifically of how they have defined, and how they continue to influence, the lives of refugees and asylum seekers in Britain, placing them in a constantly subordinated position in British society.

The introduction illustrates how Britain's relationship with the main countries from which refugees flee is considered to be 'parasitic', due to the historical role of workers employed by British capital, in both their home countries and within Britain. Here, the author illustrates the paradoxical attitude that typifies British policy on immigration, one which ignores the historical relationship between Britain and external agents; those who previously aided Britain's capital accumulation. This is intrinsically linked to capitalist and imperialist forms of organisation, those heavily reliant upon a demarcated division of labour that is highly exploitable. Throughout the text, Vickers seeks to relate this notion to the contemporary position of asylum seekers and refugees, positing that they are the agents who fulfill this requirement in British society, within low-paid, marginalised sectors of the labour force and through unpaid volunteering.

One of the key themes in *Refugees, Capitalism and the British State* is that of the 'political economy of Refugee reception', suggesting that British opinion about migration is intrinsically informed by racist ideologies, stemming from nationalism and imperialism. The text looks at how specific British policies are implemented to reflect this imperialist ideology, looking at changes to asylum dispersal laws and considering how the 2001 policy changes have impacted upon the lives of asylum seekers. This is primarily done through interviews with asylum seekers, revealing their daily lives, emotions and thoughts in insightful ways.

The author also successfully observes the relationship between the British state and refugees. Using both state literature and the personal accounts of individuals, Vickers highlight the contradictions and complexities of the immigration and asylum system, specifically looking at how the welfare system is different for refugees.

A useful component of the text is the history of ethnic minority settlement in Newcastle from the 1960s onwards. This allows the reader to gain an understanding of migration issues in the context of key historical changes within the UK. This in turn contributes to a discussion about the emergence of the 'refugee relations industry', developed under successive Labour governments and informed by an ideology of 'building social capital'. This is compared to the current coalition government's 'Big Society', and the future prospects for refugees in British society are discussed with relation to the current government being in power. *Refugees, Capitalism and the British State* thus contributes to a greater understanding of the historical and contemporary ideologies and policies of governance, allowing the author to suggest future conditions for refugees and asylum seekers.

The text gives a detailed overview of the relationship between refugees and asylum seekers and the British state, and through its Marxist lens provides an accurate deconstruction of this relationship and the processes that create and reinforce oppression within British society. The book is useful to academics with an interest in how the state situates asylum seekers and refugees in Britain, expressing that this occurs through of a combination of complex processes, and by examining its historical mediation. The book will thus academically appeal to a wide range of social scientists, specifically to anthropologists and political geographers, and is of equal interest to social workers and activists in the field of refugee and asylum support.

Also relates to:
Social Theory
Politics and Government
Economics and Globalisation

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

ETHIOPIA: THE LAST TWO FRONTIERS

John Markakis

Publisher: James Currey (an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd): Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84701-033-9
Pagination: pp.383
Price: £40.00

This detailed, incisive volume is the result of decades of scholarly study of Ethiopia and its neighbouring countries in the Horn of Africa. Markakis identifies the titular last two frontiers as two remaining obstacles blocking Ethiopia's path to nation state formation. One, the legacy of imperialism's monopoly of power, maintained since by the successive ruling classes; the other, the peripheral, arid lowlands where there is most resistance towards, and least progress in, integration. These elements contribute to an unstable and politically conflicted state which cries out for secure borders: 'Ethiopia's experience conforms closely to the notion of war as the midwife in the birth of states. Warfare is the crimson thread that runs uninterruptedly through its long history' (p.3). Markakis queries not so much whether the means justify the end, but rather the effectiveness of war as a 'catalyst in the process of state building' (p.2) at all. Because Ethiopia has continuously fought off territorial attacks, it has, he argues, forfeited 'the prospects for socio-economic development and political stability' (p.3) This book aims to examine this process and its impact on Ethiopia's people.

In his introduction Markakis distinguishes between Ethiopia's geographical high lands or 'highland periphery', and the 'lowland zone' or 'lowland periphery' (p.12) – the difference marked by 'the material foundation that determines the ways humankind makes a living' (p.15). Border warring occurs most often in the lowlands, on which are positioned all the neighbouring state borders; 'mired in poverty and distracted by conflict, the people subsist on the margins of the state' (p.17). 'The Lowland Frontier' is the subject of the three chapters of Part I, profiling the lowland communities as they are at present, an examination that has been missing from previous studies, and which is compiled from several years of research and 'a wide variety of sources' (p.17).

Part II explores how these groups arrived at their contemporary state, beginning with the nineteenth-century period of Ethiopian expansion and the point at which 'the present borders of the Ethiopian state were drawn and the parameters of the centre/periphery relationship were fixed' (p.18). The reign of Menelik of Shoa (1889-1913) is at the centre of this historical moment, a ruler with 'superior military power' (p.91) who regained and reunified lands 'that allegedly belonged to the Christian kingdom in the past' (p.93). Chapter 5 assesses 'Building the Imperial State: 1916-1974', from the death of Menelik in 1913, the enthronement of his daughter Zawditu and the creation of Ras Tafari Makonnen as King of Kings, taking the throne-name Haile Selassie. The first Ethiopian constitution (1931) was revised in 1955; modern education began in the 1940s, while urbanisation was burgeoning; as British military advisors left Ethiopia in 1951, 'they were replaced by Americans' (p.123). Chapter 6 looks at 'Imperial Rule in the Periphery', concluding that post-World War II, 'the patchwork structure that Haile Selassie had inherited was renovated to make the state a more efficient instrument of population control and resource extraction', while 'a parallel, multi-faceted process of socio-economic change intensified the interaction between centre and highland periphery ..... advancing the integration sought by the state' (p.160).

Part III, 'Rebuilding the State: The Socialist Method', begins with the fall of the imperial regime in 1974 and the consequent lack of social order: 'the upheaval divided the centre and created a political vacuum inviting intervention by the army' (p.161). A military regime ruled for the next 17 years. Chapter 8 explores the violent revolution that resulted in a failure 'to resolve the "nationality issue"' (p.201). 'The Socialist State in the Periphery' charts two main phases of lowland experience of military rule; the student political agitation leading to community disruptions, followed by 'the regime's efforts to start the process of lowland integration into the renovated Ethiopian state' (p.202) in the 1980s.

Part IV, 'Rebuilding the State: The Federal Model', charts the latest phase of nation state-building in detail, from the complex demographics of the country's districts, or *woreda*, to points of legislation, policy and constitution. The final part of this fascinating study, 'The Federal State in the Periphery', looks with some optimism at the future for Ethiopia:

> [t]he introduction of a decentralised federal system of government promised to end the centre's historical monopoly of ruling power, while the reformulation of Ethiopia's national identity on the basis of cultural pluralism lifted the burden of cultural inferiority from the periphery and the threat of

forced assimilation (p.279).

Despite problems, the lowlands are now 'emerging as a bright hope in Ethiopia's search for an escape from poverty' (p.358).

Also relates to:
History
Economics and Globalisation

TWEETS AND THE STREETS: SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONTEMPORARY ACTIVISM

Paolo Gerbaudo

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Pagination: pp.194
Price: £17.00

Paolo Gerbaudo's fascinating and scholarly study focuses on the 'cultural and phenomenological interpretation of the role of social media as a means of mobilisation' (p.9). While others have concentrated on social media in their abstract form, he claims that they have 'been chiefly responsible for the construction of a *choreography of assembly* as a process of symbolic construction of public space ..... the physical *assembling* of a highly dispersed and individualised constituency' (p.5). Referring to a body of ethnographic research including grassroots observation of activism and 80 interviews with activists, a '"ground-level"' (p.5) view of the use of social media as tools in social movements is developed, specifically in the Egyptian uprising, the Spanish *indignados* and Occupy in the US. The notion that social media occupy cyberspace and are without 'physical geography' (p.12) is contested by the examination of ways in which they mobilise people to become physically involved and present in 'intense communitarianism' (p.12).

Activist Laurie Penny 'describe[s] social movements as leaderless, horizontal aggregates' (p.21), highlighting the idea of 'networks'. In his first chapter, Gerbaudo questions this, developing his alternative notion of '"assembling" or "gathering"' (p.21) and presenting a 'conceptual framework for analysing the role of social media in the process of mobilisation' (p.20). He points out the absence of the 'corporeal character of contemporary activism' (p.25) in the language and literature of discourse on the subject, and argues against the view that collective action is spontaneous in nature. Rather, 'contemporary forms of protest communication, including activist tweets, Facebook pages, mobile phone apps and text messages revolve to a great extent precisely around acts of choreographing: the mediated "scene-setting" and "scripting" of people's physical assembling in public space' (p.40).

Social media's role in the Egyptian revolution of 2011, when 'the so-called *shabab-al-Facebook* (Facebook youth)' (p.15) rose up against Hosni Mubarak, is explored in Chapter 2, charting the way in which face-to-face physical communication superseded social media in importance with the occupation of Tahrir Square. After 18 days of protest, Mubarak gave up his position and a military council took power. While the media have characterised the uprisings of the Arab Spring as '"Facebook revolutions", "Twitter revolutions", or "wiki-revolutions"' (p.49), this belies the fact that due to low levels of internet connection, 'only a limited constituency was actually mobilised' (p.49) by social media. Gerbaudo analyses the Kullena Kaled Said Facebook page, allegedly created by Wael Ghonim, an Egyptian working in Dubai as a Google marketing executive for the Middle East, and named for a protestor/blogger who was beaten to death by secret police officers; and the phenomena of the Twitter *Pashas*.

Spain, badly affected by the global economic downturn, became 'the first site in the West to adopt the 'Tahrir model' of popular protest, with its combination of social media and mass sit-ins' (p.76). This 'harvesting of indignation' (p.77) is discussed in Chapter 3, allowing Gerbaudo to privilege

his 'sense of the role of the body and emotions' in 'contemporary mobilisation' (p.77) rather than the idea of a network of brains, a 'cognitivist understanding of social movements' (p.77) which he finds unhelpfully abstract. The chapter deals with elements such as Juventud Sin Futuro, a radical student/youth movement coalition; Estado del Malestar, a group campaigning against unemployment and public service cuts; and Democracia Real Ya, the campaign against austerity which was to become the 'focal point in the process of mobilising the *indignados* movement' (p.82).

The way a blog post encouraging people to #OccupyWallStreet actually did exactly that is examined in Chapter 4, from an initial call-out by Adbusters. Gerbaudo moves onto an analysis in the second part of the chapter of the role of social media in 'sustaining the protests once the occupation of Zuccotti Park began ..... Twitter ..... effectively used to weave together an emotional conversation and to sustain a sense of solidarity' (p.104).

Chapter 5, '"Follow me, but don't ask me to lead you!" Liquid Organising and Choreographic Leadership', uses comparative analysis to assess the use of social media 'across the different social movements and national contexts discussed [in the study]' (p.157), showing how its use gives rise to 'forms of soft and emotional leadership' (p.157), both 'indirect' and 'invisible' but lending a sense of collective direction. Gerbaudo concludes with the feeling that solutions are being sought now to the problem of dissipation of these protest movements, a challenge 'well condensed by a tweet sent by Egyptian activist Nora Rafea ..... "Tahrir is a state of mind"' (p.167) – something above and beyond the geographical location of the square in central Cairo.

Also relates to:
Science and Technology
Social Theory
Economics and Globalisation

SOCIAL THEORY

THE ISLAMOPHOBIA INDUSTRY: HOW THE RIGHT MANUFACTURES FEAR OF MUSLIMS

Nathan Lean

Publisher: Pluto Press: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-7453-3254-3 (hardback)
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Pagination: pp.222
Price: £11

Nathan Lean's critical, timely book is launched by his introduction upon a provocative trajectory, as he paraphrases Zachary Lockman, professor of Islamic Studies and History at New York University: 'I expect that those who view the world in ways that are diametrically opposed to my own will take great issue with what follows. I delight in their protestations' (p.15). Lean's focus is on the strategic political purpose and profiteering behind the promulgation of Islamophobia and its corrosive social effects, as he shows how 'bigoted bloggers, racist politicians, fundamentalist religious leaders, Fox News pundits, and religious Zionists' (p.10) have developed 'an industry of hate' (p.10), the Islamophobia industry of the book's title.

The infamous TV sequences of Osama bin Laden making one of his rare appearances in a pre-recorded video message, 'emerging from the secret alcoves of the Tora Bora cave complex to deliver gloomy warnings of apocalyptic destruction' (p.16), opens Chapter 1, 'Monsters Among Us: A History of Sowing Fear in America'. Lean begins with the Bavarian Illuminati in Charlestown, Boston, in the late 1790s, a branch of the Enlightenment period secret society founded by a German-born Freemason, who allegedly plotted to overthrow the United States. Rumours circulated 200 years later, during the 2008 presidential election, that Barack Obama was a member of the Illuminati. Likewise, 1880s anti-Catholic discourse was revived in 1960 when John F. Kennedy (an Irish Catholic) 'came under attack for his religious beliefs' (p.29). Anti-Muslim sentiment has spread on the Internet, for example the notion that the proposed mosque near Ground Zero was to be a 'command center for terrorism'

(p.40) went viral 'with the single click of a mouse' (p.40).

This ability to disseminate conspiracies and rumours online is the subject of Chapter 2, which opens with Pamela Geller's blog, 'strident in falsehoods and saturated in anti-Muslim sentiment' (p.41). The role of the media in 'Broadcasting Anti-Muslim Madness' is examined in Chapter 3, particularly that of Fox News which 'has been, for the better part of the last decade, at the heart of the public scaremongering about Islam' (p.66). Statistics show that Fox News consistently uses terms relating to fears around Muslims or Islam more often than other networks ('Fox used the term "Sharia" 58 times over a three-month period, whereas CNN used the term 21 times, and MSNBC 19 times' [p.69]). However, it is the insinuation with which the terms are deployed that counts against them; 'stories ..... about allegedly nefarious Muslims who had either participated in some act of violence or were thought to be [undermining] the political fabric of the United States' (p.69).

Internet evangelists and religious right-wingers are discussed in Chapter 4, from the case history of Bill Keller of LivePrayer.com, a '24/7 Internet stream of volunteer evangelists who receive online prayer requests and deliver daily devotionals', to Ergun Caner, a self-portrayed 'jihadist-turned-Christian' (p.84), author of books such as *Unveiling Islam* and *Out of the Crescent Shadows: Leading Muslim Women Into the Light of Christ*.

Religious Zionists are the subject of Chapter 5, exploring David Yerushalmi's Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE), 'an Arizona-based advocacy group that spearheaded efforts to criminalize the practice of Islamic law' (p.123) and its counterpart the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) and revealing such unpalatable dealings as the funding not only of anti-Muslim propaganda in the United States but 'the expansion of illegal settlements in the West Bank' (p.135).

Chapter 6 charts the 'War on Terror' that George W. Bush launched after 11 September 2001 as a large-scale incitement to Islamophobia, and the way Islamophobia was perpetuated through the actions and pronouncements of individuals such as Peter King, the Chair of the Committee on Homeland Security. The appalling rampage of Anders Behring Breivik, who saw himself as 'the modern-day leader of the Knights Templar, a Middle-Age Christian military order headquartered at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem to protect Christians travelling across the Holy Land' (p.161), is described in Chapter 7, together with the rise of the English Defence League and other European anti-Muslim violence and sabotage.

The conclusion drawn is that the Islamophobia industry consciously harnesses the impact fear has on society and expands and replicates that fear. Its brand of 'right-wing populism' is rapidly 'becoming structurally identical to anti-Semitism and other such institutionalized hates that eventually gushed bloodily into a horrible reality' (p.183). There is a need to refuse to accept the efforts of those who seek to divide humanity, 'gambling with other people's freedom for the sake of politics or profit' (p.184).

Also relates to:
Politics and Government
Science and Technology
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence

AT HOME IN EUROPE PROJECT: MUSLIMS IN LONDON

At Home in Europe Project (various authors)

Publisher: Open Society Foundations: New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-936133-23-9
Pagination: pp.198

A city report prepared as part of a series entitled *Muslims in EU Cities*, focusing on eleven cities with large Muslim communities – Amsterdam, Antwerp, Berlin, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Leicester, London, Marseille, Paris, Rotterdam and Stockholm. These reports, by the Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe project, seek to address issues of equality and treatment of minorities in an increasingly diverse society and to contribute to the understanding of the needs and aspirations of Muslims by examining how public policies have affected their socio-political and economic participation. The

Open Society Foundations' key tenet is that everyone in an open society counts and 'should enjoy equal opportunities' (p.7) and it works 'to build vibrant and tolerant democracies' (p.4).

This report analyses findings based on 'fieldwork and existing literature on research and policy in the London Borough of Waltham Forest' (p.25) from between 2008 and 2010, with additional follow-up from 2011. There were 200 detailed, face-to-face interviews with local residents – 100 Muslims and 100 non-Muslims – in three areas. Groups were split between male and female, from a variety of social and religious backgrounds. Questionnaires were then expanded on in six focus groups. Further in-depth interviews were conducted with local politicians, members of non-governmental organisations, teachers, health workers, community leaders and anti-discrimination and integration experts. The report is divided into thirteen sections including 'Conclusions' and 'Recommendations 'a nd there are 55 data tables.

Following the introduction is a section on 'Population and Demographics', including 'Profile of Muslims in London', an examination of Waltham Forest, and a subsection on 'Access to Citizenship'. 'City Policy' then covers 'Political Structures', such as the Greater London Authority (GLA), the London Borough of Waltham Forest and its elected councillors, and the Local Strategic Partnership; 'Governance of Policy Areas', including 'Cohesion and Integration' (the Cantle report, Waltham Forest Community Cohesion Strategy, the Equality Act 2010); 'Education', 'Employment', 'Health and Social Care', 'Housing, Policing and Security'. 'The Perception of Muslims' in the UK looks at existing research such as a survey conducted in 2005 'exploring people's prejudices' (p.45).

Later on in the report these subsections are expanded 'to examine integration in specific policy areas ..... or spheres of activity' (p.47). In Chapter 4, 'Experiences of Muslim Communities: Identity, Belonging and Interaction', a more generalised view is given of respondents' experiences of integration, 'sense of personal identity and belonging to a neighbourhood, city and state' (p.47). Examples of findings include such insights as the fact that '[r]espondents identified not speaking English, as well as being born abroad and being from an ethnic minority, as the main barriers to being British. Few respondents identified not being Christian as a barrier to being seen as British' (p.54). The impact of cohesion initiatives and projects is discussed, such as the concern among some respondents that the Coalition government's proposed 'refocusing of "Prevent" strategies at the hard edge of counter-terrorism intervention would make it far more challenging to gain community engagement and support' (p.61).

Section 5 deals with 'Experiences of Muslim Communities: Education', looking at school as an important 'pillar' of integration (p.63) and surveying the profile of schools in Waltham Forest before proceeding to examine 'how issues that arise from the religious and cultural diversity found in schools is addressed in different ways through the curriculum' (p.63) and issues of 'harassment and bullying as well as the extremism and violence that arise in the educational environment' (p.63).

Section 6, focusing on 'Employment', shows how '[p]oor employment prospects are perhaps the most clearly discernible symptom of social disadvantage, be it racial, religious, geographic or otherwise' (p.83). Section 7, on 'Housing', looks at the potential correlation between the 'nature and condition of the housing that individuals have access to and live in' (p.97) and the level of social inclusion and integration. Section 8, on 'Health and Social Services', illustrates the backdrop of health and well-being in Waltham Forest and the 'role of local social determinants and their impact on prevalence rates for the most significant causes of mortality and morbidity, which suggest that higher rates affect the most marginalised groups in the most deprived areas of Waltham Forest' (p.108).

Sections 9-11 deal with 'Policing and Security', 'Participation and Citizenship', and 'The Role of the Media'. Sections 12 and 13 as mentioned above comprise 'Conclusions' and 'Recommendations'; among the latter are such suggestions as '[t]he Metropolitan Police Service should work with Muslim and minority women's organisations in developing initiatives that increase reporting of hate crime' (p.161). Finally, three annexes include a bibliography, list of interviewees, and the questionnaire.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Education
Employment

Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Politics and Government
Science and Technology

THE NEW GILDED AGE: THE CRITICAL INEQUALITY DEBATES OF OUR TIME

Edited by David B. Grusky and Tamar Kricheli-Katz

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-5936-6
Pagination: pp.297
Price: £22.50

A book that invites groundbreaking scholars in the fields of philosophy, sociology, economics and political science to assess and interrogate essential current debates around inequality and poverty in an engaging, readable manner. Five key themes are identified: 'Do we have an obligation to eliminate poverty?' 'How much inequality do we need?' 'Is there a political solution to rising inequality?' 'Why is there a gender gap in pay?' and 'The future of race and ethnicity'. Each topic is debated by a pair of contributing academics, with 'instructions to focus on the core empirical or normative issues of interest in that debate' (p.4). The introduction acknowledges that the debates remain 'within-discipline' here and that they retain a weighty emphasis on the United States, but justifies this specificity in the light of the potentially open-endedness of a wider approach.

Leading philosophers Peter Singer and Richard W. Miller begin with an examination of 'Rich and Poor in the World Community' and 'Global Needs and Special Relationships' respectively. The contrasting ethical possibilities that arise with the first key question, whether we should be obliged to eliminate poverty, are explored, for example, '[w]hile it may ..... be more efficient for states to look after their own citizens, this is not the case if wealth is so unequally distributed that a typical affluent couple in one country spends more on going to the theater than many in other countries have to live on for a full year' (p.33).

Debates here about whether to resolve inequality within societies or between societies; '"the Principle of Sacrifice"' (p.41) and the 'Principle of Nearby Rescue' (p.49) are pitted against an investigation of 'The Virtues and Sins of Inequality' (p.64) and the concept of 'Optimal Inequality' (p.81) in the second part, which comprises Richard B. Freeman's '(Some) Inequality Is Good For You' and Jonas Pontusson's 'Inequality and Economic Growth in Comparative Perspective'.

Part III, asking 'Is There a Political Solution to Rising Inequality?' features John Ferejohn, Samuel Tilden Professor of Law at New York University and Jeff Manza, Professor of Sociology at New York University, both agreeing that 'political forces are very much behind the run-up [in U.S. inequality], yet they choose to emphasize different types of political forces' (p.7). Ferejohn, partly humorously, suggests the U.S. needs to elect a Democrat, but Manza acknowledges that the difficulties Democrats encounter in getting elected in the first place are the same type of problems that mean they would be unlikely to 'successfully push a serious anti-inequality platform' (p.8). The history of the political consequences of and ways of dealing with inequality are traced by Ferejohn, from Aristotle, Locke and Rousseau to recent Democrats – Carter, Clinton, Obama. Manza charts 'Some Fundamentals of American Democracy'; 'The Party System and the Political Expression of Labor Interests'; and 'Interregnum: Political Sources of Declining Inequality in America (ca .1937-1975)'.

The gender gap in pay is the subject of pieces by Professor of Economics Solomon Polachek ('A Human Capital Account of the Gender Pay Gap') and Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations Francine D. Blau ('The Sources of the Gender Pay Gap'). Polachek looks at the relatively rare situation of the househusband and the powerful working (as in employed for pay) woman, arguing that 'the household division of labor is of paramount importance in explaining the social stratification that results in gender earnings inequality ..... [it] causes men to specialize in work more than women' (p.163). Blau counters with the importance of 'labor market discrimination' (p. 189) which 'exists where there are wage or occupational differences between men and women that are not accounted for by productivity differences' (p.191). What is required, she argues, is 'that we address the issue

of work–family conflict and continue to seek ways that allow both women and men to successfully combine challenging careers with their family responsibilities' (p.208).

The concluding Part V, 'The Future of Race and Ethnicity', is divided into 'A Dream Deferred: Toward the U.S. Racial Future' and 'Racial and Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy'. In the former Howard Winant asks what has become of Gunnar Myrdal's vision of 'assimilationism', of his '"cumulative" and "cyclical" dimensions of racial "development"' (p.212), examining in turn '(1) demographic shifts and their political implications; (2) colorblind racial ideology and its discontents; and (3) the post-civil rights era crisis of the U.S. racial state' (p.213). In the latter Mary C. Waters traces the 'entrenched and shameful scar on [the U.S.'s] national soul' (p.246) that is racial injustice.

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

MINORITY STUDIES

Edited by Rowena Robinson

Publisher: Oxford University Press: New Delhi
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0198078548
Pagination: pp.319
Price: £27.50

This excellent collection is the first publication in a new Oxford University Press series which focuses on the major issues and problems shaping society in twenty first century India. It brings together a diverse range of scholars from different background including sociology, politics, history and social anthropology to focus on the question of minorities in India. Whilst 'minority studies' as an academic field has established itself in many parts of the world, this has not been the case in India. Furthermore, although there is a common acceptance of the label 'minority' being applied to *religious* minorities, the term is often synonymised with Indian Muslims. This volume aims to define what minority studies might mean in a broader Indian context, focusing on multiple minority groups through an exploration of major themes such as overlapping minority identities, the production of minority categories by law and state and resistance to these categories.

In her introduction, the book's editor Rowena Robinson explores several reasons why this may be the case, such as the modernist stance of India's leadership post-independence, or as a residue of colonial rule where British policy encouraged the use of religion to divide and fragment the people. Robinson situates discussion of minorities in India within the context of shifts in Western academic discourse, increased interest in multiculturalism and the rights of minority groups, the position of minorities in other south and Southeast Asian countries, and the significance of Hindu nationalist ideologies in the construction of minority groups in India.

The opening chapters take a broader look at the category of minority within India. Michel Seymour examines categorisation of minorities from a state perspective using political liberalism as a theoretical framework, and highlights a number of overarching concerns developed in other chapters, such as the conflict between 'collective' and 'individual' rights in a democratic state. Rina Verma Williams develops this idea through an examination of Muslim personal laws, and deconstructs the static state level definitions put forward in the previous chapter. This is further explored by Laura Dudley Jenkins, who highlights the way in which caste and religious identities may intersect to complicate the definition of who is a minority.

From here we move towards a more localised analysis of the relationship between state and personal categories and how this relationship might be affected by regional and cultural factors or group hierarchies. Farhana Ibrahim, Joseph M.T and Joseph Marianus Kujur focus on the concept of minority for the Kachchhi Muslims, the Buddhists of Maharashtra and the Oraon Christians respectively, examining how the label of minority may bring value or entitlement, how minority status is constructed through lived experience and how overlapping identities or religious histories may further complicate minority status. This point is taken further by Chad M. Bauman and Richard

F. Young who examine what conflict over religious conversion can reveal about minority identity and demography.

We then shift toward a look at different forms of resistance to the imposition of state defined minority labels. Firstly Murzban Jal critiques the rejection of their minority status by the Parsi community, before Sipra Mukherjee explores the legal battle of the Ramakrishna Mission to be recognised as a minority organisation. Mukherjee aptly demonstrates how the label of minority may change both in status and significance depending on the legal or socio-political context in which the term is applied. Finally Natasha Behl documents the most extreme rejection of minority status through armed struggle against the state and the development of Sikh nationalism.

The closing chapters raise important questions regarding minority stereotypes, specifically in relation to Muslim minority. Yousuf Saeed presents a fascinating case study of how Bollywood cinema can project particular Islamic cultural characteristics and the transformation of 'Muslimness' in Indian cinema over the past half century. Dibyesh Anand then draws together a number of key themes discussed previously to examine the construction of the minority 'other' set against a dominant Hindutva ideology and exacerbated by the war on terror.

This well balanced collection is a welcome addition to the developing literature on minority studies in India and sets a high standard for subsequent volumes in the series to follow. Although many of the contributions are analytically and theoretically advanced the clear prose and accessibility of the writing make this collection valuable not just to academics but also to policy advisors, local practitioners and charity workers.

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

Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World:

A Review Journal

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