# 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 o.<sub>3</sub> 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 indepth 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**

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### 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 TELYAMASHITA'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, Jingi 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

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London Year: 2013 ISBN 978-0-8223-5329-4 (cloth : alk. paper) 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 ISBN: 978-0-7546-7680-5 (hardcover) 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 ISBN: 978-0-253-35656-7 (cloth : alk. paper) 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 midnineteenth 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 CorporationThat ChangedThe 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: 510-05

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 persp

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

Publisher: Teachers College Press: New York Year: 2012 ISBN: 978-0-8077-5341-5 (pbk.: alk. paper) 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

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

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London Year: 2012 ISBN: 978-0-8223-5329-4 (cloth : alk. paper) ISBN 978-0-8223-5344-7 (pbk.: alk. paper) Pagination: pp.265 Price: £16.99

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

Publisher: The University of Georgia Press: Athens and London Year: 2011 ISBN: 13: 978-0-8203-3949-8 (pbk.: alk. paper) ISBN-10: 0-8203-3949-0 (pbk.: alk. paper)

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 coalmining 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 GrassrootsWar 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**

Publisher: University of Rochester Press: Rochester, New York and Woodbridge, Suffolk Year: 2012 ISBN: 978-1-58046-428-4 ISSN: 1092-5228 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 byproduct 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) ISBN 978-1-61735-621-6 (hardcover) 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 statebuilding 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

Publisher: Pluto Press: London and New York Year: 2012 ISBN: 978-0-7453-3249-9 (hardback) ISBN 978-0-7453-3248-2 (paperback) ISBN 978-1-8496-4800-4 (PDF eBook) ISBN 978-1-8496-4802-8 (kindle eBook) ISBN 978-1-8496-4801-1 (EPUB eBook) 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 RealYa, 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

# SOCIALTHEORY

# 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) ISBN 978-0-7453-3253-6 (paperback) 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 prerecorded 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 followup 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.8<sub>3</sub>). 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