

Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal



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Telephone: 0161 275 2920

Email: racereviewjournal@manchester.ac.uk

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A Review Journal

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Editorial Statement

This is the final edition of *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World*. For five years, the journal has been one of the key activities of the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, and we are justly proud of its contribution to international scholarship and its role in maintaining one of Europe's leading specialist libraries on race, migration and ethnicity.

This year the Resource Centre moved from being based within The University of Manchester to a new location in the Manchester Central Library in the heart of the city. As our library and archival collections are now much more accessible to the general public, the relocation has meant that we need a more flexible library acquisition strategy than that provided by the journal. Shifting our investment in the journal into new public engagement activities and collection development enables us to open up our collections to Manchester's ethnic minority communities in new ways. At the same time, we are hoping that our research projects and developing online resources will enable us to maintain connections with the international networks of researchers and activists that have supported the journal.

We are grateful to Julie Devonald who was founding editor of the journal with Emma Britain, and whose energy and efficiency have kept the journal on-course amidst changing staffing and the relocation. Louis Kushnick, who is interviewed in this issue, provided the vision for both the journal and the Resource Centre, based on a quarter of a century editing *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, which was very much the parent of *ERCW*. Jackie Ould, Ruth Tait and Hannah Niblett have provided editorial support at crucial times, while The University of Manchester Press has been an extremely supportive publisher. We are deeply grateful to our editorial board, authors and reviewers from across Europe and North America for their contributions and commitment, which gave *ERCW* its international vision.

This issue features Carmen's Cusack's analysis of Florida's prison population, which reveals how darker skin tones were more prevalent amongst the male Hispanic prisoners than their female counterparts. The article raises questions about how racial profiling pervades all levels of the criminal justice system, from arrest to sentencing to probation review. Although quantitative approaches to skin colour have been far more common in the medical sciences than the social sciences, such studies raise significant questions about the variegated experiences of racism by ethnic groups.

Richard Verdugo's history of the experiences of former slaves and freedmen following the Civil War emphasizes the persisting economic advantages enjoyed by the latter into the late nineteenth century. This article also shows the economic gains that resulted from the post-emancipation struggle for literacy that is detailed in Christopher Hager's *Word by Word: Emancipation and the Act of Writing* (Harvard University Press, 2013).



Interview with Professor Lou Kushnick

13 June 2014

Interview with Professor Lou Kushnick, 13 June 2014

JD: What would you say has been the significance of this journal?

LK: I think it exposed users to the latest literature, giving them a critical perspective, because there are still an enormous number of books in the field, that keep coming out, often reiterating the same arguments and the same battles, but it was always our belief that it was very important to cut through that and give the users a perspective. Also the scope it provided for young scholars, to publish articles in peer reviewed [*journals*], and that is becoming more and more difficult because departments are all competing in the RAE [*Research Assessment Exercise, now the Research Excellence Framework, REF*], and they are having to prioritise certain journals. Therefore, particularly young scholars who are adventurous, who are critical, who are trying to go across the boundaries, find it very difficult, because they don't quite fit, and if they don't get published, even in less than prestigious [*journals*], it's very difficult for their futures. We wanted to be able to give them a space in which to try out their ideas and get responses, so I think the journal kept both of those perspectives of what we were trying to do right from the beginning [*with Sage Race Relations Abstracts*], and then continued on in this journal.

JD: I was going to ask you about your previous journal. So what was the first journal that you were involved in?

LK: In 1980 I was asked by Sivanandan, [*director Emeritus of the Institute of Race Relations, London*], to take over *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*. Robert Moore, who was interviewed here by CoDE [*Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity, The University of Manchester*], a couple of weeks ago, founded the journal with his own money, his own commitment, and then he passed it on to the Institute, with SAGE as the academic publisher, but we had all the editorial control. After Robert it was Stuart Bentley, who was very dedicated politically, but he had MS [*Multiple Sclerosis*], so I was involved for a number of years before 1980 writing abstracts. But it got too much for Stuart so I took over in 1980 and carried on until SAGE sold it from under us in 2007. I was lucky because I had a wonderful associate editor, Benjamin Bowser, who is now retired, he's an Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Cal State, East Hayward [*California State University*], but he was at Cornell at that time. I had never met him, but we were put in touch, he was tremendous, thinking up ideas and liaising with contributors and potential contributors in the States.

And at Manchester, one of my former students, Roz Rickards, became assistant editor for a couple of years, and then she left, and then fortunately, Jacqueline Ould, who is our director now, stepped up and we worked together tremendously well, for many many years. It was crazy, various people said, '*There must be a way to organise this electronically?*', but nobody ever did it, because what we were trying to do was identify the literature but also to give the maximum number of cross references, so any one article would have a 3 x 5 card for the author, if it was two authors, two 3 x 5 cards, then it would have the primary category, then there would be the cross references, so mechanically we had to do that four times a year, we would sit at the kitchen table, either hers or mine, and we'd go through it. That was after getting all the abstracts, so we had abstractors in the US, abstractors abroad, abstractors in British universities. We had people like Pedro Noguera at NYU [*New York University*], what he did was he used it as a way of bringing his grad students along, so they took a theme, they organised this, and he selected a whole range of literature, modern and older and each of his students took a certain number of these articles around this theme and they wrote a joint paper but that meant

you had to get all of those articles in the index as well, so it just spiralled and spiralled. But also one thing that was very important was to cover grey literature. You'd review it, someone would say, '*That's very interesting*', but they'd have no idea how to get it, so what we'd do was have a section at the back of each issue, on what we called 'addresses of elusive publications'. Also we saw it as a way of bringing young scholars along, young scholars of colour, progressive scholars. James Jennings, now at Tufts [Massachusetts], used to be director at the William Monroe Trotter Institute, African American Institute at UMASS [University of Massachusetts], Boston, and he was absolutely brilliant. He still worked with us on this journal [Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World]. He was Afro Puerto Rican, from New York. And he had this incredible network of young scholars, whom he'd mentored and so he would constantly commission or let us know of somebody who was writing something, and we met the most wonderful people over the years so that was a continuing supply of essays. Then some of us felt there was a need for more contemporary responses, so if there was a big dispute in the scientific racist field, or whatever, and somebody wanted to respond quickly to it before it became embedded, so we said, '*Ok, we'll create a comments section*', and so we had this section, which was remarkable.

I wrote for it, other people wrote for it here, and people abroad, and I think it kept it alive. It was distributed through all sorts of progressive networks and so that was a crucial part of what we did. Then I remember being with Frank Bonilla, who was one of our supporters, a Puerto Rican activist, at Hunter College, which was part of CUNY, City University of New York, and I visited every year, when I'd go to the States, and we were talking and he said, '*You know it would be great if we could get some of these articles around a theme published*'. Welfare was a big issue over there, because Clinton had sold out and the line of certain democrats was, '*Well we're recognising reality and we've had to shore up our support*'. There were people who hated welfare, and the welfare reform bill basically gutted welfare entitlements, and we had generated lots of articles, I'd written some, James had written some, Frank, he had written, and so we went to, I think it was NYU press [New York University Press], and we got a book (*A New Introduction to Poverty: The Role of Race, Power, and Politics*, New York, NYU Press, 1999), which was a collection of these essays and we wrote a fore piece and an after piece. We had people from Britain writing and people from the US and it was a thematic book about welfare reform, poverty and racism. So that was very good, very positive, that came out of what we were doing. And then Ben came up with this idea, it was very non PC [*politically correct*], because he had started interviewing, just by random [chance], progressive Black scholars, of an age, many of them were near death or near retirement and he started interviewing them asking, '*How did this happen? What was happening?*', and I think about this because upstairs on the fourth floor [Manchester Central Library], you have the picture of Arthur Lewis, the Black political economist. There's a building on this campus [The University of Manchester], named after him.

But can you imagine what it would have been like for him as probably the only Black professor in any venue he was in? This was very rich and so we had three, four, five essays, that he'd done and we published them in SAGE [Sage Race Relations Abstracts] and in a book *Against the Odds (Against the Odds: Scholars Who Challenged Racism in the Twentieth Century*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2002). It was a very good collection but it was all male and so it was a great embarrassment. Progressive people were saying, '*How could you publish a book that had no women in?*', so we talked to people like Barbara Ransby and others about another book, but everybody had their own agendas, their own projects so it never came out, but that was a great failing I thought. *Against the Odds* still sells the odd copy, but hopefully it's in libraries, and people can use it. So I was very excited, and all of us involved were very excited about the journal. And then, it was disclosed at very short notice, that SAGE was selling it. Obviously they were selling it because it was very time consuming to have people write abstracts, and you had to generate the funds to pay the £1.50 per abstract [*laughs*], so ridiculous, that figure never changed. So it was cheaper for them to just have an in-house operation

or some company that just basically took the author's promo and reproduced it. But fortunately, you and Emma and others, pursued the idea of creating a journal and obviously it was important for us, as a small organisation without a budget for many years, [laughs] or a very small budget, to be able to keep up with the literature. We were cataloguing this material even before main libraries were, and so we were very much at the cutting edge of that. So we kept it going until it became too difficult, financially and time wise. So I think we go out with our heads high.

JD: What changes have you noticed in publishing over this time? From SAGE to now?

LK: When we were first starting, it was interesting because it was following the 60s, so there were an incredible number of young progressive scholars, all over, who were busy addressing the issues of racism. David Roediger for example, at Illinois, was trying to follow on from WEB Du Bois; he was a White academic, because the issue was not skin colour or ethnicity, it was politics, and so he's tried to move on in a sense what's called Whiteness studies, and asks, '*Why did race, race relations, that is racism really, against African Americans and Latinos and later on Asians, so distort working class history in the United States?*'. Everybody talked about American exceptionalism, not very critically, but he was saying you had large parts of the dominant working class, continually acting against their own economic, and social and family interests, because ideologically and structurally the society was built on racism. I remember Hal Baron making the point; '*It didn't matter that every African person in America was a slave, as long as every slave was of African descent*'. So it created two races, the Whites who were the superiors, who by definition couldn't be enslaved because they were White, and the Blacks who were the fit subjects for enslavement, and this continued in terms of privileging Whiteness. Incredible that you had 'the socialism of fools' in California, I mean really militant and radical socialists, working class activists and leaders, who were in the vanguard of Asian exclusion movements. Why? Because they said, '*The Asian can live on a bowl of rice a day and they didn't have the character to make the sacrifices to create a unified working class and solidarity*'. In the former Southern states and in the Northern states, it was the African Americans who lacked the character. It was just insane, and so what we had was a society which was built ideologically and materially on privileging White skin.

Now, most of those White skin privileges were very little, very low but they were sufficient, for example in 1972 there was this attempt at court ordered integration of schools in Boston, which was one of the most segregated cities in the United States, so they were going to move Black children from Roxbury into Southy [*South Boston*] and move White children from Southy into Roxbury. Well Southy's high school did not get a single pupil into higher education, so they were not defending a great system, but what happened was; in preparation for the poor White, working class, Irish origin kids coming to Roxbury, schools in Roxbury were given new text books, that they had never been given before, I mean this was crazy. There was a point below which you cannot put Whites. Well, White people would actually kill, beat to death a Haitian man who had nothing to do with education, he'd come to pick up his wife who was a nurse in a hospital in South Boston, and he was Black. They had stolen school buses, they attacked the police who were reluctantly protecting the kids - they didn't really want to because most of the police came from similar neighbourhoods.

Arnie Hirsch was looking at the creation of the second ghetto in Chicago, ground breaking work, laying the whole foundation of the way we look at public housing and the development of public housing, not as a way of integrating or breaking down segregation, it was a way of supporting segregation. So in each of these areas you had people like Robin Kelley, just challenging, but they've now got grey hairs like me. And then other forces came into being, the divisions along ethnic lines and gender lines, took its toll in terms of people addressing commonalities of experience and moving forward, so that was crucial.

The university sector has been gutted in the United States as is being done in the UK. Private colleges exist just to make money, so they're not interested in anything except making money. They call them in Britain - *the Guardian* had a series of articles - 'the ATM colleges', so the only thing is the students arrive to go to the ATM machine to get out the £9,000 loan. The college sucks up the money for them, it's just disastrous. But also in a time of retrenchment what happens is the most conservative, most reactionary forces find the way to serve the interests, or to make it clear that the university can be now restructured to serve the interests of, the people with power, rather than the powerless. More and more conservative forces go on boards of trustees of universities. In America, most medical schools do not teach workplace health issues. Why? Because the big donors own the mines and therefore, they weren't interested in protecting the rights of their workers and former workers who got black lung, brown lung, emphysema and so on.

So it's very difficult in each area, if you are pursuing a study of the powerful, rather than a study of the powerless. But we're lucky here because we still have, the ESRC [*The Economic and Social Research Council*], funded CoDE project, a very big project, funded for four years, and hopefully this will continue and they're dealing with serious issues. But in many institutions there's less and less space to operate. The publisher wants to guarantee that the books will be sold, but if less books are being sold, various pressures on students' lives and finances mean there's less and less books bought, and more things are going online, and if you can't guarantee that the book is going to be taken up as a text book or something, it altogether means it's becoming a constriction of publishing the sort of challenging things that we want to see.

JD: Do you think there's been a change in the audience of this sort of material?

LK: (sighs) I think so. But I don't know. I mean each generation is like, '*We were red hot and they're all working in the McDonalds*', but there are objective forces. In the States, the big universities have needs blind financial packages, which means they don't look at your finances until they decide if they accept you or reject you. Then they work out a plan, whether it's working on campus, loans, whatever to get it through. But these are not all the universities, these are the top ones, who have been forced to do that by the militancy of the minority students who have continued in many ways and still today, but it's very difficult, because many minority students are themselves the children of previously militant students, so who have made it to a degree. The Black middle class is less able to pass on their status and their money and their position to the next generation than White middle class people, but a certain segment of doctors and lawyers are able to pass on their status. The problem is that it's not your skin colour that matters, that determines your politics, it's other things, so if their parents had this fight, this struggle against racism to get where they are, but if you are born into that, it can have an effect just like the children of White formerly working class people; I mean Jack Straw, Will Straw is being parachuted into a seat, this is a reproduction of class, but not as effective in the Black community in either country.

So that has an implication in terms of the militancy or the questioning but if the job market gets harder and harder, there is greater and greater pressure to conform, not to make waves because you won't get a job, so there are all of those pressures, and of course if you are coming into university from a non-traditional background you very often don't have any financial backing from your parents, in fact you're working. They're making a great struggle because you're not contributing to the family income, you may be living at home, even if you're not living at home, you're not contributing, but your parents want you to succeed, but you have to work. So people are working six hours, twelve hours, eighteen hours a week, well that adds up if you've got a demanding academic programme. But I mean

there are all these factors. So the militancy that we saw is still there in a sense, because you saw it in the Occupying Movement, you see it periodically, about the companies not paying their taxes, you have people who are prepared to confront reality, to challenge the 99% - 1% divided society, but they are a minority. They always were a minority but it's hard to say whether they are even a smaller minority than they were before. One of the things that we've done here and in the US is make the definition of racism so narrow. In America, people are like, *'Oh God the guy who owns the Los Angeles basket ball team, he said the 'N' word. You have to sell the club'*, so that's racism, right, it's only that? Or somebody goes on television and says the 'N' word, like Jeremy Clarkson, but that's not the core of racism.

Racism is how resources are administered, distributed through society. What are the physical barriers which affect certain groups of people and not others? What are the forces that privilege certain groups of people? And so the Civil Rights movement was fighting, but in order to get the widest possible coalition, it couldn't address economic issues, and when Martin Luther King tried to address economic issues, and also the war in Vietnam, he was totally marginalised. I mean people forget, because he was assassinated, and before he was assassinated he made the march on Washington speech in 1963, but in between '63 and '68 when he was assassinated, what happened? There may be a Martin Luther King Day and a Martin Luther King Boulevard, but in between he became more and more marginalised, he had to put up with more and more violence when he came up to Chicago to try to extend the fight in the North. Other Blacks, other Civil Rights leaders attacked him saying that he was putting the movement at risk by raising such issues, he had no right to raise those issues. So in a sense what we did was, we created a space, the space is you could be an entertainer, or you could play football, but in fact, even in all the sports, people say, *'It's a Black sport'*, Blacks have to be even better to be carried on the team as an auxiliary player or on the roster, than a White player they are competing with.

So what we have is a structurally racist society, Blacks are worse off in America now than they were when Obama was elected president. And Obama can't do anything for them because he can't raise the level of the Blacks unless he changes the structure and parameters of public policy. But those that don't want those changes will attack it as privileging the Blacks, well, there's no privileging the poorest people in your population, you are raising them up as citizens who are entitled to a decent life, but he can't do that, and so the Blacks are worse off now. The Republicans overplayed their hands last time trying to stop them voting so it gave a renewed vigour in the presidential election last round, saying, *'They are trying to stop the Obama from voting'*, but that's not going to work because increasingly African Americans look at what's happening to them and say, *'What difference does it make?'* I mean, they came out to vote from previously not voting because nobody ever made a difference and they are going back to *'nobody ever made a difference'*. I don't mean you can't have an Occupying Movement but to be able to sort of maintain it as an ongoing force for real social change, I just don't see it.

JD: So you've already covered some of this, but, have you seen differences in race relations since the time of SAGE to now?

LK: Yeh, I think the changes are in the literature that we've published. People are addressing the economic exclusion, but it's possible, in a racist society, to discuss the inequality solely in class terms, but the way the class structures operate in a racist society is it is part of the system and so there is some literature which is progressive and I mean important, there's no question, in terms of addressing these issues but I think it's been very much marginalised. I think a lot of the stuff doesn't address these issues. You have to go beyond Civil Rights, Martin Luther King won. Well he didn't win and they didn't win. They got rid of de jure segregation but the moment they started talking about socio economic

issues we then got the agenda of reverse racism, extremism and so on. Look what's happening to the Muslims in Britain at the moment. It's absolutely outrageous, as if they've given up on terrorism, oh it's conservatism or Islam, well I don't think we should have any faith schools, but if you're going to let Catholics be taught only that abortion is bad, or the Haredi Jews are given the opportunity not to answer any questions on exams about evolution, because that would upset them. What do they think faith schools are going to do? Be good and inclusive and questioning? Of course not. Nobody, Gove [*Secretary of State for Education, 2010 – 2014*], or any of these people, ever questioned what the faith schools do, OFSTED [*Office for Standards in Education*] never questioned what the faith schools do.

The moment the Muslims start doing that, again you can reinforce their outside status and that gives you the chance to try to score political points, as your stand against terrorism. What the hell's happening to the Muslims? What happens to those kids? What happens to those families? You're not telling them they're part of our society and then you attack them because they are self segregating, but all the segregation wasn't all self segregation, it was White flight, it was Whites excluding, newspaper attacks on Islam, Islamophobia, so I think all these issues have to be addressed and the fight against this is being pursued by very progressive forces but the fight for it is very powerful. I mean even the BBC; today there was a report about getting PIP [*Personal Independence Payment*], the government's website is telling you not to call back unless it's after more than six months, for most people it's a year to get the benefit, the universal credit is three years behind, and all this evidence is there, so the BBC, the prime story is 'Trojan horse'. Even they follow that agenda so sometimes they even forget to say that the Trojan horse document was most probably a forgery [*Following a leaked letter allegedly by Islamists in Birmingham, the Trojan horse was a supposed Muslim attempt to control schools in England*]. It's a fraudulent document and so they sometimes say it, most of the time they don't say it, so the space within which people can operate becomes narrower and narrower.

JD: So what do you think the ending of this journal is going to leave? Do you think it's going to leave a hole or a gap?

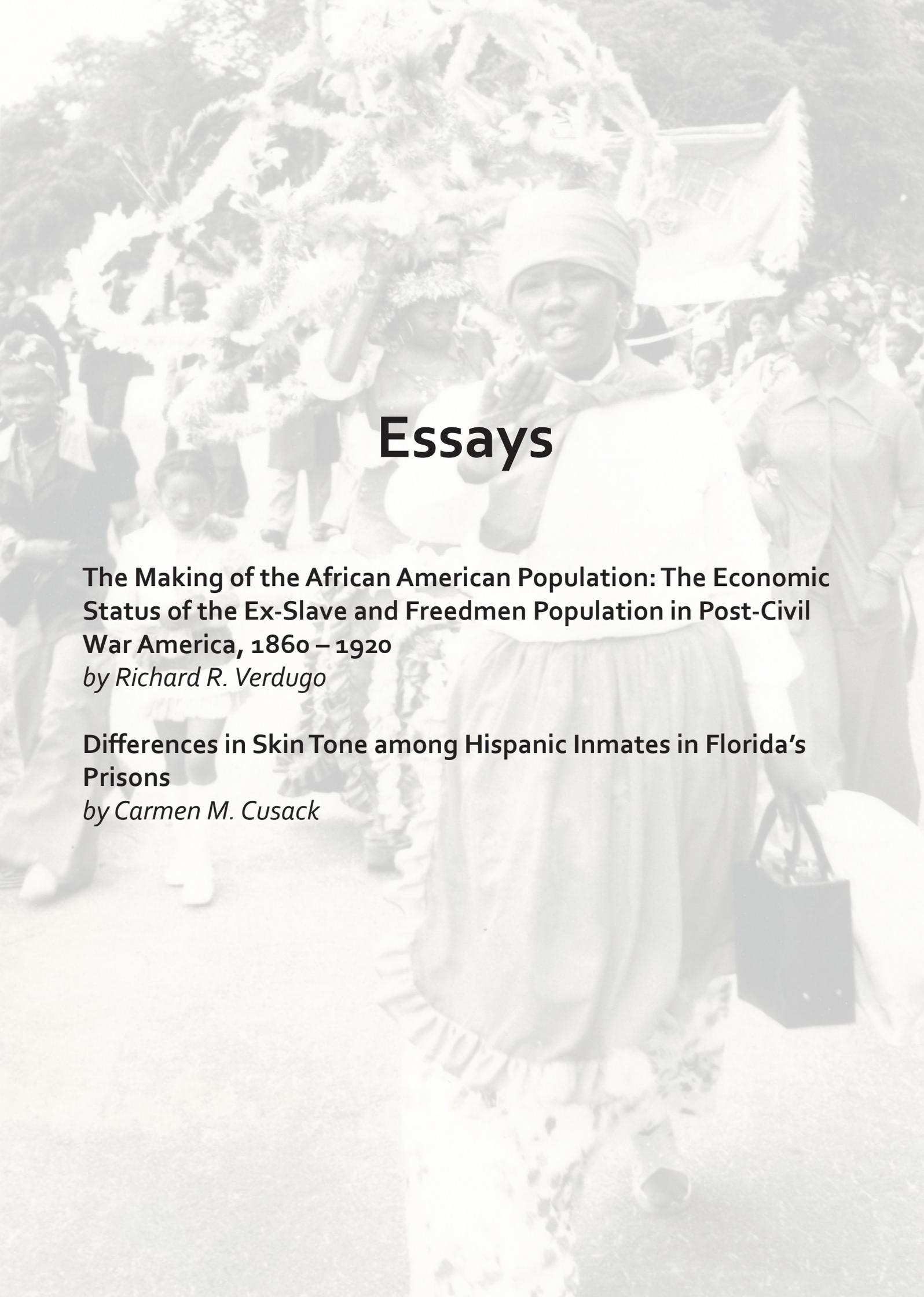
LK: It will, because we were doing two things: we were giving a space for certain articles to be published and to have contemporary books held up, so we've got to find other ways of doing it, maybe in terms of our website, perhaps. We are operating within severe financial constraints, we are short of staff and committed to doing really important things, the plans for the future are very interesting and very well developed and we are not masters of our own fate. We have to do what we can do. We've achieved a great deal to get here and now we've got to make it our business to make best use of it and continue to be a space where people can access material that's progressive, find discussions that address these issues, can be pointed to other sources, that's the best we can do.

JD: Is there anything else you wanted to say?

LK: I want to commend you and Emma [*Emma Britain*] and Jo [*Jo Manby*] and whoever has been involved with producing it [*Ruth Tait, Hannah Niblett*], on top of every bit of work that you were already doing, which is commendable to put it mildly. And I really congratulate you for what you've done.

JD: Thank you.

Julie Devonald interviewing Professor Lou Kushnick.



Essays

The Making of the African American Population: The Economic Status of the Ex-Slave and Freedmen Population in Post-Civil War America, 1860 – 1920

by Richard R. Verdugo

Differences in Skin Tone among Hispanic Inmates in Florida's Prisons

by Carmen M. Cusack

The Making of the African American Population: The Economic Status of the Ex-Slave and Freedmen Population in Post-Civil War America, 1860 – 1920

by *Richard R. Verdugo**

Abstract

The end of the Civil War, the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution ended slavery as an institution in the US. For years slavery divided the country, North and South. With the end of slavery, it was expected that slaves, as freed men and women, would be able to improve their economic status, moving freely and pursuing jobs in which they could earn a decent living. But there were forces at work in the South that made it impossible to find decent employment, and the first Great Migration of the Black population began between 1910 and 1930. Nevertheless, Blacks began leaving the South (especially the Deep South) earlier. In this paper I follow the occupational careers of several age-cohorts of former Black slaves and free Blacks using the 1870 - 1920 census data.

Results from my analysis point out that the Black population, comprising a combination of former slaves and free Black persons, experienced some upward mobility, but only if they moved north. Living in the South shortly after the Civil War and into the latter part of the 19th century did not bode well economically for the Black population.

I. Introduction

Slavery was a divisive institution in America. The North was on the cusp of industrializing, whereas the Southern economy was based on plantation agriculture and slave labour. The “peculiar” institution ended as a consequence of the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution. The effect on the slave population, theoretically, should have been economically positive.

The end of slavery freed former slaves from an institution that dictated just about every aspect of their lives. After the end of slavery, ex-slaves had the opportunity to pursue jobs of their own choosing and improve their economic status. However, there were forces at work that created barriers for the economic progress of the African American population following the Civil War: the rise of violent, racist organizations, such as the KKK; the ability of White Southerners to retake control of the South; and the fact that former slaves were slow in leaving the South, which lay in ruins.

But not all African Americans were slaves, some were actually Freedmen and women and their status might have allowed them to improve their Human Capital and economic status once slavery had been abolished. Before the Civil War, as Freedmen, they could pursue businesses, own land, and some owned slaves of their own. Other factors also helped them improve their economic status compared to their slave counterparts, such as being literate and in better health [slavery was an institution that taxed the health status of slaves (Steckel 1986a, b, c, 2004)]. For example, some scholars have noted that slaves were shorter than Whites and free African Americans (Carson 2009)]. These and other factors were important in determining the future economic status of the African American population. But the defining factor was the end of slavery, which allowed former slaves the freedom to pursue work so they could support themselves and their families. How did former slaves fare over time? Did they improve their economic status? How did they compare to their free, Black counterparts?

The purpose of my paper is to examine the economic status of the African American population after the Civil War.¹ I compare and contrast the economic status of former slaves with African Americans who were Freedmen during slavery. Data for my analysis are from the 1860 Census Slave Population Database and from the 1870 - 1920 Census. The historical events of the Civil War and its aftermath created a social structure that affected the economic status of both ex-slaves and Freedmen. Moreover, this social structure created barriers for the upward mobility of African Americans, and placed them at a very low position in such a social structure, and their upward social mobility has been excessively slow and sometimes completely blocked. In other words, a rather complex structure of inequality was created after slavery ended compared to the very clearly defined system during slavery.

II. Background

The entire period from the origins of slavery, slavery as a caste-like system, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and afterwards, is a tale of the emergence and demise of slavery as a stratification system that did not coincide with a stratification system emerging in the North, which was based on an emerging meritocracy and a Capitalist mode of production. The Civil War ended the slave system and the South, initially devastated by the war, re-emerged as Southern Conservatives took back their privileges through political re-alliance and violence. As Whites took back the South and introduced a different kind of race-based stratification system, African Americans began migrating North; first slowly, and then in great numbers between 1910 and 1940. In essence there were two factors that drove the first Great Migration: the racial climate in the South that was racist and violent; and the lack of jobs because the South had been completely devastated by the War (Wilkerson 2010).

The demise of slavery and the movement of ex-slaves out of the Deep South and to the North raise two questions:

- Compared to African Americans who were free before the Civil War, did the socioeconomic status of ex-slaves improve after the Civil War and into the early part of the 20th Century? Some scholars have noted that ex-slaves may have been in poorer health than free Blacks, and these health concerns may have affected them and their children's ability to acquire Human Capital and thus improve their socioeconomic status (Fogel 1994; Case et al 2002; Steckel 2004; Costa 2005; Case and Paxson 2006; Costa et al 2007).
- Did movement out of the Deep South improve the economic status of ex-slaves and Freedmen? There were many reasons to leave the South after the civil war. To begin with, as I have pointed out, the South was devastated by the war and the lack of infrastructure affected the ability to find or decent paying work (Goldin 1979; Margo 2004). And the violence in the South against Blacks was another factor.²

Analytic Strategy

My strategy is to provide descriptive and multivariate analyses on the economic status of both the ex-slave and Freedmen from 1870 to 1920. As such, I look at two measures of economic status: the Duncan SEI scores and at an eight (8) occupational categorical scheme. I also control for literacy, gender, migration, and age cohort.

III. Methods

A. Data

1. The 1860 Slave Sample³

The Public Use Micro data Samples of the Slave Population are a series of six samples taken from the 1850 and 1860 Censuses of Slave Inhabitants. In both 1850 and 1860, the United States census

contained two population schedules. Schedule 1 enumerated details of the free population, while Schedule 2 enumerated details of the slave population. Samples from Schedule 1 of the 1850 and 1860 censuses are available at the main IPUMS website. The Slave PUMS provides the first nationally-representative samples of Schedule 2, the Census of Slave Inhabitants, as well as the first nationally-representative sample linking data from the Slave Schedules to data from the Free Population Schedules.

The questions included in the Census of Slave inhabitants were relatively few: schedules from both years asked slaves' age, sex, colour, and disabilities including whether they were deaf, dumb, blind, insane or idiotic. Enumerators were allowed to record slaves' names in the 1860 census if the slave was over 100 years of age. Slaveholders also provided information about the number of slaves who had been manumitted or who had escaped in the prior year. In 1860, the number of houses provided to slaves on the slaveholding was also tallied.

2. The 1860 to 1920 Census Samples

a. *1860*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the free population. African American slaves are not included in this dataset. Individual-level data on the 1860 slave population is available at the 1850-60 Slave PUMS website.

b. *1870*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the population with a 1-in-50 over-sample of the African American population. This is a weighted sample.

c. *1880*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the population.

d. *1900*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the population, including Alaskans, Hawaiians, and American Indians.

e. *1910*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the population, including Alaskans, Hawaiians, and American Indians.

f. *1920*: 1-in-100 national random sample of the population, including Alaskans, Hawaiians, and American Indians.

B. Variables

Table 1 presents the variables used in my analysis and their operationalization.

Table 1. Variables and their operationalization	
Variable Name	Operationalization
Socioeconomic Index, SEI	Duncan Score
Slave status	Slave status is determined by two variables. First if the respondent was born before 1865. Second, if the respondent was born in a slave owning State. The slave owning states are Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Texas, Florida, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana.
Migration	<p>The difference between where a respondent was born and their residence at the time of the Census interview. There are four categories of migration status:</p> <p>(1) Born in the South/Lives in the South = SS (2) Born in the South/Lives in the North = SN (3) Born in the North/Lives in the North = NN (4) Born in the North/Lives in the South = NS</p> <p>In computing these categories, I computed dummy variables for Born in the South and Lives in the South - Born in the South (BS) = 1, 0 = otherwise. Lives in the South (LS) = 1, 0 = otherwise.</p> <p>I then used Boolean logic by the following equation: Migration = (BS*2)² + LS. The equation gives me the four categories.</p>
Literacy	Four dummy variables: L1 = can read and write, L2 = can read, but not write, L3 = can write, but not read, L4 (benchmark) = cannot read or write
Gender, Male	A dummy variable, 1 = Male, 0 = Otherwise
Age Cohorts	<p>A series of dummy variables:</p> <p>Ac1 = 10 < 20 Ac2 = 20 < 30 Ac3 = 30 < 40 Ac4 = 40 < 50 Ac5 = 50 < 60 Ac6 = 60+ (benchmark in multivariate analyses)</p>
Jobs	<p>A series of dummy variables:</p> <p>J1 = professional white collar (benchmark in multivariate analyses) J2 = Farm J3 = Manager J4 = Agent J5 = Seller J6 = Craftsman J7 = Blue Collar, skilled J8 = Labor</p>

I should point out that I limit my labour market analysis to persons age 16+ in the labour force (ILF) in 1870; age 26+ and ILF in 1880; age 46+ and ILF in 1900; age 56+ and ILF in 1910; and age 66+ and ILF in 1920. I have used these age limits due to the aging of the slave cohort.

IV. Findings

A. The Black Population: 1860 – 1920

The Black population increased in size from 1860 to 1920 (see Figure 1 below). In 1860, which includes the slave population, the Black population stood at approximately 4.4 million. By 1920 it had grown to 10.5 million. Of this number, the proportion that was composed of former slaves declined significantly. In 1860, nearly 90 percent of the Black population was slaves (89.2 percent). In 1920, slightly more than 6 percent were former slaves, as the vast majority of the slave cohort died off. Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for this section. The data compare former slaves with Freedmen from 1860 to 1920.

Figure 1: The Black and Slave Population: 1790 – 1860

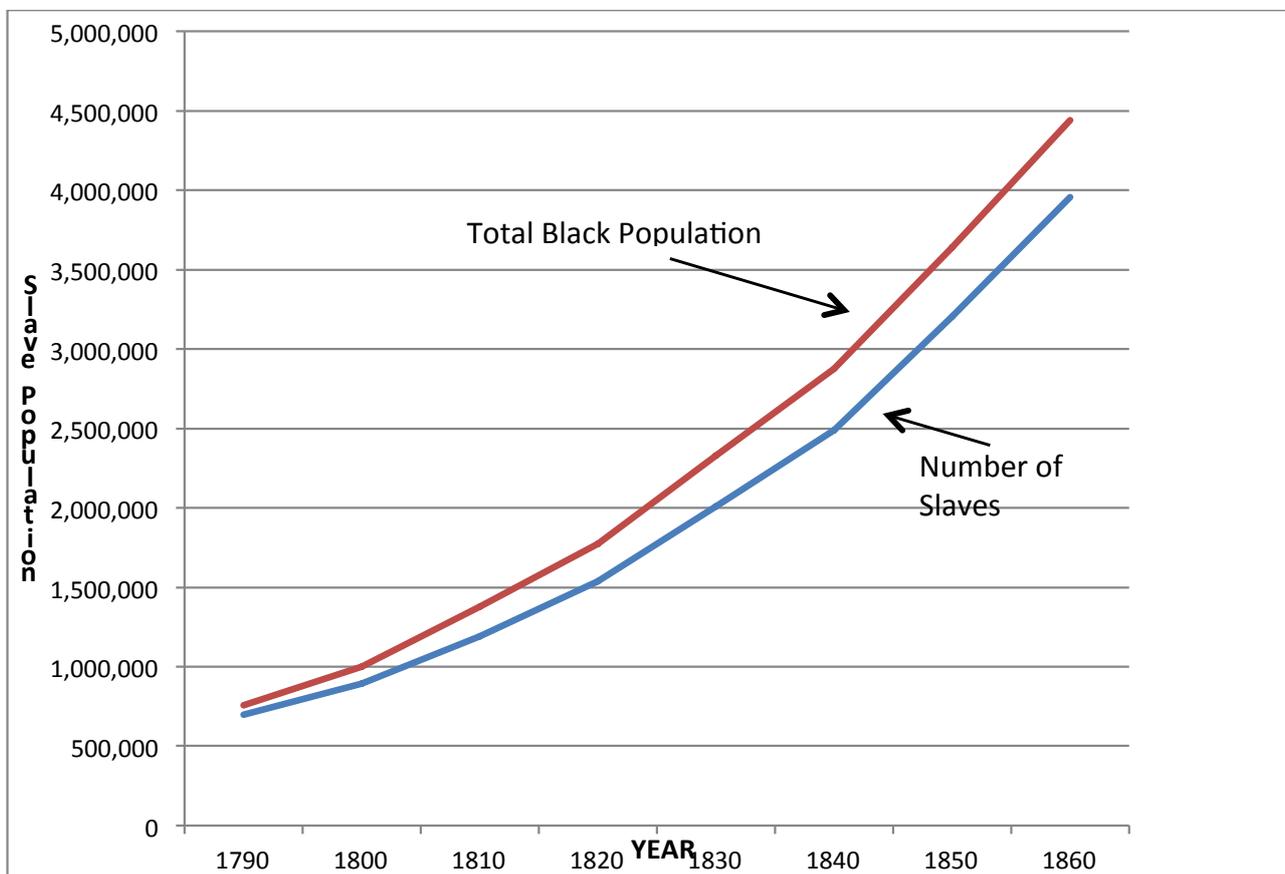


Table 2. Descriptive statistics by slave status; 1870 – 1920 (percents)

Indicator / Slave Status	Year					
	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Former slaves						
Percent of total ^a	89.2	77.24	50.64	20.94	12.21	6.17
Migration: ^b						
NN						
NS						
SN		4.17	4.92	7.53	7.96	8.59
SS		95.83	95.08	92.47	92.04	91.41
Literacy: ^b						
Write/Read		13.56	25.80	33.28	37.89	40.65
Nt Write/Read		4.76	7.09	6.08	5.96	3.65
Write/Nt Read		0.11	0.02	0.21	0.00	0.00
Nt Write/Nt Read		81.57	67.08	60.49	56.05	55.50
Gender (Males): ^b	50.30	68.14	67.94	72.09	66.97	74.64
Cohorts: ^b						
0 < 10	31.7					
10 < 20	25.2	16.02	15.17			
20 < 30	17.7	33.02	34.11			
30 < 40	11.0	19.44	19.69	16.65		
40 < 50	7.1	14.93	13.69	37.19	20.54	
50 < 60	3.8	9.61	9.46	26.00	45.44	25.39
60 +	3.4	6.98	7.87	20.16	34.02	74.61
a Data in this line refer to all Blacks and are not limited to labor force participation.						
b Those in the labor force.						

Table 2. Descriptive statistics by slave status; 1870 – 1920 (percents)						
Indicator/ Slave Status	Year					
	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Freedmen						
Migration: ^a						
NN		93.51	92.86	90.25	90.41	91.17
NS		6.49	7.14	9.75	9.59	8.83
SN						
SS						
Literacy: ^b						
Write/Read		73.84	78.20	80.72	84.20	87.13
Nt Write/ Read		4.76	7.09	6.08	4.03	3.65
Write/Nt Read		0.11	0.02	0.21	0.00	0.00
Nt Write/Nt Read		18.86	16.95	14.83	11.77	9.31
Gender (Males): ^b	46.8	75.44	72.46	75.58	65.35	67.96
Cohorts: ^b						
0 < 10	25.6					
10 < 20	23.6	14.91	16.15			
20 < 30	17.7	33.20	33.26			
30 < 40	12.6	22.97	22.41	20.90		
40 < 50	8.9	13.97	12.71	37.14	25.37	
50 < 60	6.2	8.19	8.55	28.46	48.94	32.61
60 +	5.5	6.76	6.92	13.50	25.69	67.39
a Data in this line refer to all Blacks and are not limited to labor force participation.						
b Those in the labor force.						

1. Slaves and Freedmen: 1860 – 1920

These data are presented in several ways. In one data stream, I compare all free Blacks and all former slaves; in another stream, I compare free Blacks and former slaves controlling for age and labour market participation; and finally, I compare all free Blacks in the labour market to former slaves in the labour market. These data streams are presented in Table 2.

a. *Migration*: Movement from the South to the North was slow. In 1870, about 4.2 percent of the ex-slave population moved to the North, and by 1920 the percentage who had migrated from the South to the North grew to 8.6 percent.

Among Freedmen, there was not movement from the South to the North in 1870, and the same non-movement in 1920. However, there was movement from the North to the South among Freedmen: in 1870, 6.5 percent, and 8.8 percent in 1920.

b. *Literacy*: Among ex-slaves there were some dramatic increases in literacy between 1870 and 1920. In 1870 about 13.6 percent of ex-slaves were literate and by 1920 the percentage jumped to 40.7.

Among Freedmen, the percentage who indicated they were literate was 74 and in 1920 this increased to 87 percent.

c. *Gender*: Among ex-slaves, in 1860, about 50 percent of those in the labour force were males and by 1920 74.6 percent.

Among Freedmen, the same pattern is observed, but in 1860 the percentage of males in the labour force was 46.8 percent. And by 1920 this increased to 67.9 percent.

d. *Cohorts*: I limited the age of Freedmen to the age of ex-slaves in the sample in order to make reasonable comparisons.

Compared to Freedmen, ex-slaves appeared to be slightly younger. And over time, a greater proportion of ex-slaves than Freedmen reached old age. For example, among ex-slaves in 1870, fully 57 percent were under age 20, while 49 percent of Freedmen were under age 20. By 1920 74.6 percent of ex-slaves were age 60+, and 67.4 percent of Freedmen had reached this age. Note though, that in 1920, the age restriction among Freedmen is 66+ because I needed to equalize both ex-slaves and Freedmen on age. So, the data for Freedmen represent those age 66 and older.

2. Socioeconomic Status: 1870 - 1920

Table 3 presents data on the socioeconomic status of former slaves and freedman from 1870 to 1900.

Table 3. SEI by selected controls by slave status; 1870 – 1900 (Means and Standard Deviations)						
Indicator/ Slave Status	Year					
	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Former Slaves						
Migration:						
NN						
NS						
SN		11.83	12.62	14.71	14.92	14.56
SS		8.55	9.96	12.87	13.42	13.31
Literacy:						
Write/Read		10.85	12.01	15.68	15.64	15.16
Nt Write/ Read		9.83	9.60	12.40	13.00	13.05
Write/Nt Read		9.92	19.08	10.45	16.54	13.46
Nt Write/Nt Read		8.26	9.39	11.60	12.17	12.16
Males		9.11	10.67	13.54	13.75	13.49
Females		7.80	8.85	11.64	13.10	13.19
Cohorts:						
0 < 10						
10 < 20		7.27	7.73			
20 < 30		8.36	9.67			
30 < 40		9.07	10.80	13.29		
40 < 50		9.56	11.04	13.25	14.05	
50 < 60		9.55	11.34	12.97	13.72	14.25
60 +		9.38	11.47	12.37	12.98	13.13
¹ Data in table are for persons in the labor force at the time to the interview.						

**Table 3. SEI by selected controls by slave status; 1870 – 1900
(Means and Standard Deviations)**

Indicator/ Slave Status	Year					
	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Freedmen						
Migration: ^a						
NN		11.08	12.49	14.50	16.96	17.38
NS		12.97	19.36	16.83	20.44	10.73
SN						
SS						
Literacy:						
Write/Read		12.01	13.79	15.79	18.26	17.49
Nt Write/ Read		10.32	10.06	9.27	10.46	9.09
Write/Nt Read				12.00		
Nt Write/Nt Read		8.40	10.12	10.51	12.76	13.24
Males		11.37	13.49	15.03	18.23	17.59
Females		10.70	11.67	13.77	15.55	15.11
Cohorts:						
0 < 10						
10 < 20		9.87	10.53			
20 < 30		11.01	12.04			
30 < 40		11.50	17.08	15.35		
40 < 50		11.47	13.12	13.30	17.75	
50 < 60		11.45	11.60	15.98	17.22	19.36
60 +		12.36	11.44	15.03	16.99	15.55

^a In the labor force.

a. *Migration*: Migration has an important effect on the socioeconomic status of both Freedmen and ex-slaves. For ex-slaves, moving from the South to the North appears to have positive effects on their socioeconomic status. Thus, in 1870, ex-slaves that moved from the South to the North had higher SEI scores than ex-slaves who stayed in the South: 11.83 v. 8.55. While the SEI gap narrowed by 1920, ex-slaves who had moved to the North still had higher SEI scores: 14.56 v. 13.31.

Among Freedmen, migration had an effect on their SEI scores. From 1870 to 1910, Freedmen who migrated from the North to the South had higher SEI scores than those who remained in the North. However, by 1920 the trend changed and those in the North had higher SEI scores.

In terms of comparisons between ex-slaves and Freedmen, it appears that for ex-slaves migrating (from the South to the North) lead to a significant improvement in the SEI scores; whereas, among Freedmen, migrating, between 1870 and 1920, appears to have had some negative effects on their SEI score. In fact, in 1920, among Freedmen, of the same age as ex-slaves, who migrated from the North to the South, their SEI scores declined from nearly 13 in 1870 to 11 percent. In contrast, those who did not migrate at all, either from North/South or South/North, effects were positive, but slightly more for Freedmen. Generally, residing in the North had better SEI effects for both Freedmen and ex-slaves.

b. *Literacy*: Literacy has a significant effect on the socioeconomic status of both Freedmen and ex-slaves. Among ex-slaves, those who were literate (they could read and write) saw a near 5 point increase in their SEI scores from 1870 to 1920. In addition, literate ex-slaves had higher SEI scores than those who were illiterate (they could read/not write, or not read/write).

Among Freedmen, those that were literate also had a socioeconomic advantage. Thus, among literate Freedmen, their socioeconomic status increased from 12 in 1870 to about 17.5 in 1920. Illiterate Freedmen and ex-slaves, however, also saw an increase in their socioeconomic status between 1870 and 1920. Among Freedmen, the increase was from 8.4 in 1870 to 13.2 in 1920; among ex-slaves the increase was from 8.3 to 12.2.

c. *Gender*: The effect of gender on socioeconomic status varied by slave status. Among ex-slaves, males had higher SEI scores throughout the period under study, but the SEI gap narrowed so that by 1920 the SEI scores between males and females was nearly equal. For example, the gender-based SEI gap in 1870 was 1.31, and by 1920 it was .30.

Among Freedmen, in contrast to ex-slaves, males had higher SEI scores throughout the 1870 to 1920 period. In 1870 the gender SEI gap was .67, and by 1920 it had increased to 2.48 points on the SEI index. It also appears that Freedmen, both males and females, had higher SEI scores than ex-slaves.

d. *Cohorts*: The SEI scores among Freedmen were greater than those of ex-slaves throughout 1870 – 1920, regardless of cohort status.

We can gain a sharper picture of SEI differences by looking at zero-order correlations between SEI and the variables discussed above.

Figures 2-4 display correlations between SEI and migration, literacy, and gender (males). The variables discussed above.

Figure 2

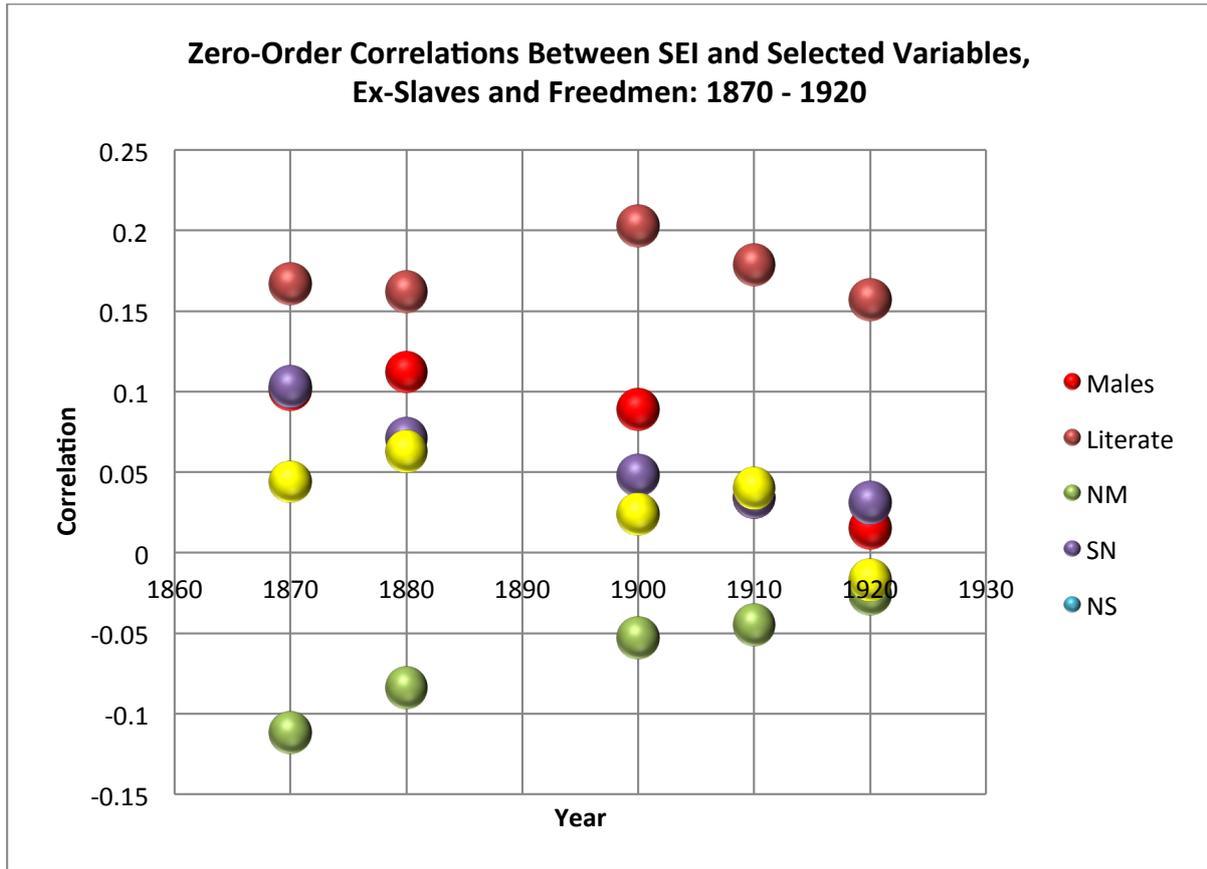


Figure 3

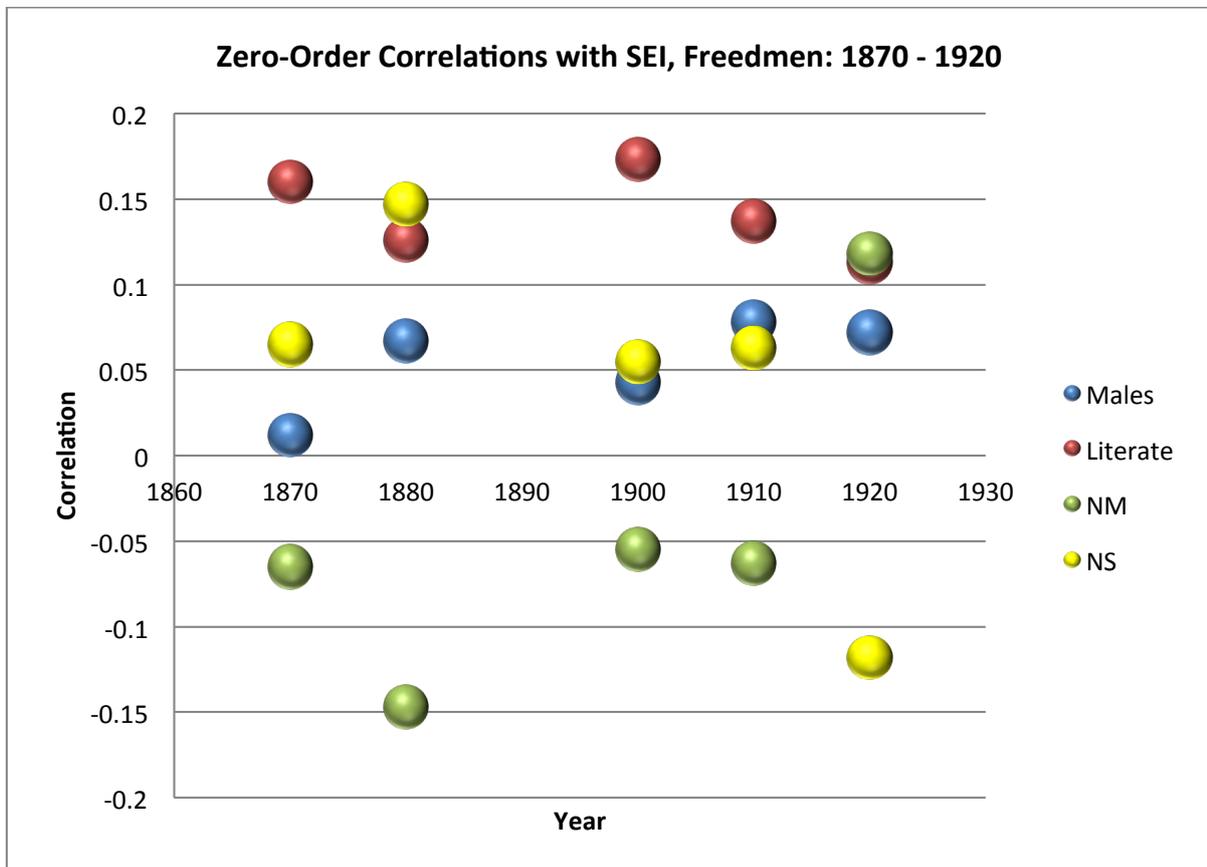
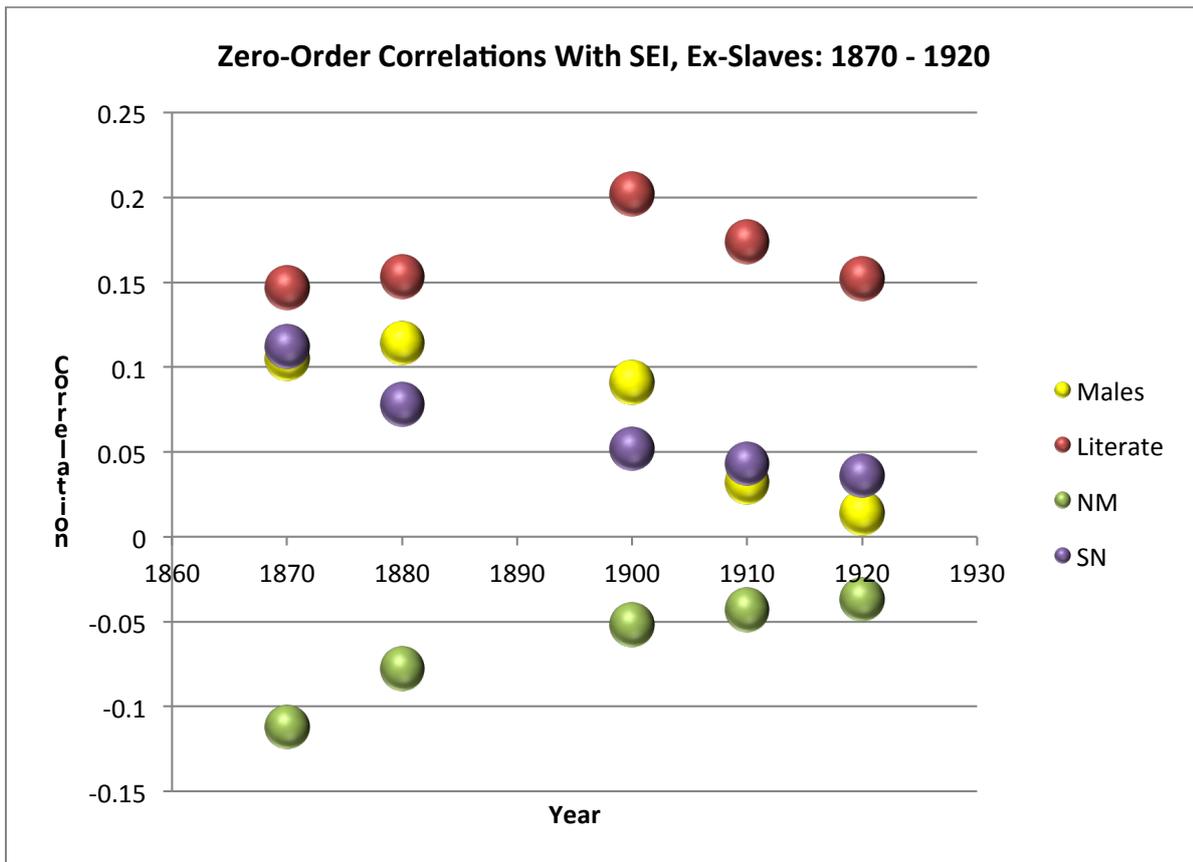


Figure 4



The correlations between our selected variables and the SES index are not large, in any year. However, results are fairly interesting. Looking at the correlations among both Freedmen and ex-slaves (Figure 2 above), indicates that literacy is related to SEI, more so than any other variable. Never the less, only one variable, no migration, seems to show an upward swing over time; all other variables show declines from 1870 to 1920.

In terms of Freedmen alone, literacy exhibits the highest association with the SEI index from 1870 to 1910, but not in 1920. In 1920 it appears that Freedmen who did not migrate (stayed in either the South or North) had higher SEI scores than those migrating to the South from the North.

The patterns observed for the total sample and for Freedmen are also displayed among ex-slaves. Literacy shows the highest correlation with the SEI, those not migrating exhibit an upward swing in their association with the SEI, and all other items show a downward swing in their association with the SEI.

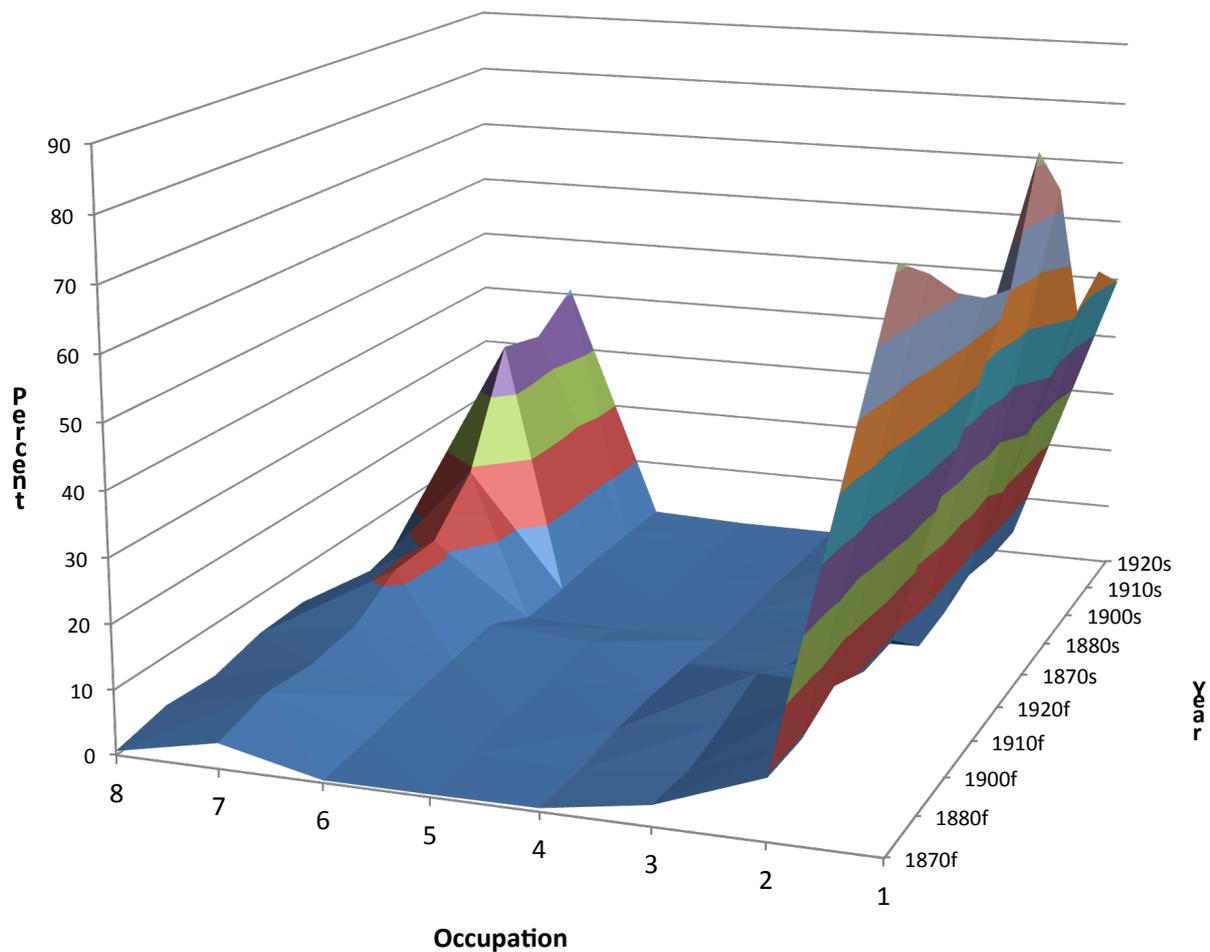
3. Jobs: 1870 – 1920

Figure 5 displays the occupational distribution of both ex-slaves and Freedmen. We see movement into better jobs over time for both groups.

Ex-slave status has an effect on jobs. For Freedmen, the movement has been into professional and farm-related occupations. Thus, in 1870 about 4.5 percent of Freedmen were located in both these occupations. By 1920, the percent of Freedmen in both occupations increased to 14 percent. Among

Figure 5

Occupational Distribution, Freedmen and Ex-Slaves: 1870-1920



ex-slaves, the vast majority of the movement has been into farm occupations. In 1870, 11.7 percent of ex-slaves were in farm occupations. By 1920 the percent increased to about 40 percent.

What is also interesting is that the largest percent of both Freedmen and ex-slaves can be found in labour jobs. However, in 1920 less than half of ex-slaves were to be found in labour jobs; but about two-thirds of Freedmen were in labour jobs.

B. Multivariate Analysis: 1870 - 1920

Table 4 presents regression models for the years 1870 to 1920⁴. The regressions model SEI as a function of selected predictors. Each model has a Deviation of about 1 (scaled deviation value/degrees of freedom), and LLs that indicate a good fit.

Table 4. Regression of SEI on selected predictors: 1870 - 1920

	1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
Predictors	B	P-Value	B	P-Value	B	P-Value	B	P-Value	B	P-Value
Intercept	1.95	< 0.0001	1.947	< .0001	2.279	< .0001	2.613	< .0001	2.865	< .0001
Slave	-0.096	< 0.0001	-0.085	< .0001	0.031	0.2018	-0.107	0.0004	-0.1585	0.0002
Male	0.111	< 0.0001	0.139	< .0001	0.01	< .0001	0.00001	0.9942	-0.008	0.6613
Age	0.005	< 0.0001	0.008	< .0001	0.002	0.0007	0	0.9718	-0.003	0.007
SN	0.212	< 0.0001	0.115	< .0001	0.031	0.0794	0.105	0.4431	0.013	0.6503
NS	0.204	< 0.0003	0.44	< .0001	0.166	0.0275	0.229	0.0161	-0.436	0.002
Literate	0.245	< 0.0001	0.265	< .0001	0.291	< .0001	0.245	< .0001	0.208	< .0001
Scale	0.052		0.045		0.039		0.039		0.038	
LL	-46764.72		-68006.5		-41714.6		-30408.4		-13985.7	
Deviance	1.033		1.038		1.045		1.043		1.046	

There are five interesting stories to be generated from this table. To begin with, ex-slaves tend to have lower SEI scores than Freedmen. The only exception occurs in 1900 when there is no distinction in SEI scores between ex-slaves and Freedmen.

Second, males have higher SEI scores than females from 1870 to 1900. But in 1910 and 1920, there does not appear to be a difference in the SEI scores between males and females.

Third, older workers (age) appear to have higher SEI scores than younger workers, from about 1870 to 1900. But in 1910 age has no effect, and in 1920 older workers have lower SEI scores than workers at the lower end of the age distribution.

Fourth, from 1870 to 1900, migrating from the South to the North increases one's SEI score. But in 1910 and 1920 such migration has no effect compared to those who have not migrated at all. Also, migrating from the North to the South has greater effects on SEI than non-migration throughout the 1870 to 1920 period. However, in 1920 the North to South migrants had lower SEI scores than those who did not migrate at all. Finally, does South to North or North to South migration have greater SEI advantage? Generally, and contrary to what I had expected, South to North migration, net of other items in the model, does not appear to have a consistent advantage. Indeed, it appears that North to South migration is more likely to be advantageous. This latter result is most likely because Freedmen have taken this route and they have more Human Capital, such as being literate.

Finally, literacy matters. Literacy is associated with higher SEI scores throughout the 1870 - 1920 period.

V. Conclusion

Slavery divided America, North and South, and created many social, economic, political, and ideological problems for the young nation. The American Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution ended slavery in the US. With the end of slavery, ex-slaves were free to pursue work of their choosing in order to earn a living for themselves and their families. It was anticipated that as a result the economic status of ex-slaves would improve.

One important factor in the anticipated upswing in the economic status of ex-slaves would be their moving away from the South to the industrializing North. In addition, ex-slaves with Human Capital, such as being literate, would also prosper. In this paper I examined the economic status of the African American population, ex-slaves and Freedmen, from 1870 to 1920. My results indicate the following:

- Ex-slaves did not fare as well as Freedmen in the socioeconomic process. Ex-slaves had lower SEI scores and inferior jobs compared to Freedmen.
- Migrating from the South to the North has an economic payoff, but it appears that migrating from the North to the South also has an effect, and to some degree, greater than migrating from South to North. The latter result is due to the fact that Freedmen, who have more Human Capital than ex-slaves, were more likely to migrate from the North to the South after the Civil War.
- Being literate is a big advantage and those that were literate realized important economic returns to this Human Capital.

There are three conclusions to be drawn from my research. First, while there were important economic benefits to ex-slaves due to their emancipation, the results were not as significant compared to Freedmen. Secondly, migration improved the economic status of both ex-slaves and Freedmen, but particularly Freedmen, who migrated from North to the South after the Civil War. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the end of slavery opened new horizons for both Freedmen and ex-slaves that they would not have realized if that "peculiar institution" had remained in place.

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Endnotes

1. Throughout this paper, I use the terms African Americans and Blacks interchangeably.
2. Research also indicates that it was the more educated Black population that migrated after the civil war (Woodson 1918; Hamilton 1959; Shryock and Nam 1965; Leiberson 1978; Margo 1988, 1990; Tolnay 1998; Bernstein 1998).
3. See Russell Menard, Trent Alexander, Jason Digman, and J. David Hacker Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, Public Use Microdata Samples of the Slave Population of 1850-1860, University of Minnesota, 2004.
4. The regressions are based on a Gamma distribution rather than the routine Gaussian distribution. After examining SEI distributions, it was clear that a Gamma distribution would be a better fit. In addition, I logged SEI.

* Richard R. Verdugo has a Doctorate in Sociology from the University of Southern California. His research interests are in Education, Sociology, Economics, and Demography. Recent publications include books on the Hispanic population in the United States (Information Age Publishers); forthcoming books on European Education Reform (IAP), and Latin American Immigrants in Spain (Springer); and articles on Education Reform in China, and School Quality and Economic Competitiveness (International Journal of Education Reform, which he is guest editing). Future work includes Russian Identity, the Mexican American Worker: 1900 to 2010, and research on Hegemonic Organizations and the PISA study. Richard may be reached at swamis99@yahoo.com.

Differences in Skin Tone among Hispanic Inmates in Florida's Prisons

by *Carmen M. Cusack, J.D., Ph.D.*

The author wishes to acknowledge and thank RC and YC.

Abstract

Purpose: This research asked whether darker skin tones are more prevalent among Hispanic inmates in Florida.

Methods: Von Luschan's Chromatic Scale includes 36 shades between "white" and "black". Raters compared photos of inmates to the shade scale.

Results: Among female inmates in Florida, "brown" shades were most abundant. "Brown" shades are darker than intermediate or "olive" shades, which are reportedly most abundant among Hispanics worldwide. However, "black" shades were not as prevalent among female inmates. Among male inmates, "black" and "brown" shades were most abundant. Proportionally, more female inmates than male inmates were light.

Conclusion: These findings are potentially relevant to literature about differences between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in arrests, sentencing, and incarceration.

Key words: shade, inmates, Florida, Hispanics, White, Black, Native, Mestizo, dark-skinned, light-skinned, olive-skinned, brown people, racism.

Introduction

Differences between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics within the criminal justice system are well documented by researchers, the U.S. Department of Justice, and numerous advocacy groups. The first difference is that arrest rates are higher among Blacks and Hispanics. The second difference is that Whites invest in quality legal representation and Blacks and Hispanics do not. Judges tend to sentence Blacks and Hispanics more harshly, and Whites are favoured by systemic processes. Hispanics' ethnicity may be identifiable by ethnic names or perhaps appearance. Some Hispanics may not immediately appear to be Hispanic because their features or complexion seem to pertain to White or Black races. Throughout Latin American cultures, racism against Natives and Blacks is not uncommon, and fairer skin has been associated with upper classes. In the U.S. Hispanics range in skin tone from "white" to "black". However, if Blacks and Hispanics are arrested more frequently and experience other differences within the criminal justice system, then perhaps darker Hispanics would be more prevalent in prisons than lighter Hispanics. Darker Hispanics might possibly be grouped, by society or the system, with Blacks, whereas lighter Hispanics might experience similar privileges to those granted to Whites, especially if they "pass" as or identify as White. It would follow that incarcerated Hispanics would tend to have darker skin tones.

Literature Review

Differences among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in the U.S. criminal justice system are well documented. Mauer and King reported that in 2005, the population of Hispanic inmates had risen 43% over the past 15 years (Mauer & King 2007). Hispanics were 20% of state and federal inmates (Mauer & King 2007). In general, 1% of the population is incarcerated in the U.S. (NIJ 2012). In the U.S. 2.3% of Blacks, 0.4% of Whites, and 0.7% of Hispanics are incarcerated (Mauer & King 2007). In seven states, more than 1% of Hispanics are incarcerated (Mauer & King 2007). Approximately 16% of Hispanic males born in 2007 will be incarcerated (Mauer & King 2007). For Hispanic females,

the number is much lower; only about 2% of Hispanic females born in 2007 will be incarcerated (Mauer & King 2007). This is twice the rate of White men and women (Mauer & King 2007). Only 412 of every 100,000 Whites are incarcerated, but 2,290 Blacks and 742 Hispanics of every 100,000 are incarcerated. Disproportionality is highest in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania state penitentiaries (Mauer & King 2007). More Whites are incarcerated in Oklahoma than any other state, but in 16 states Hispanics are incarcerated at higher rates (Mauer & King 2007). Unfortunately, about one-quarter of states do not distinguish Hispanics from Whites or Blacks in their records (Mauer & King 2007). Researchers suspect that White and Black categories also absorb some Hispanic inmates in prisons that differentiate between the three groups or when inmates are White-Hispanic or Black-Hispanic mixes (Mauer & King 2007).

Among all federal offenders, Hispanics were more likely than non-Hispanics to be incarcerated (Lopez & Light 2009). Because most federal crimes committed by Hispanics were immigration offences, Hispanics usually received shorter sentences than Whites or Blacks (Lopez & Light 2009). Approximately one third of federal inmates are Hispanic and one third are White (Lopez & Light 2009). Nearly forty percent are Black (Lopez & Light 2009). However, fewer than 10% of all people incarcerated in the U.S. are in federal penitentiaries; the great majority of the 2.3 million inmates serve time in state prisons (Lopez & Light 2009). Almost one-fifth of state inmates are Hispanic, more than one-third are White and approximately 40% are Black (Lopez & Light 2009). The numbers are similar in local jails (Lopez & Light 2009).

The percentage of Hispanics who are sentenced is even higher than those incarcerated (Lopez & Light 2009). In 2007, 40% of all offenders sentenced for federal crimes were Hispanic (Lopez & Light 2009). Almost three-quarters of Hispanics sentenced in federal court in 2007 were not U.S. citizens (Lopez & Light 2009). The great majority of these and all offenders are men (NIJ 2012). Two percent of all men in the U.S. are incarcerated, but fewer than .05% of women (NIJ 2012). More than 10% percent of Black men in their 20s and early 30s are incarcerated and Black women are incarcerated at the same rate as the national average, 1% (NIJ 2012).

Racial differences in the criminal justice system stand in severe contrast to the fact that Whites commit many unpunished crimes (Kansal 2005). For example, approximately 7% of White and Black community members use drugs monthly (Kansal 2005). Around 6% of Hispanic community members use drugs monthly (Kansal 2005). Thus, White community members comprise about 72% of monthly drug users in the U.S. (Kansal 2005). Hispanics are around 11% and Blacks are 13% of monthly drug users (Kansal 2005). The great majority of these community members buy drugs from people of their own race, which means that the bulk of drug sales in the U.S. are between Whites (Kansal 2005).

Whites who provide prosecutors with assistance receive greater sentence reductions than Blacks or Hispanics (Kansal 2005). Black and Hispanic recidivists who commit serious crimes are punished more harshly than similarly situated Whites (Kansal 2005). Hispanics in Miami who recidivated were sentenced more harshly than Whites and were more likely to be incarcerated (Kansal 2005). Even less serious crimes were punished more severely among Hispanics and Blacks (Kansal 2005). More than Hispanics or Whites, Blacks are more typically jailed pending trial, which leads to harsher sentencing (Kansal 2005).

Wealth and poverty likely contribute to differences between Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics. For example, more than Hispanics or Blacks, Whites tend to invest in private representation, which correlates with more favorable dispositions (Kansal 2005). These differences do not necessarily emerge within the justice system. Racism related to race, shade, and class within White, Hispanic, and Black communities is also prevalent (Padilla 2001). For example, Blacks may experience racial tension due to distinct shades, e.g. "Ol' Whitey/ Uncle Toms", "light-skinned", "high yellow", "red",

"crispy", and "coal-miner" (Manjarres 2013). Lighter tones are rooted in interraciality and communities sometimes link shade with status (Manjarres 2013). Whites also exhibit some racial tension relating to status (Cusack 2013). For example, Whites disparage classless people as "red necks", a term related to tans acquired during fieldwork. Whites also use the term "white trash" to racially identify certain economically disadvantaged and classless people. Among Hispanics, lighter skin has been given higher status in some communities. Blacks, who are believed to be slave descendants, and "brown"-toned or "red"-toned people, who are believed to be Mestizos or of native descent, sometimes experience racism from other Hispanics (HDRC 2001). Blacks and Mestizos are often less wealthy than Hispanics with greater proximity to European descendency (HDRC 2001). For example, one can compare Hispanics in Argentina with Nicaraguans and Guatemalans (HDRC, 2001; Navarro, 2012). White Hispanics are sometimes perceived as being wealthy (Sailer 2000). For example, blue-eyed and fair-skinned Mexicans are somewhat rare and are frequently wealthier members of the population (Sailer 2000).

Mexico's white elite finds life south of the border far too sweet to come north for anything other than advanced degrees, advanced medical care, and advanced shopping. The CIA Factbook claims that Mexico's 100 million people are 9% white, 60% mestizo, 30% Indian, and 1% other....Since Spaniards and Indians tend to share dark hair and dark eyes, and aren't all that far apart in skin color, without DNA tests it's hard tell whether or not people who look pure Spanish or Indian aren't really slightly mixed.... Nonetheless, the Mexican elite tends to look strikingly European (Sailer 2000).

When poorer, darker Hispanics enter the U.S. illegally and commit crimes, then they may not receive any support from resident Hispanics or citizens or be able to afford representation (Kansal, 2005; Lopez & Light, 2007). Even when naturalized, stigmatization and exclusion may continue within their cultures or society at large (Lopez & Light 2009).

Hispanics may feel that Hispanic is a separate race than White or Black, though more than two-thirds of U.S. census-takers in 2012 identified themselves as pertaining to a race, e.g. Native, Black or White (Navarro 2012). For example, 2.5% of Hispanics identify as racially Black (Navarro 2012). Of these 2.5% of Hispanics, many feel that they are treated prejudicially due to their color and appearance as Black (Navarro 2012). Some lighter Hispanics identify as White or try to "pass" as White (Navarro, 2012; Padilla, 2001). This may be due to a preference for White privilege, affinity with White culture, or an embedded rejection of Blacks in Hispanic culture (Pew Research 2008). Thus, shade among Hispanics may be a source of tension at community levels as well as a determining factor within the criminal justice system.

Methods

This research asks whether certain skin tones are more prevalent among Hispanic inmates in Florida. The null hypothesis was that every skin tone would be equally prevalent among Hispanics in prison. The researcher expected that the skin tones most prevalent among Hispanics in the general population ought to be most prevalent, yet hypothesized that darker skin tones would be most prevalent (see Figure 1 below).

Among Floridian inmates, a randomized convenience sample was used because race records including a "Hispanic" category were available online with photos, and the State of Florida is populated by Hispanics from different countries, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Nicaragua, which are

nations comprised of different mixes of European, African, and Native heritage (Vogel, 2013).

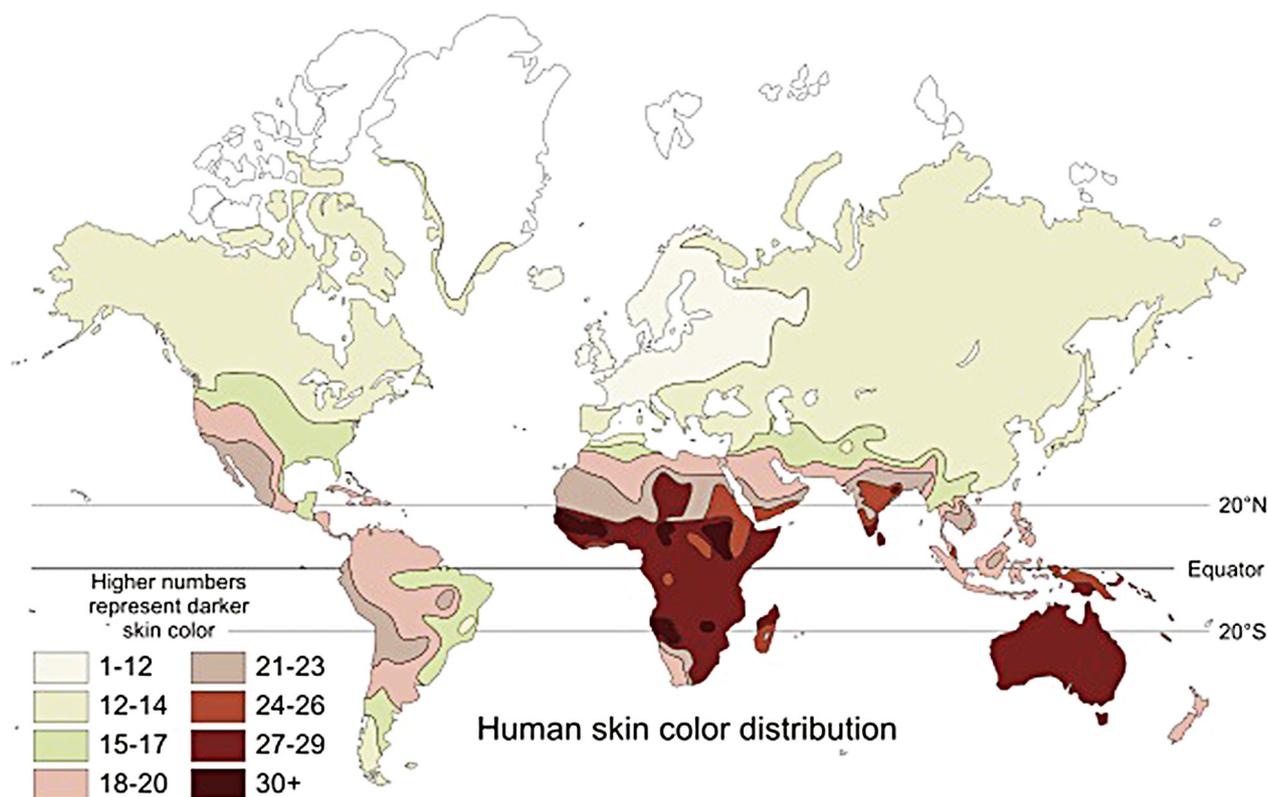
Von Luschan’s Chromatic Scale was used to classify inmates’ shades (see Figure 1). Von Luschan’s is a shade scale featuring 36 distinct shades. The scale is made of the following six parts, which each contain six shades: 1) Very light or white, “Celtic”; 2) Light/ light European; 3) Light intermediate/ dark European; 4) Dark intermediate/ “olive skin”; 5) Dark/ “brown”; and 6) Very dark/ “black”. The scale was originally made of tiles that were held to a person’s skin, usually the inside of the arm. However, a two dimensional scale is used on countless websites now. Reliability was ensured by using standard Tru Color 32 bit screen color.

Figure 1: Von Luschan’s Chromatic Color Scale

	1	10			19	28	
	2	11			20	29	
	3	12			21	30	
	4	13			22	31	
	5	14			23	32	
	6	15			24	33	
	7	16			25	34	
	8	17			26	35	
	9	18			27	36	

Based on ample anecdotal evidence found throughout the web, it seems that most Hispanics are considered to be or identify as shades III and IV, light intermediate or “olive”. (see Figure 2 below). The Fitzpatrick Test is another skin tone test that groups complexions into four categories (Melanoma Foundation 2013). Rather than separate intermediate, “olive”, and “brown” skin tones, it collapses the group into a single category, Type III (Melanoma Foundation 2013). Arguably, the majority of Hispanics separated into different groups on Von Luschan’s scale would fit into Type III (Melanoma Foundation 2013). Though, the Fitzpatrick Test separates darker and Black Hispanics into a distinct group, Type IV (Melanoma Foundation 2013). This is why Von Luschan’s scale was ideal for this study.

Figure 2: Von Luschan Chromatic Color Scale, Human Skin Color Distribution



The Department of Corrections in Florida displayed photos of 3,764 Hispanic males and females incarcerated in Florida on November 11, 2013. Only 164 female inmates were incarcerated. Of these, 100 were randomly included. Males were more prevalent with 3,600 inmates. Of these, 1,000 were randomly included. Two raters viewed the photos and a third rater voted to break conflicting classifications. When the third rater chose a third shade not chosen by the first two raters, the photo was eliminated from the study. No identifying information, including names or crimes committed, was recorded. Gender and shade were recorded and analyzed using Microsoft Excel.

Findings

The following are the number of female inmates for each shade: Type I: 1) n=0, 2) n=2, 3) n=0; 4) n=0; 5) n=0; Type II: 6) n=0; 7) n=0; 8) n=3; 9) 0; 10) n=0; Type III: 11) n=0, 12) n=1, 13) n=0, 14) n=2, 15) n=1; Type IV: 16) n=2, 17) n=1, 18) n=4, 19) n=4, 20) n=2; 21) n=4; Type V: 22) n=3, 23) n=2, 24) n=16, 25) n=8, 26) n=6, 27) n=8, 28) n=15; Type VI: 29) n=5, 30) n=6, 31) n=2, 32) n=0, 33) n=3.

The following are the number of male inmates for each shade: Type I: 1) n=1, 2) n=2, 3) n=1; 4) n=0; 5) n=1; Type II: 6) n=0; 7) n=0; 8) n=3; 9) 0; 10) n=0; Type III: 11) n=0, 12) n=4, 13) n=4, 14) n=0, 15) n=20; Type IV: 16) n=5, 17) n=10, 18) n=11, 19) n=12, 20) n=37; 21) n=56; Type V: 22) n=42, 23) n=17, 24) n=48, 25) n=76, 26) n=116, 27) n=74, 28) n=91; Type VI: 29) n=37, 30) n=89, 31) n=75, 32) n=26, 33) n=32, 34) n=15, 35) n=94, 36) n=1.

Only two females and five males were rated as very light, Type I. Four females and 28 males were light, Type II. In Type III, intermediate, 17 female inmates and 131 male inmates were identified. Females in Type IV, "brown", numbered 58 and males numbered 464. "Black" female inmates in Type V numbered 16 and males number 369.

Analysis

Only five photos were eliminated due to dispute about inmates' shade. Inter-rater reliability was .95. Among the sample, 2% of females but only .5% of males were very light, Type I. Four percent of females were light, and almost 3% of men were light, Type II. In Type III, "olive" skin, 17% of females and approximately 13% males were incarcerated. Almost 60% of all incarcerated females were "brown". Forty-six percent of males were Type IV. "Black" type women were 16% of the females sampled, and nearly 40% of males sampled were "black". For females, the 10 most prevalent shades, which is about one third of all possible shades, amounted to 12 "olive", 11 "black", and 53 "brown". Among male inmates, 56 inmates were shades of "olive", 258 were shades of "black" and 447 were shades of "brown".

Discussion

Since two females and five males were rated in Level I, it means that 2% of females but only .5% of males were very light, which perhaps indicates that very light Hispanic males are incarcerated at lower rates in Florida. Maybe they are classified by the system as White, not Hispanic. It seems that if they are incarcerated at lower rates then further research about arrest and sentencing of very light Hispanics is necessary. Because of the difference between these rates and national averages, it seems that to some extent, very light Hispanic males are more privileged than very light Hispanic women. This trend should be investigated in federal penitentiaries where most Hispanics committed immigration violations. No doubt some if these inmates were targeted by authorities because they appeared to be Hispanic. Perhaps very light Hispanics are targeted less frequently by federal authorities investigating suspected immigration violations.

Light Hispanic males and females were much closer proportionally. The number was quite low. Explanations could include lower proportion of light Hispanics in general or in Florida, the Sunshine State. Other explanations might include labeling inmates as White, or a tendency for fewer light Hispanics to be incarcerated. Again, in Type III, women have higher rates. This finding supports the trend in Type I that Hispanic females on the lower end of Von Luschan's scale are incarcerated in Florida at higher rates than Hispanic males.

Type IV was most prevalent among females. This skin tone is common to the western coast of South America, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Australia (see Figure 2). It is not the predominant shade in Latin America, but seems to predominate in countries with higher Mestizo mixes. Fewer males than females were "brown" but Type IV comprised almost half of all Hispanic male inmates. This result is interesting because most studies show low rates for incarceration of Hispanic females but high rates for males. Yet, the bulk of both groups was comprised of "brown" people. Thus, between males and females, which experience severely different incarceration rates, "brown" shades were most frequent among both groups. "Black" type females were slightly less numerous than "olive" females. Clearly, "brown" comprised the great majority of inmates. Arrest rates, counsel, convictions, and sentencing could potentially correlate with Blacks and Hispanics, so perhaps one factor for this among Hispanic women is "brown" complexion.

Either because "brown" skin flags females as Hispanic or possibly because it groups them more closely with Blacks, but further from Whites, shade may play a role. Von Luschan's scale indicates that "black" tones are not common in Latin America. They are mainly found in Australia and Africa. Yet, almost half of Hispanic males incarcerated in Florida were "black". This trend is supported by literature showing higher incarceration rates for Blacks and Hispanics. These results are not necessarily generalizable because Florida is a sunny state, yet they open the door to further inquiry about the relationship between skin tone among Hispanics and the criminal justice system.

Limitations

The number of Black-Hispanic, White-Hispanic, or Mestizo inmates is not known. This information would have added robustness to this study. Inmates' photos may not be the same shade as when they were arrested or sentenced. For example, spending an hour in the prison courtyard each day or 23-24 hours in-doors could change an inmate's shade from the time arrest or sentencing occurred. Inmates serving long sentences may not be the same shade as when they were arrested or sentenced, but could be photographed at any point before appearing before a parole board. Shades may have been impacted by poor lighting conditions during photography, yet the relationship between shades is still evident. In addition to lighting conditions in the room or camera, other factors could have temporarily altered inmates' shades. Factors could include alcohol, food or drug consumption, physical contact or irritation, emotion, temperature, allergies, or exertion.

One limitation of the Von Luschan scale is that it lacks variety in red and orange tones. Though it offers many yellowish, golden, and brown tones, reddish tones were not varied enough to precisely match each inmate. This study would have benefited from a scale that included greater variation among red shades within the "brown" tones. The chart is intended to be used on the inside of the arm, where skin has been less exposed to sunlight, however, here it is used on the face, which is often most exposed to sun. Thus, shades here may not necessarily be comparable with findings in studies using the scale only on inner arms. Finally, human skin is rich with tones. No face is monochromatic. Thus, shades identified here identified the predominate shade.

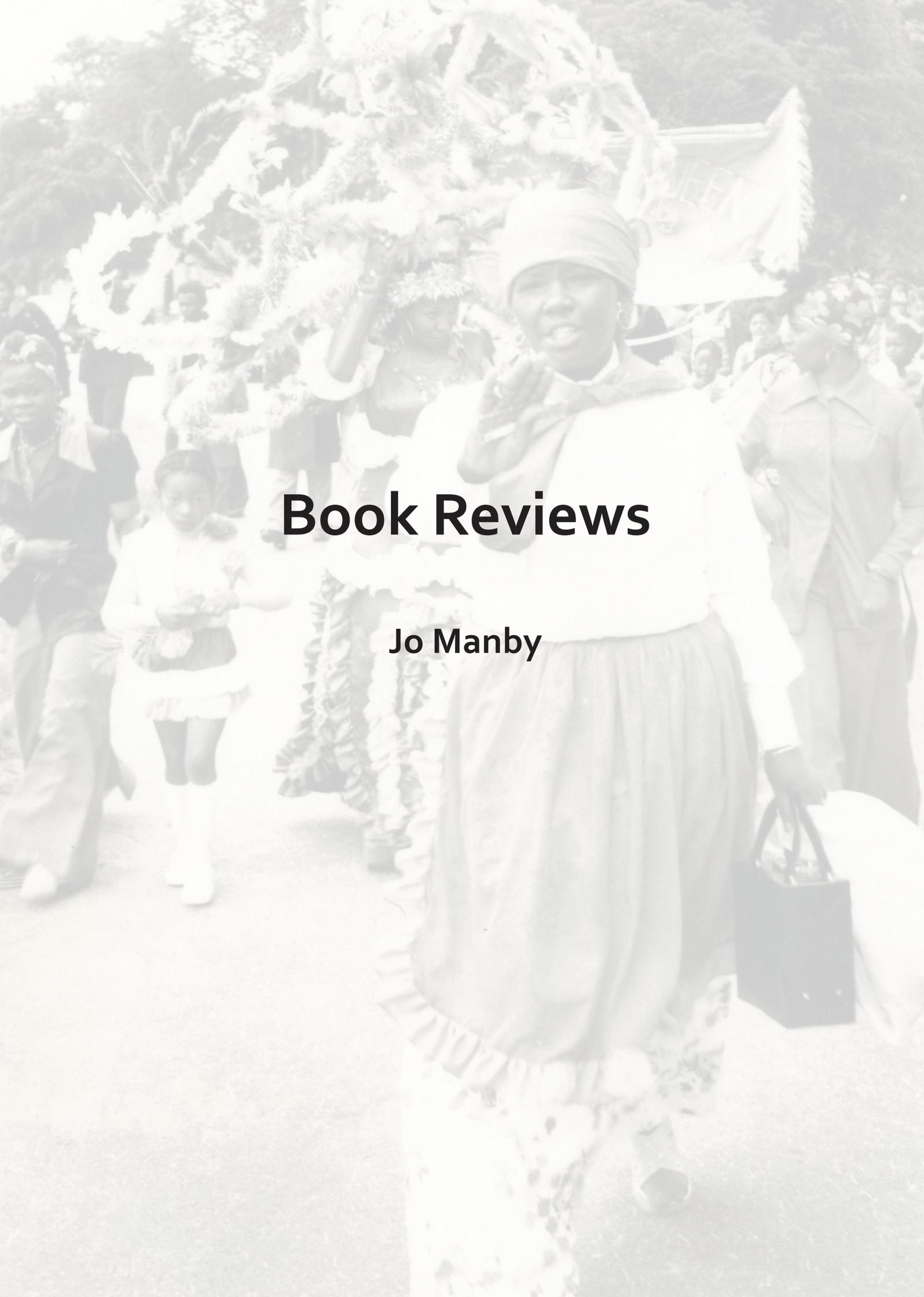
Implications for Future Study and Conclusion

The relationship between race and the criminal justice system is complex and often disproportionately severe against Hispanics and Blacks. Hispanics who "pass" or identify as White may receive some lenience, however, those who are affiliated with Blacks, due to race, shade, or perhaps Native heritage, may encounter greater difficulties than "white" or light Hispanics. This study indicated that "brown" and "black" Hispanics comprise the bulk of inmates in Florida. Yet, these shades are not proportional to the general population of Hispanics.

This trend should be investigated further and among other populations, e.g. Natives and Blacks. Lighter Hispanic males were not a populous category in Florida prisons, yet females were proportionally much higher. These rates should be studied further and similar studies should be conducted among other light-skinned populations, e.g. Blacks or Whites. Findings here indicated that there is a relationship between darkness and incarceration in Florida. Thus, other state and federal inmates should be studied and compared. These findings can serve the criminal justice system by highlighting the potential significance that shade plays within races and the effect that it could have on the disposition of cases.

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Book Reviews

Jo Manby

ARTS, LITERATURE AND SPORT

SIDELINED: HOW AMERICAN SPORTS CHALLENGED THE BLACK FREEDOM STRUGGLE **Simon Henderson**

Publisher: University Press of Kentucky: Kentucky

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-0-8131-4154-1 (hardcover : alk. paper)

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Pagination: pp.227

Price: £35.95

In his meticulously researched study, Simon Henderson attempts to connect the 1968 Olympics protest, when two Black athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, raised black-gloved hands in a gesture symbolic of Black power and unity in America, with the emergent Black athletic revolt in college sports, and with the wider history of the Black freedom struggle. Henderson makes reference to a broad range of archive material; over fifty oral histories he undertook with international and American college athletes involved in the Black athletic revolt; and contemporary print journalism. His book was conceived in the form of a PhD thesis completed in 2010, a project that expanded from 'the response of white athletes to the black athletic revolt of the late 1960s' (p.xi) into a broader exposition of the struggle for racial equality.

Henderson begins with Locating the Black Athletic Revolt in the Black Freedom Struggle, and the immediate aftermath of the 1968 Olympics. This was already, he attests, 'no ordinary year... as if a decade's worth of turmoil, of social and political upheaval, had been condensed into one tumultuous twelve-month period' (p.1). President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. were both assassinated. The general context is outlined, dating back to the 1890s, when a White boxing champion refused to fight the Black Australian boxer Peter Jackson, described as a 'human fighting animal' (p.4); the 1920s, when 'black players were gradually phased out of the National Football League (NFL)'; and the rise of 'new protest tactics... increasingly exploited by African Americans' (p.5) in the 1930s and 40s.

Chapter 2, The Olympic Project for Human Rights, explores the idea of No Show in Mexico? The Origins and Initial Impact of the Boycott, and the presence of the Black Power movement that 'loomed large over the year 1968' (p.29). It was suggested South Africa be banned from the Olympics due to the apartheid system. Five Harvard rowing team members expressed public support for the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), 'motivated by personal conviction that the racial problems in America needed to be solved by white and black communities working together' (p.54). Henderson also examines Paradigm Locked: The Limits of Civil Rights Protest through Sport, revealing that there were problems for 'the potential of sport to significantly affect the advance of the black freedom struggle' (p.59).

In Chapter 3, The Black Athletic Revolt on Campus, we see African American Jayhawk football players 'protesting the perceived discriminatory policies' (p.62) of the University of Kansas; 'student activism' linking 'football and the civil rights struggle' (p.63) at UCLA; and racial unrest at Marquette University campus, Wisconsin, organised by Students United for Racial Equality (SURE).

The subject of Tommie Smith and John Carlos's Olympic salute is returned to in Chapter 4, Black Gloves and Gold Medals: Protests, Meanings, and Reactions at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. The responses of other activist athletes to the fact that Smith and Carlos were thrown out of the Olympics

as a result of their protest are documented. Ralph Boston received his own bronze medal that year in bare feet, later explaining, 'You kicked them out of the village, but the medals that they have won are still included in the medal count... and, you know, I thought that was really hypocritical' (p.90).

Beyond Mexico City: Sport, Race, Culture, and Politics records how media coverage of Smith and Carlos's protest raised awareness, how 'ripples of dissent moved into communities previously untouched by major civil rights activism' (p.122). It also explores College Athletics in Crisis; Athletes' Rights and Administrators' Reactions; The Black Fourteen and the Problems of Protesting Racial Injustice through Sport. This latter section foregrounds the University of Wyoming Cowboys team, 14 of whom wanted to challenge the team rules and finally were all thrown off it, with the consequence that without them, the Cowboys' 'winning streak was replaced with a series of losses and a mediocre season' (p.122).

Finally, *Dixie and the Absence of a Black Athletic Revolt*, examines Sport and Southern Identity; Integrating the Classroom and the Sports Field; Football and the Forces of Segregation; Integrating the Football Teams of the SEC; and Civil Rights, Sports, and the Lack of a Black Athletic Revolt. In summary, Henderson posits that 'in many respects, the black athletic revolt represented an incomplete revolution' (p.183), advocating that we take a fresh, sharp look at the 'true meanings' of the protest of Tommie Smith and John Carlos, since 'the significance of their message and the movement that they represented have been blurred' over time (p.184).

Also relates to:

Politics

History

Social Theory

CREOLIZING THE METROPOLE: MIGRANT CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES IN LITERATURE AND FILM

H. Adlai Murdoch

Publisher: Indiana University Press: Bloomington & Indianapolis

Year: 2012

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Pagination: pp.391

Price: £30.00

H. Adlai Murdoch, Associate Professor of French and Francophone Literature and African American Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, presents here a comparative study of the West Indian diasporic centres of Paris and London, tracing the postwar, postcolonial population shift and its impact on national identity and culture through examinations of film and works of literature. The book aims to reconcile the implications of Caribbean postwar migration to these two former colonial capitals between 1948 and 1998, and 'the ways in which these new inhabitants and their descendants came to represent their simultaneously separate but parallel experiences in literature and film' (p.3). Particular focus is on the Antillean citizens of the DOM (départements d'outre-mer) or French overseas departments compared with the 'colonial Commonwealth citizens of an English-speaking Caribbean on the cusp of independence' and 'resulting hybrid modernities' (p.3).

Murdoch's first chapter, *Caribbean Diasporic Identity: Between Home and Away*, discusses the definitions of "Caribbeanness" and the Caribbean diaspora. Initial sections cover Determining the Diaspora ('the primary derivation of the Caribbean's principal population groups is ultimately extra-regional' [p.19]); and Transnationalism and the Diasporic Caribbean ('As patterns of migration and transportation striated the region, the resulting patterns of exchange and renewal arguably eventuated both the diversity and the diasporic bent that have diachronically shaped its population' [p.38/39]). In *Engaging with Ethnic Identity*, Murdoch argues that 'Caribbean diasporas in European capitals... are

characterized not only by an ethnocultural praxis of dual identity but also by the fluidity and mobility intrinsic to this identitarian dyad [of]... dual identity' (p.43). *Diaspora and the Metropole* looks at the 'serial adoption of social masks' required by the 'diasporic subject[s]' (p.48) in order to negotiate daily life and communication within metropolitan life, while *Diaspora and Citizenship* examines French Caribbean as distinct from British Caribbean experiences of diaspora. The chapter ends with a section on *Diaspora and (Creole) Language*.

Chapter 2, *Beyond a Boundary: Constructing Anglo-Caribbean and French-Antillean Identity*, explores *Reinventing Ethnicity*, where the questions 'Whose identity is it?' and 'Whose story is being told?' are raised; *The (Under)Ground of Culture*, where 'hybrid cultural forms' emerging from 'regional patterns' of 'integration and exchange' are discussed. Successive sections comprise *Re-Presenting Anglo-Caribbean Identity*; *Diaspora and Subjectivity*; *Re-Presenting the Other*; *Framing the Franco-Antillean Paradox*, and *Inscribing Representation*.

Two literary works that concern the migrant experience in London are the subject of Chapter 3, *Migration Pluralizes the Metropole: How a Small Island Revealed Its White Teeth*. While the 'post-Windrush experience' of the character of Gilbert in Andrea Levy's 2004 novel, *Small Island*, 'becomes an unerringly accurate portrait of the wider Caribbean migratory encounter with the cold shoulder of the "Mother Country"', the novel is also analysed by Murdoch as 'a portrait of postwar Britain itself that transcends the literal and thematic boundaries set by immigration' (p.156). Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth* (2000) employs a 'complex, contestatory, and subversive approach' to a 'dramatic presentation of contemporary England and Englishness' (p.175).

Parisian equivalents are the remit of Chapter 4, *Creolizing the Hexagon: Periphery and Place in Desirada and Exile According to Julia*, which opens with the assertion that 'in a useful paradox, the use of the term "postcolonial" within a Caribbean context frames precisely those ambiguities of politics, culture, and language that simultaneously join and separate the cultural identities of the French- and English-speaking sectors of the region' (p.207). This duality permeates Murdoch's reading of work by Guadeloupe's Maryse Condé and Gisèle Pineau as he aims to 'locate their articulation of a Caribbean diasporic drive within a poetics of creolization, exile, and a pluralized identity...' (p.207).

Introducing Chapter 5, *Playing at Integration: Confrontation and Conflict in the Metropolitan Suburbs*, is a quote from *Unthinking Eurocentrism* by Ella Shohat and Robert Stam: '..."Multiculturalism decolonizes representation not only in terms of cultural artifacts – literary canons, museum exhibits, film series – but also in terms of power relations between communities"' (p.282). The challenge for Europe's metropolises, Murdoch contests, specifically in 'post/colonial capitals [,] would be to accommodate and come to terms with... burgeoning diversity' (p.283). Film became a way of raising awareness of multiculturalism and of confronting the intricacies of belonging to contemporary and diverse cities. However, Murdoch's concluding appraisal of the situation is that while the Caribbean diaspora has begun a pattern of transformation in the metropolises, 'much clearly remains to be done' (p.360).

Also relates to:

Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

LEGAL FICTIONS: CONSTITUTING RACE, COMPOSING LITERATURE

Karla FC Holloway

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham & London

Year: 2014

ISBN: 978-0-8223-5581-6 (cloth : alk. paper)

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Pagination: pp.158

Price: £14.99

Karla FC Holloway is James B. Duke Professor of English at Duke University where she also works in the Law School, Women's Studies and African and African American Studies departments. In her preface, she illustrates with examples of 'events from the eras of enslavement, civil rights activism, and the politics of a black presidency' how 'issues of personhood and race in America were persistently seen as legal questions that revealed a nearly intractable sociality' (p.xv). In the same way, African American literary fiction, she argues, 'finds its resolutions in narratives that are, like their histories, bound by law' (p.xv). In the introduction Holloway discusses the format and content of the book, which 'follows three critical frames' (p.18), each section referring to a variety of fiction and converging with a particular legal framework. The book examines the 'origin and persistence of the constitutive legal boundedness of black identity in the United States' (p.4), in part inspired by Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, where Morrison contends that 'an "Africanist" presence in the United States is consequentialist and has left its imaginative toll – indeed a visible mark – in the fictions of U.S. literatures' (p.4).

Chapter 1 focuses on the legal aspect of property; 'the legal history of people as property is a constitutional origin story that has made notions and designations of property invade every attempt to emerge from the legal thicket of a proscriptive black identity' (p.18). Slavery was based on the concept of a person as property, and its legacy is a 'messy legal landscape' of 'contradictory, repetitive, inconsistent laws regarding race' (p.22). This chapter explores Charles Johnson's *Middle Passage* (1990), a text shaped by the 'critical question... why matters about personhood, slavery, and identity would continue to exert such profound narrative energy long past the era of slavery' (p.29), and Toni Morrison's *Paradise* (1998), a book that confounds the reader with its first line, 'They shoot the white girl first', and that, in conclusion, posits the idea that 'race matters [] because it is impotent' (p.47). Other novels are referred to including Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* and James Weldon Johnson's fictional *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*.

Next, *Bodies as Evidence (of Things Not Seen)* opens with a quote from James Baldwin as he uses the metaphor of a Roman circus to describe a courtroom in *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*: '...to suspend judgement demands that one dismiss one's perceptions at the very same moment that one is most crucially – and cruelly – dependent on them...' (p.55). Holloway discusses two legal cases, those of the slave ships *Antelope* and *Amistad*, wherein 'although their cargo was human, some of that cargo was adjudicated as property and some were held to be legal persons. There was no visible difference... All were black men, women, and children from West Africa...' (p.57), before turning to textual analysis of a range of works from *The Chaneyville Incident* by David Bradley and *Kindred* by Octavia Butler to *Dessa Rose* by Sherley Anne Williams and Toni Morrison's *Beloved*.

Chapter 3, *Composing Contract*, engages with the 'legal form of a promise' (p.89), beginning with the issue of interracial marriage; 'the shadows of civil wrongs perpetrated through the law is a lingering and penumbral matter in legal parlance, and it is intimately linked with a persistent and virulently pejorative imaginary regarding the black body – a fear of its physical characteristics and

the consequence of race "mixing" (p.91). Adoption as a legal contract, and a section on Passing and Protection then follow, before Holloway discusses Zora Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* and Mat Johnson's 'aggressively postmodern' (p.107) *Pym*.

Holloway's writing is elegantly structured and multifaceted; the analytical language she uses is bright with imagery. In her Epilogue, *When and Where "All the Dark-Glass Boys" Enter*, she cites Anna Julia Cooper in *A Voice from the South*: "'When and where I enter... then and there the whole Negro race enters with me'" (p.113), extrapolating that she may have been 'more prescient than her contemporary W.E.B. DuBois whose famed prediction about the twentieth century's color line has arguably earned wider renown' (p.113). In summing up the motivation behind *Legal Fictions*, in which she aims to show that 'legal matters confirm the legally bound hypervisibility of race' (p.124), Holloway concludes that 'when legal ties seem to bind in black literatures... those stories, rescued, retold, recovered, and reassembled, make U.S. black literatures occupy a complex, nationally necessary, and precious terrain' (p.125).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics and Government

Social Theory

History

BEYOND BLACK: CELEBRITY AND RACE IN OBAMA'S AMERICA

Ellis Cashmore

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Year: 2012

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Price: £19.00

Key to Ellis Cashmore's chronicle of contemporary Black celebrity is the question of whether America has become a postracial society. Celebrities, he asserts, are all selling something; however, the most valuable commodity of Black celebrities, from Bill Cosby and Oprah Winfrey to Halle Berry and Tiger Woods, is the notion of an America where racism has lost its sting. Across twelve incisive, eminently readable chapters, Cashmore unfolds the impact of these 'acquisitive, ambitious, flamboyantly successful and individualistic' Black celebrities upon contemporary society.

Following the introduction's overview, Chapter 2 opens with an assessment of the appearance of Barack Obama on the Oprah Winfrey Show – Obama 'not interviewed by a man, but by a woman. Not even a white woman; an African American woman who could lay every legitimate claim to being the most influential female, perhaps person, on the planet' (p.12). This would have been an unthinkable scenario twenty years ago. Chapter 3 moves on from a discussion of the blurring of the divide between politics and entertainment to one where Obama is the centre of media commentary such as Debra J. Dickerson's 2007 article *Colorblind* and David Bradley's 2010 review, *Misreading Obama*. The chapter concludes, 'Obama may not have been the man to purge America of its last vestiges of racism. But, brand Obama was a symbol of purification' (p.34).

Returning to Oprah Winfrey in the next chapter, entitled *If Oprah Can Make It, What Does It Say About Me?*, Cashmore explores brand endorsement, which in the case of Winfrey and Obama, he explains, is 'less like one person's approving another; more like Apple admiring and applauding Rolex – a brand recommending a brand' (p.36), and Winfrey's own 'worldview in which individuals are independent,

self-reliant and capable of changing themselves' (p.41). In Chapter 5, The Cosby Show is analysed, where Bill Cosby split opinion between those who saw him as a 'representative of a new Black America' and those who saw the show as an infuriating "'Afro-Saxon'" (p.46) fiction. Through these and ensuing chapters, Cashmore explores the role of 'popular culture as an agent of social and political change' (p.47).

In the chapter Please Be Black, Michael Jackson's cosmetic surgery is contextualised as 'no more than an extreme version of what more and more Americans engage in every year' and his 'rise from-rags-to-riches, his attempts to remake and reinvent himself and his "monarchical fantasies"' as 'constituent parts of American ideology' (p.67). Cashmore holds up several lenses through which we can view Jackson variously as 'an extraordinary being, an Other, for whom there were no established reference points in Whites' conceptions.....a bizarre but freakishly gifted misfit' or 'one of the most illuminating figures to stand on America's postwar landscape' (p.71).

Chapter 7 explores the origins of Whites' 'desire for buffoonery and song'. While in the mid-nineteenth century, English geologist Charles Lyell 'observed the fondness of "Negroes" for music and dancing and concluded that... it was natural [to them]' (p.73), 'looking unhappy or angry could earn a slave a beating; beaming could make life slightly less unpleasant' (p.74). The history of minstrelsy and the Harlem Renaissance are traced, illustrating how Whites have 'managed and preserved their own sense of superiority in the midst of evidence that repeatedly challenged it' (p.84).

Next, Tyra Banks is characterised as someone who wanted 'to be neither African American nor Black, or possibly, not even human: she wanted to make herself into a brand' (p.89), ignoring racism as an issue and operating in 'a way that complements perfectly the colorblind code of postracial America' (p.96). In Like a Jungle Sometimes, Cashmore presents White people's vicarious fascination with Black life, particularly here ghetto/gangster life, summarising the chapter with the sententious 'he who pays the piper calls the tune' in order to highlight similarities between Whites' hip-hop consumption and their appreciation of minstrels 150 years ago. The Ghetto Inside looks at the rise and fall of Black sports stars, while To Be Spoken For discusses the development of Black roles in mainstream cinema.

The final chapter of Cashmore's account of Black celebrity finishes by asking 'surely we can't change identities and switch ethnicities as we change our appearance with cosmetic surgery, replace limbs with prosthetics or restore vital functions with organ transplants from human donors?'. He is of the opinion, however, that this indeed will be the case. 'If this means the death of blackness, then so be it', an end also to 'whiteness and all the inequity, oppression, bigotry and manifold wrongdoing that malefactor has engendered' (p.146).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

History

Politics and Government

Social Theory

BLACK POWER TV

Devorah Heitner

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A compelling and detailed chronicle of the way that a 'diverse array of Black public-affairs programs intervened in both the history of television and in the project of rearticulating racial formations that occurred in the Black Power era' (p.17), this book examines four television shows in particular, both directly and indirectly funded by the (White) Ford Foundation, among other sources, and critical in allowing 'the imagining of a Black nation and a distinctly African American consciousness' (p.14). These are *Inside Bedford Stuyvesant*, *Say Brother*, *Black Journal* and *Soul!*, chosen specifically because there were at least fifteen episodes from the period of the late 1960s – early 1970s available for viewing by the author. Despite the proliferation of Black programmes during this era, when 'Black authority was urgently sought after' (p.15) on the one hand, and television was seen as a means of keeping Black people at home during a time of civil unrest on the other, very few were archived and many were taped over, as 'television stations viewed videotape as a renewable resource' (p.18).

Inside Bedford Stuyvesant had the lowest budget of any of these shows, and was the only one to be broadcast from a commercial station, New York's leading independent, WNEW. It was also arguably the first of the genre of 'Black public-affairs television' (p.25). It had been created out of a response to an uprising in Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, summer 1964. Following riots by residents 'angered by housing conditions and a lack of city services' (p.26), activists at Central Brooklyn Coordinating Council invited US senator Robert F. Kennedy to tour Bedford Stuyvesant. This led to the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation (BSRC), the country's first community development corporation. One of its board members, Fred Papert, suggested BSRC launch a TV show of its own. *Inside Bedford Stuyvesant*, with its low financing levels, was filmed outdoors, relying on its charismatic anchors, Roxie Roker and Jim Lowry, to link apparently disparate elements ranging from interviews with Black Panthers to children's musical performances. It was a positive, community-focused programme that put 'community members in front of the camera' and 'showcased local artists' (p.40).

Say Brother varied from *Inside Bedford Stuyvesant* in that its agenda from the start was political, whereas *Inside Bedford Stuyvesant* 'let its guests make the more overtly political statements' (p.52). *Say Brother's* story 'illustrates how a television program created to contain Black anger was re-envisioned by staff members to express the Black critique and articulate alternative visions for Black life and Black empowerment' (p.54). Its young hosts were 'of the same political persuasions as many of their most radical guests', and the 'title and content of *Say Brother* constituted a call to action' (p.55).

Black Journal, examined in Chapter 3, was 'able to represent a Black world that spoke to both Black and white viewers' after transforming itself from 'the first national Black program, while still under white editorial control, to a very public strike by Black staff members, to the program's emergence as an experimental documentary newsmagazine under the African American filmmaker William Greaves' (p.22). Greaves championed such coverage as the critiquing of 'powerful white institutions' – the education system, the police; after him came the equally controversial move whereby Kent Garrett was sent to Asia with a two-man crew to cover 'Black enlisted men in Vietnam, Japan, and Okinawa' (p.103), creating an hour-long documentary about Black GIs broadcast during the height of

the Vietnam War.

Say Brother had a larger budget than *Inside Bedford Stuyvesant*, but *Black Journal* and *Soul!* benefited from being national network shows. In 1972 the Corporation for Public Broadcasting stopped funding for *Black Journal* and *Soul!* After much protest, *Black Journal* continued but with reduced production values. *Soul!* was 'public television's national Black arts and entertainment program' (p.123), billed as 'a weekly all-black variety talk show' (p.125). It was initiated by 'a white media maker' (p.123), hosted by Ellis Haizlip, a theatre producer fresh from presenting James Baldwin's plays in Europe, and by guest hosts including Nikki Giovanni and Curtis Mayfield, then directed by Say Brother and *Black Journal* 'veteran' (p.126) Stan Lathan. Black gender relations were regularly appraised, including discussions of 'Black heterosexuality and homosexuality, motherhood and fatherhood, and Black women's liberation' (p.126). Heitner shows us how 'the story of these programs emphasizes the positive gains brought about by media activism and affirmative hiring practices' (p.158); the rise of Black Power demanded them and drove forward the ideas for Black liberation that they incorporated so effectively.

Also relates to:

Social Theory

Politics

History

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

MY PEOPLE ARE RISING: MEMOIR OF A BLACK PANTHER PARTY CAPTAIN

Aaron Dixon

Publisher: Haymarket Books: Chicago, Illinois

Year: 2012

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Pagination: pp.345

Price: £13.00

Aaron Dixon was the founder of the Seattle chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in 1968 aged 19. In this memoir he recounts the progress of his own political activism within the context of his generation, creating a social history of the Black liberation struggle of the latter half of the twentieth century. Judson L. Jeffries provides the foreword, urging young people to read this book, 'a perfect illustration of the impact that young men and women made in Black communities throughout the country during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s' (p.xii).

Dixon tells a broadly chronological story, beginning with the structure and personalities of his own family, dating back to 'Mariah, a small, bowlegged Black slave woman in Durant, Mississippi, where she lived, toiled, and died thousands of miles away from her ancestral homeland' (p.4) through his own father's experiences as an army conscript during the last years of World War II, who saw Jim Crow racism in the segregated South when he was stationed on a Mississippi army base.

Dixon writes about the huge shifts occurring across the world and in the South of the United States, and how the changes filtered into his own life: a 'lurking fear of the prospect of a nuclear attack' (p.33); seeing Martin Luther King Jr. on TV; joining a rally against 'redlining' (p.34) in 1961. The 'violent decade' (p.55) that saw the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 followed by that of Malcolm X in 1966 is described in *Slow Awakening*. The Watts Uprising and the rise of Black Nationalism lead into Chapter 7, *Stokely Comes to Town*, with Stokely Carmichael promoting Black Power and Dixon hearing him speak in 1967, and walking 'out of the auditorium transformed.... From that day forward,

I looked at the world and everyone around me with anger and rage' (p.58).

In *The Tide of the Movement*, Dixon describes his growing realisation of his own talents and a desire to learn about 'the plight of Black people' (p.64), joining the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC or "snick") and meeting the Voodoo Man – effectively a call to arms. In the next chapter, Dixon had been arrested for unlawful assembly, his first experience of jail following, when the announcement that Martin Luther King Jr. had been assassinated came on air. Dixon and his friends saw Stokely Carmichael on TV 'in Washington, DC, holding a .22 caliber pistol and shouting, "It's now time to burn, burn, baby, burn", as crowds of young people rampaged through the streets of DC' (p.73).

Several days after the assassination, Dixon and around 20 others, Black Student Union (BSU) and SNCC members, hired cars and drove to the second annual West Coast BSU Conference and heard Bobby Seale, chair of the Black Panthers, addressing a crowd after the funeral of Little Bobby Hutton, shot when he was unarmed during the 'police crackdown on the riots' (p.78). Dixon, afterwards, was elected "defense captain" (p.83), at which he felt both 'the pull of history' (p.83) and fear about what the future would hold. He describes a 'push-and-pull... like a tug-of-war.... In some ways, this seemed to be what I was born for' (p.84).

Chapters 12-17 report on the events of July 1968 in Seattle, from details such as the "10-10-10" tactic (p.107) used to divide and organise BPP sections, subsections and blocks, to the progress of relations between the Seattle chapter and the police, Dixon's trial and the FBI's various 'tools of provocation' (p.145). The next section, *Cointelpro Is Unleashed*, tells of the FBI 'counterintelligence program created in 1956 at the height of anticommunist hysteria, now geared up to focus... on destroying the Black Panther Party and other radical groups' (p.165). Balancing 'governmental repression' (p.165) were delights such as manning the barricade at Seattle Pop Festival for the Doors and 50,000 'screaming fans.... It was the most fun we'd had together in a long time' (p.169). The party meanwhile was moving onwards and upwards: 'opening up medical clinics, Busing to Prison Programs, ambulance services, Pest Control Programs.... All the while, Panthers were constantly being arrested, constantly going to jail, and sometimes being outright murdered' (p.182).

This is an engaging, thoroughly readable memoir of a man who 'had always been an adventurous, rebellious type, and in [] ten years as a revolutionary... had become addicted to the adrenaline rush of danger, of barely escaping death' (p.310). The book includes monochrome photographs and five appendices including the reproduced contents of the 1968 Seattle Chapter information packet.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics and Government

Social Theory

History

DARCUS HOWE: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

Robin Bunce and Paul Field

Publisher: Bloomsbury: London & New York

Year: 2014

ISBN: HB: 978-1-8496-6495-0

ePDF: 978-1-8496-6650-3

ePub: 978-1-8496-6651-0

Pagination: pp.290

Price: £55.00

Dedicated to the memory of CLR James, Darcus Howe's mentor and great uncle, whose 'youthful rebellion was symbolized by his skipping his duties to illicitly play cricket' (p.12), this lively and incisive

biography illuminates Howe's importance in the history of radical politics and the struggle for racial justice. Defiant like his great uncle, Howe, while influenced by his father's 'values of Christianity and... love of reason', used this inflammatory blend to 'ruthlessly question the injustices and myths of race, class and religion itself' (p.12).

Born in Trinidad in 1943, Howe spent his first ten years in Eckels village, which was populated by agricultural labourers and some Black Trinidadians employed by the nearby Point-à-Pierre oil refinery. Howe's father was head teacher of Eckels Village School and led services at the Church of Ascension. Howe's 'conversion to reason and science' occurred: "'reason became non-negotiable'" (p.16). During Howe's school days at Queen's Royal College he excelled intellectually for teachers who recognised his potential. Outside school, he 'easily made friends with the street gang of hustlers, itinerants, gamblers, saga boys and unemployed' (p.19). Joining mass rallies for independence, he distributed the People's National Movement (PNM) paper, *The Nation*, which CLR James had returned to Trinidad to edit at the invitation of PNM leader Eric Williams.

Howe attended the two week conference, *The Dialectics of Liberation*, in July 1967, which was contributed to by representatives of the Black Power Movement including Howe's childhood friend Stokely Carmichael. In August 1968 Howe became involved with the British Black Power Movement, forming his own group, the Black Eagles, with its own magazine, a short-lived but 'very distinctive' (p.35) publication.

The study then moves into 1968, 'a year of revolution' (p.43), with the Prague Spring, barricades in Paris, riots in American ghettos following the murder of Martin Luther King. 1968 and 1969 'were [also] an extraordinary period in Howe's intellectual development' (p.45). He spent time getting to know and learning from CLR James in London. Chapter 4 focuses on *Cause for Concern*, the BBC series that broadcast a 1968 documentary that Howe described as a 'major watershed in the struggle in which the police and black community were locked' (Howe 1988: 29) (p.51). The episode *Equal Before the Law?* examined cases of police racism including 'instances of brutality, arrests on trumped-up charges and the fabrication of evidence to secure criminal convictions' (p.52).

In 1968, Howe's dilemma was to 'pursue academic study' (p.59) at the University of York or join James at the Congress of Black Writers at McGill University, Montreal. He chose the latter, 'perhaps the seminal event in the international Black Power movement' (p.59). In 1969, back in Britain, Howe set up *Black Dimension*, a "Community News Service", the first issue of which concerned the 'Police State in West London' (p.67). Returning to Trinidad in April 1969, he joined the staff of *The Vanguard*, newspaper of the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union.

A Resting Place in Babylon: Frank Crichlow and the Mangrove details the way persistent police raids on the Mangrove restaurant drove away its clientele, and Howe's solution – 'the police had invaded the Mangrove; now it was time to march on the police stations' (p.93). Marches led to arrests, 'and the arrests to a trial: the most sensational political trial of the decade, which turned Black Power into a cause célèbre, lifted the lid on police racism in Notting Hill and pushed Howe into the media spotlight' (p.93). Chapters 8-10 deal with the stages of the trials of the Mangrove Nine.

Howe joined the Institute of Race Relations, editing its monthly journal, *Race Today*. He founded, with others, the *Race Today Collective*, 'part of the Brixton community' (p.154), which from 1982 'began looking after the 81-year-old James' (p.160). Chapter 13 describes Howe's decade of arrests and time in Pentonville: 'Half of Brixton was in the exercise yard' and they greeted him with shouts of "Darcus!" (p.177).

Subsequent chapters explore the injustices of the New Cross Massacre, Operation Swamp 81, police tactics at the Carnival, and Howe's amplified radical journalism in *The Bandung File* and *Devil's Advocate*, and as columnist for the *New Statesman*. The biography ends with the aftermath of the 2011 'England riots' following the shooting of Mark Duggan, and cites Howe's recent article in which he advocates 'time to access our thoughts. Capitalism has been good at force feeding us falsities: racial division, class inequality, alienation and disengagement, a world after capitalism means we must think long and hard again' (p.265).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics and Government

Social Theory

History

MOVING IN THE SHADOWS: VIOLENCE IN THE LIVES OF MINORITY WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Edited by Yasmin Rehman, Liz Kelly and Hannana Siddiqui

Publisher: Ashgate: Farnham, Surrey & Burlington, Vermont

Year: 2013

ISBN: 9781409433170 (hbk)

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Pagination: pp.298

Price: £55.00

Yasmin Rehman, a doctoral candidate at the School of Oriental and African Studies specialising in polygyny and English law; Liz Kelly, Professor of Sexualised Violence at London Metropolitan University and Director of the Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit (CWASU), and Hannana Siddiqui, who has worked at Southall Black Sisters for 25 years, bring together here contributions from a range of academics, activists and practitioners, examining for the first time in one volume violence against women and children within UK minority communities. It is divided into three parts, Perspectives; Forms and Contexts of Violence; and Interventions and Responses. It seeks to 'explore both commonalities and differences in the lives of minority women – in the forms of violence they experience, their meanings and consequences' (p.9).

Sharon Smee, a solicitor and Director of Gender Equality Consulting, advising on women's rights policy, begins the book with an examination of existing knowledge of how Black and minority ethnic (BME) women negotiate the criminal justice system 'as victims, offenders and practitioners' (p.15). Pragna Patel, a founding member of Southall Black Sisters and Women Against Fundamentalism, acknowledging a social 'shift from "multiculturalism" to "multi-faithism"' (p.41), whereby the State and community leaderships have reduced 'a complex web of social, political and cultural processes... into purely religious values' (p.41), explores how this de-secularisation affects the 'struggles for exit options in the face of violence and abuse' (p.42) for South Asian women. Jackie Turner then presents an analysis of the dynamics of trafficking as a women's issue within a 'continuum of violence against women' (p.71). Shaminder Takhar looks at the way 'living in the closet is preferable to "coming out" for some women due to the violence of internalized oppression and reprisals within the community' (p.77) in her consideration of lesbianism and its perception by South Asian communities.

Forms and Contexts of Violence catalogues often harrowing details of the suffering of women and children, but includes recognition of the advances made by activists and campaigners to effect change. Dr Makeba Roach and Dr Comfort Momoh discuss the Fight against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in the UK, pointing out the hypocrisy at stake in the condemnation of 'the medicalisation of FGM in black and minority ethnic (BME) women and girls' and the coexistent 'ignoring [of] non-therapeutic cosmetic alteration to the genitals of (largely white) women performed in unregulated private

operating theatres, NHS hospitals and piercing shops' (p.92). Ravi K. Thiara explores Post-separation Violence in the Lives of Asian and African-Caribbean Women; Carlene Firmin, Criminal Gangs, Male-Dominated Services and the Women and Girls Who Fall Through the Gaps; and Emilie Secker and Yasmin Rehman tackle Possession or Oppression: Witchcraft and Spirit Possession Accusations as a Form of Ritual Abuse of Children and Women.

Chapters 9-11 approach the Difficulties Naming and Disclosing Sexual Violence in Hindi, where Swati Pande explores the language barrier hindering 'Asian women's access to services' (p.155); "True Honour": Domestic Violence, Forced Marriage and Honour Crimes in the UK, in which Hannana Siddiqui presents the cases of two sisters, one of whom died in an honour killing after being 'tortured, raped and sexually assaulted' (p.174); and "It begins with Sister": Polygyny and Muslims in Britain, where Yasmin Rehman concludes by urging the development of 'more complex feminist analyses of harmful marriage practices including how such practices (re)produce gender inequality' (p.199).

The third and final part of this valuable book, Interventions and Responses, includes chapters from two male contributors, Mohamed A. Baleela, Manager of Al-Aman Family Safety Project, part of the Domestic Violence Intervention Project (DVIP) and a trained violence prevention worker, and Phil Price, Project Manager of perpetrator services for the DVIP in London with responsibility for assessment and individual and group work with men around their use of violence and abusive behaviour to partners. In addition, Ava Kanyeredzi presents Finding a Voice: African and Caribbean Heritage Women Help Seeking; Debora Singer, Women Seeking Asylum: Failed Twice Over; and Marai Larasi, A Fuss About Nothing?: Delivering Services to Black and Minority Ethnic Survivors of Gender Violence – The Role of the Specialist Black and Minority Ethnic Women's Sector. Marai Larasi's final sentence recapitulates one of the book's key messages: 'for BME feminist activists... we reserve the right to fight alongside white women for gender equality and the right to fight alongside BME men for "race" equality, but most importantly we reserve the right to speak for ourselves in all of our struggles and aspirations' (p.280).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

History

Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

Politics and Government

Social Theory

CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS

BLINDED BY THE WHITES: WHY RACE STILL MATTERS IN 21ST-CENTURY AMERICA

David H. Ikard

Publisher: Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indiana

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-0-253-01096-4 (cloth)

ISBN: 978-0-253-01103-9 (ebook)

Pagination: pp.173

Price: £18.99

In his introduction to this impassioned study, David H. Ikard allows the reader to anticipate the content of the ensuing chapters by presenting critiques of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*; Frederick Douglass's *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*; Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*; and Paul Beatty's *The White Boy Shuffle* (which he refers to in detail in Chapter 3). Outlining his intention to employ Black feminism, among other 'critical and interdisciplinary approaches', he seeks to dissect the 'new and ever-shifting ideological discourse of white supremacy' (p.13) that threatens Black empowerment and potential. The study, he continues, will contain moments of personal detail,

'airing the dirty laundry of patriarchal and sexual abuses within [his] own family' (p.15) as a means of emphasising the elements of Black complicity – usually unconscious – in a White power institution that, socially, encourages Blacks themselves to devalue Blackness.

Chapter 1 (of 6) foregrounds *The Known World* by Edward P. Jones, a novel that focuses on the obscure fact that some elite Blacks owned slaves. Jones, Ikard argues, 'builds on and extends a longstanding liberating strategy in the African American literary tradition... using the history of African American slave-owners to bring renewed scrutiny to the tenacity and corruptive force of white supremacist ideology on [America's] / collective racial consciousness' (pp.23/24). The process of such revelations can be painful but Ikard stresses the importance of considering this 'unflattering side of African American consciousness', because, as the narrator in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* says, it is something that African Americans 'cannot afford "to pass on"' (p.45).

Beloved is the subject that Ikard focuses on in his second chapter, *Easier Said Than Done: Making Black Feminism Transformative for Black Men*. Morrison's skilful manipulation of dialogue and the implicit, metaphorical meaning between the lines when Stamp Paid and Paul D. are confronted by a White man and the 'twisted moral double standard upon which gendered white superiority rests' is highlighted; the White man, whose 'sole purpose for being in an all-black space is debauchery' (p.48), hypocritically criticises Paul D. for drinking whisky in front of a church. Ikard also collates a range of personal and academic experiences to explore issues that he first turned to in his previous book, *Breaking the Silence: Toward a Black Male Feminist Criticism* – an effort, he attests, to 'illuminate how black patriarchal appeals to victimization, racial solidarity, and community empowerment were counterrevolutionary, rendering patriarchal black men, and the black women who support them, complicit in white male supremacy' (p.55).

In Chapter 3, *All Joking Aside: Black Men, Sexual Assault, and Displaced Racial Angst in Paul Beatty's The White Boy Shuffle*, Ikard reveals the author's own trouble in 'broaching and engaging [the] gendered taboo issue' of his protagonist, Gunnar Kaufman's incestuous rape at the hands of his father, a 'racially self-hating black man and LAPD police officer' (p.67). Beatty's 'writerly reluctance', Ikard argues, nonetheless 'clears a pathway' to an insight into the way 'pervasive notions of hard/thug masculinity and heteronormativity have wreaked havoc in black men's lives' (p.67). He discusses the 'cultural risks' for Black men and boys as regards revealing their sexual assaults, referencing comedian Chris Rock's routine in which he satirizes 'the cover-up' (p.79). Gunnar however does emerge 'as the hero in the novel... breaking [the] wicked cycle of abuse' (p.83).

Ikard again returns to autobiographical experience in Chapter 4, where he approaches the problem of White supremacy and the issue of Black self-determination 'from the gendered standpoint of educating black boys to reject patriarchal and heteronormative modes of black male identity' (p.17). In Chapter 5, he tackles the gender debate relating to the empowerment of Black girls, elaborating on a situation with his 6 year old daughter who wanted to dress up as Goldilocks for a school book parade, and the way he and the little girl's mother 'tried to engage her about the racial significance of her choice' (p.106). In the concluding chapter, *Stop Making the Rest of Us Look Bad: How Class Matters in the Attacks against the Movie Precious*, Ikard examines 'how white surveillance continues to alter the ways that Blacks react to Whites and each other'. He finishes, in his Epilogue, by posing the question, 'Are we willing to make the necessary sacrifices (bodily, materially, and emotionally) to create the truly democratic society that we say we want?' (p.155).

Also relates to:

Politics

Social Theory

Arts, Sport and Literature

GULF WOMEN

Edited by Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, Foreword by Her Highness Sheikha Moza Bint Nasser

Publisher: Bloomsbury: London & New York

Year: 2012

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ISBN: 978-1-78093-121-0 (ebook)

Pagination: pp.454

Price: £18.00

Arabia has been seen at times as a barren “Arabia deserta”; a wilderness ‘with little to recommend it’, a perspective compounded by Muslim historians who name the pre-Islamic period the Jahiliyya, or ‘time of ignorance’ (p.3). The role of women has often been hidden from view, as Her Highness Sheikha Moza Bint Nasser points out in her Foreword to this revelatory collection of essays. The volume is arranged thematically and chronologically, from ancient history to medieval, early modern and contemporary eras. There are fourteen chapters here. Each one deserves equally detailed attention; however this is not possible in a brief review so I will focus on seven of them.

The first, *Women in Eastern Arabia: Myth and Representation*, scrutinizes historic Eastern Arabia and its scant representation of the female. Hasaitic inscriptions have been found (‘a modification of South Arabian script’ [p.36]), which are notable for their commemoration of women and their reference to a ‘matrilinear system of lineage...’ (p.36). Women are shown to have accompanied men into battle, and there is a strong presence of a ‘mythological mother goddess’ (p.46).

Chapter 3 ‘presents a new, comparative reading of old sources’ (p.69), beginning with a reconstruction of ‘some of the areas of women’s political activities in the Jahiliyya period’ (p.70). There were the obligations of ‘a tribe’s free-born females to participate in their group’s wars and battles’ and the role of ‘the tribal kahina, its seer, or priestess, who in an ecstatic, “inspired” state would transmit messages of knowledge, counsel, or warning’ (p.75). Kahinats could also be ‘counsellors and judges’ (p.78) or could ‘direct a tribe’s migration pattern over long distances’ (p.79).

Reflecting on Bedouin women’s poetry, Moneera Al-Ghadeer reveals the reality behind an Arabian Peninsula ‘obscured and irretrievable in the colossal clichés and stereotypes embedded in the Western discourse on the Middle East’ (p.125). Exploring the notion that Bedouin women ‘should not be perceived as silent, subservient, and passive in the face of political injustice’ (p.137), she quotes Muwaydi al-Baraziyya (d. c1850) who defiantly ‘provoked censorship’ (p.137) and was beaten for singing, an incident referred to in the poem she responded with:

“How happy you seem with blissful music O dove!
[...] I would grieve for you if Salama knew of you!
He would make you moan, moan like me, O dove.
He broke my bones, may God break his...” (p.137).

Hibba Abugideiri champions the midwife in Chapter 7, highlighting the ‘underdeveloped interest in women’s work’ in the Arab world as one reason for the ‘historiographical gap’ (p.167). Abugideiri advocates that the social, as well as the economic, value of work is emphasised, her essay replete with intimate detail of Arabian midwifery, from Bedouin healers’ birthing methods to Saudi Arabian Bedouins using the folk remedy of a crushed wild flowering plant (‘ramram’) mixed with a pink dye (‘girmiz’) (p.183) to heal children’s ailments such as ‘sore mouths, tender gums and mouth blisters’.

Chapter 9 examines women and education, moving into the modern period by focusing on a stage between the beginning of the twentieth century and the 1960s – from the foundation of the first

formal school in the Gulf to the time when all the Gulf states had 'adopted a modern educational system' (p.244). The essay refers to a number of personal interviews, chronologically tracing the history of Gulf education and then that of the education of girls.

Soraya Altorki provides the reader with *Some Considerations on the Family in the Arabian Peninsula in the Late Ottoman and Early Post-Ottoman Period*, making use of the memoirs of Western travellers to the Arabian region, including John Lewis Burckhardt, Charles M. Doughty and Snouck Hurgronje, and local histories such as those by Ahmad al-Siba'i, 'Abd al-Quddus al-Ansari, Sabira Mu' min Isma'il and Tarfah 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Ubaykan. Two contrasting images of women emerge, one stressing 'the negative aspects: women were seen as inferior to men, gossipy/irrational...' (pp.287/288) and one their 'acumen, their ability to promote their own interests, and their capacity to maneuver their husbands into acknowledging their rights' (p.288).

In the penultimate chapter, Ziba Mir-Hosseini's essay explores legal rulings regulating marriage and divorce, and those 'relating to women's participation in society, specifically the notion of hijab as seclusion' (p.343). Mir-Hosseini brings us back to a major point mentioned in the introduction to this groundbreaking volume: the 'genesis of gender equality in Islamic legal tradition... is rooted in the social, cultural and political conditions within which Islam's sacred texts were understood and turned into law' (p.343).

Also relates to:

History

Politics

Social Theory

SALSA CROSSINGS: DANCING LATINIDAD IN LOS ANGELES

Cindy García

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham & London

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-0-8223-5481-9 (cloth: alk. paper)

ISBN: 978-0-8223-5497-0 (pbk: alk. paper)

Pagination: pp.182

Price: £15.99

From the critical series, *Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations*, which examines perspectives on Latin America and the economic, political and cultural complexities that have defined its worlds, this ethnographic study subtly unfolds the drama of Los Angeles' salsa clubs to reveal its 'libidinal economies and stylistic hierarchies' (Deborah Paredez).

As a child growing up in Milpitas, California, García had 'been dancing for years... to salsa, cumbia, merengue, soul, and disco music' (p.xiv). However, when she began the research for this study, she had not realised how dominant salsa was in Los Angeles: it 'eclipsed all other genres' (p.xv). Although *salsera/o* status inside the clubs is part of a hierarchy of power, that status does not necessarily translate into daily life; the hierarchies in the clubs are based on gender, ethnicity, class and nation but an 'exoticized L.A.-style salsa' must be performed that 'distances them from club practices associated with undocumented Mexican laborers' (p. xviii).

García documents the competition between three L.A. sub-categories of salsa in her first chapter, *The Salsa Wars*. These are: New York mambo, Los Angeles style, and Cuban casino. The battles between the practitioners of the styles are subtle though, fought out with technique rather than 'knives and guns' (p.22); 'as bodies separate themselves based on perceived danced differences, they engage in insults over technique, battles over space, and clashes over timing in the salsa wars' (p.22). García unfolds the story of the contestations through the 'perceptions and surveillances' of Rebecca, Maricruz, María

Elena and Sarita. For example, through discussion with Rebecca, a White New York mambo dancer, it becomes clear that García is concerned with 'the aestheticization of Latinos as sexually violent and dominant, Latinas as promiscuous and submissive' (p.24), whereas Rebecca criticises L.A. salsa's abandonment of authenticity in favour of 'commercialized latinidad' (p.24).

Part of the arsenal of insults is the accusation that a salsera/o is 'Dancing Salsa Wrong', the title of Chapter 2; these are 'bodies associated with Mexicanness, migration, and la limpieza [a general term meaning the cleaning industry]' (p.17). Salsa dancing 'offers a chance to undo the tightly woven components that undergird anti-Mexican, anti-immigrant violence' (p.44); however, there is an irony, in that many of the original developers of L.A. salsa were 'Mexican American or Mexican migrants' (p.45). García posits the observation that 'many L.A. salseras/os internalize these violences and reproduce themselves not as Mexicans, migrants, or workers of la limpieza but as exoticized (nonblack) Caribbeanesque Latinas/os, a representation produced and mediated by the Hollywood industry' (p.45).

One of the signifiers of salsa status is the salsera's apparel. In Chapter 3, *Un/Sequined Corporealities*, García shows how 'the unsequined do not successfully disguise their daytime identities and thus fade to the bottom of the hierarchies' (p.17) and are less likely to be asked to dance, or even are refused entry to a club due to dress codes. Here, García looks at links between latinidad and the capitalist economy; the way that 'with these club economies, salseras/os capitalize on the erotics of latinidad and work to disguise any references to themselves as laboring, poor, or working-class bodies' (p.67).

In *Circulations of Gender and Power*, the different social codes at work in the clubs are examined, focusing on the 'uneven salsa club mobilities of men and women' (p.17). Latino masculinity and Latina femininity are exaggerated and at times commodified; 'The hierarchies of nation, region, class, and race that are at stake in the salsa wars and in dancing salsa "right" and "wrong" also challenge and reinforce the dominant performance of gender as binary' (p.95). Salsa capital, for salseras, constitutes the admiration for her of the salseros, and it is with this capital that women move up the salsa hierarchies.

García's final chapter, *Don't Leave Me, Celia! – Salsera Homosociality and Latina Corporealities*, explores the idea that 'for women, moving around the club's economy of pleasure is no leisurely walk in the park' (p.125). The title quotes a young woman in the Ladies' at The Legend club, 'a woman who travels alone often finds herself being herded into the meat market of one-night stands and alienated from the economy of salsa dancing' (p.125). To conclude, García celebrates the Las Feliz Edades club patrons, who 'week after week... return to perform... "not-salsa" moves to salsa music, disrupting local efforts to spectacularize and deterritorialize latinidad through the production of global salsa' (p.153).

Also relates to:
Economics and Globalisation
Social Theory
History

REALISING THE DREAM: UNLEARNING THE LOGIC OF RACE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL

Crain Soudien

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Pagination: pp.270

Price: £39.00

Written by South Africa's leading theorist of school education, this book invites a reassessment of our understanding of race, education and society and seeks to divine a way out of South Africa's deeply held prejudices, to see whether South Africans can 'live beyond the destructive appeals of their exclusionary pasts and whether they can imagine a future in which the value of being human is primary' (p.4). This has been designated the national question of South Africa; the country's 'master signifier' (p.6) is still race, 'held up and invoked explicitly and implicitly – the often ineffable "elephant in the room"' (p.6), even though apartheid is apparently over. The subtitle of the book, *Unlearning the Logic of Race in the South African School*, contains the concept that is, Crain Soudien argues, at the heart of 'our becoming fully human' (p.7).

The book is approximately divided into the more theoretical chapters 1-3, which discuss the 'history and [] content' (p.28) of ideas used in the remaining 7 chapters, which draw on the author's fieldwork. In *Social Difference and its History*, the 'global ubiquity of difference' (p.28) is explored, Soudien arguing the case for a deeper appreciation of the 'endless differences' (p.28) that make us human, differences that have historically been deemed irrelevant even though they embody power and capacity / incapacity, while 'brute domination' (p.28) has instead been the only power to be considered important.

Chapter 2, *The obdurate nature of race*, examines the ways that contemporary social commentary and policy making prioritise race despite advances in thinking on the subject in the fields of the natural and social sciences. The chapter begins with a summary of philosopher Charles Taylor's work on the argument that 'hierarchy has finally been expunged from the normative frameworks of what it means to be a human being, as represented by national constitutions and charters of human rights' (p.54), and ends with a section on *Race and the "End of Racism"?* where he cites Said referring to Hugh of St Victor:

The tender soul has fixed his love on one spot in the world; the strong person has extended his love to all places; the perfect man has extinguished his. (Said 1994: 407)

Said related how Awerbuck cited this passage as 'a model for anyone – man and woman – wishing to transcend the restraints of imperial or national or provincial limits' (Said 1994: 407) (p.79).

While Chapter 2 is 'deliberately conceptual' (p.28), the following one, *Creolisation, Multiplicity, Education and Identity*, seeks to show 'how messy, even licentious, the world is as a space of ideas, beliefs and practices [...] irredeemably hybrid' (p.81). Formal education, argues Soudien, from working-class Britain to remote Eritrea, 'has essentially been the medium through which the hegemony of modernity has been mediated' (p.81), devoid of a capacity for inclusiveness. Here, Soudien wishes to discover the spaces within formal education that can allow difference to be worked with and managed. He then moves to the 'creolised space that follows education' (p.82).

Chapter 4 introduces 'the subject of race in the South African context' (p.29). The research for this

second part of the book comprises empirical work carried out by Soudien's colleagues and research assistants for over two decades. Soudien's own work falls into two projects. The first, referred to substantially in chapters 7-9, is a 'sequence of several cycles of study of young people... based on interviews and surveys conducted among the youth of South Africa' (p.29). The second is the Inclusion-Exclusion Project (INEXSA), looking at the 'inclusionary and exclusionary effects of race in South Africa and caste in India' (p.29), referring to 14 schools which are described in Chapter 5.

The second part of the book narrates the embedding of race in the South African school, explaining how this focus on race obscures 'important new manifestations of identity that are evolving' (p.29), while ignoring a new emergence of dominance in the country; the development of the broader multicultural discussion; and the political impact of local multiculturalism on 'understandings of privilege and subordination' (p.29) in South Africa. Concluding, Soudien attempts to visualise 'what a deconstructive agenda of race might look like' (p.29), asking, 'what would it mean to exemplify the idea of a radical way of living in an inclusive way?' (p.244), leaving the discussion open-ended but having advanced the remit for education as a means of bringing about self-awareness and 'a rational understanding of the urgency of reciprocity' (p.244).

Also relates to:

Social Theory

Education

Politics

THE BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK

Edited by Philip S. Foner. New Foreword by Barbara Ransby

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Pagination: pp.274

Price: £14.99

Despite the presence of a Black president in the White House, America persists in incarcerating unprecedented numbers of Black and ethnic minority males. The Sentencing Project (www.sentencingproject.org) states that 'for Black males in their thirties, 1 in every 10 is in prison or jail on any given day'. In the light of this and other racially-biased injustices, the republishing of this essential documentary history of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is indeed timely. Compiled and edited by Philip S. Foner (1910-1994), this new edition has an updated foreword by writer, historian and political activist Barbara Ransby. When the volume was first published in 1970, it sought to counter the many misunderstandings and misinterpretations that the BPP was subject to; in its latest incarnation it reminds us of the issues the group stood for, most of which remain unresolved today. As Foner points out in his introduction, there have always been sources of information about the work of the BPP, but 'it has been easier to read distortions in the mass media than to obtain / copies of the Party's weekly, radical journals, and the underground and student papers. It is the purpose of this volume to correct this situation' (pp.xl/xli).

Immediately following the introduction, the Black Panther National Anthem is reproduced; after these moving verses the first section presents Black Panther Party Platform and Program, and Rules of the Black Panther Party. The 10-point platform and programme were prepared by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in October 1966, in North Oakland, California. The rules were added subsequently and as required. In 1970 there were 26 rules. The Platform and Program, What We Want: What We Believe, includes aims such as 'an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people'; 'freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails... because they have not received a fair and impartial trial'; and 'all black men to be exempt from military service' (p.3).

Section 2, *The Black Panther: Voice of the Party*, reproduces editorials, articles, poems, commentary and letters that have appeared in the BPP's newspaper, which Huey P. Newton heralded as 'one of the main tools for educating the masses of Black People' (p.7). The front page of Volume 1, Number 1, from April 1967 appears, with its headline article, *Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed*, subheaded "I believe the police murdered my son" says the mother of Denzil Dowell. *Free by Any Means Necessary* is a poem 'For Huey, Bobby, Eldridge' by Sarah Webster Fabio; the section ends with *On Criticism of Cuba*, from December 1969, making the distinction between revolutionary criticism and reactionary criticism and wishing the 'Cuban people victory in their struggle against the blockade...' (p.37).

Huey P. Newton Speaks follows, showcasing 'representative articles, interviews, and messages of the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party... Most of them were written or taped in prison at Los Padres, California...' (p.39). These cover topics such as *In Defense of Self-Defense: Executive Mandate Number One*; *The Correct Handling of a Revolution*; and *Functional Definition of Politics*.

Bobby Seale was the Chairman of the BPP and co-founder with Huey P. Newton, and in Section 4 his various explanations of the ideology of the BPP are set forth, including *Black Soldiers as Revolutionaries to Overthrow the Ruling Class*. Eldridge Cleaver was the BPP's Minister of Information and at the time Foner compiled this volume, he was living in exile in Algiers. However, he still spoke out on 'fundamental issues confronting the people of his native land' (p.97). Here he gives a *Message to Sister Erica Huggins of the Black Panther Party*, subtitled *Excerpt from Tape of Eldridge Cleaver Breaking his Silence from Somewhere in the Third World*, and in which he urges Erica to be strong despite the murder of her husband John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information, who died alongside Deputy Minister of Defense, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter.

After speeches and interviews from David Hilliard and Fred Hampton, Section 8 is entitled *Black Panther Women Speak*, an important element here, since the BPP was notable in its non-sexist approach and its encouragement of gender equality. The remaining sections comprise: *Community Activities*; *Black Panthers in Court*; and *Alliances and Coalitions*. There are two Appendices, *The Persecution of the Black Panther Party*, and *Call for Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, September 7, 1970, Philadelphia, PA*. The volume is essential reading for anyone wishing to judge the BPP for themselves and anyone taking part in the struggle against racism.

Also relates to:

Social Theory

History

Criminal Justice

RACE MIGRATIONS: LATINOS AND THE CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF RACE

Wendy D. Roth

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California

Year: 2012

ISBN: 978-0-8047-7795-7 (cloth: alk. paper)

ISBN: 978-0-8047-7796-4 (pbk.: alk. paper)

Pagination: pp.254

Price: £22.00

A trailblazing study of the way concepts of race and ethnicity reconfigure amidst the transnational space of migration, exploding the American myth of strict Black and White boundaries. Wendy Roth investigated whether migrants' experiences in the host society affected their conceptions of race, focusing on those who had spent their formative years in Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic, but 'had been in the United States long enough for their ideas about race to be influenced by their experiences' (p.203). For the non-migrant sample, those whose views were formed within Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic who had not lived outside their home country for more than six months

were chosen.

The study begins by presenting the opinions of three respondents, Agustín in Santa Domingo, who, 'without hesitating... classifies the people around him as blanco, negro, and mulato' (p.2), placing himself within the 'mulato majority' (p.1); Raquel, born in the Dominican Republic but moved to New York as a young adolescent, who 'looks mostly European' but 'identifies her race as Black' (p.2); and Isandro, a Puerto Rican man in San Juan who considers himself as racially Latino. These examples show different ways of thinking about the same 'racial mix' (p.4) and in that reflect contrasting contemporary debates over 'where Latinos will fit into the U.S. racial structure in the future' (p.7) – as a racial group; as part of an expanded definition of Whiteness; or as a part of 'a "pigmentocracy" that ranks groups and individuals based on their skin color' (p.7).

In *Beyond the Continuum: Race in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico*, Roth explores what influences people's conceptualizations of racial categories on a local level. Roth defines as the 'continuum model' (p.17) an understanding of race as a 'fluid continuum of racial mixtures between Black and White' (p.17). She identifies three types of schemas ('continuum racial schema', 'nationality racial schema' and 'U.S. racial schema') which 'dominate the range of ways that both Dominican and Puerto Rican migrants and those who remain in their countries of origin talk about race' (p.17). The continuum model has implications of racial hierarchy. Roth presented respondents with a set of photographs of different people and asked them to classify the race of each person, with intriguing results. Asking the question of Dulce, a 60-year-old non-migrant with an MA, 'she was initially unsure what type of racial categories she should use, revealing her use of different racial schemas' (p.34). Arguments for and against the definition of Puerto Rican as a 'race' emerge, while another respondent, Magdalena, who used the terms 'blanco, negro, mestizo, and mulato' (p.49) on the photos, says that 'those who say their race is "Dominican" just do not know what race means' (p.49).

Migrant Schemas: Race in the United States explores the changes in migrants' conceptions of race after they have moved to the new society and settled there over several years, asking whether they 'adopt the racial schemas of their host society, experiencing a type of racial acculturation' (p.62). Care is taken to avoid such assumptions as the idea of a host society's "culture" as being homogenous; indeed it 'changes over time, is internally contested, and usually comprises multiple subcultures' (p.62), and much of this mutability is the result of immigration. This chapter explores how the 'large-scale presence of Latinos (p.63) challenges the U.S. schema that is largely based on the 'one-drop rule', leading to a Hispanicized U.S. schema; also issues under the subtitles of *Assimilation and Race*; *Racialization without Structural Assimilation*; *Structural Assimilation and Learning Racial Schemas*; *Policing the Boundaries of Whiteness*; *Symbolic Boundaries and Racial Schemas*.

Transnational Diffusion, in Chapter 4, is shown to occur 'through specific mechanisms... migrants' social remittances – interpersonal exchanges that communicate the ideas, practices, and identities they learn in the host society back to people in the society of origin' (p.98); international media networks and business connections are formed via mass migration. Chapters 5-7 explore *Multiple Forms of Racial Stratification*; *Performing Race Strategically*; and *Is Latino Becoming a Race?: Cultural Change and Classifications* respectively, completing this fascinating piece of research that broadens our perspective on transnational migration and the passage of influences between sending and receiving societies on changing concepts of race.

Also relates to:

Social Theory

Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

Politics

EDUCATION

RACE FRAMEWORKS: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL THEORY OF RACISM AND EDUCATION

Zeus Leonardo

Publisher: Teachers College Press, Columbia University: New York & London

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-0-8077-5462-7 (paper)

ISBN: 978-0-8077-5463-4 (hardcover)

Pagination: pp.199

Price: £28.50

Zeus Leonardo, Associate Professor of Education and affiliated faculty of the Critical Theory Designated Emphasis at the University of California, Berkeley, presents here a clearly-structured, compelling introduction to the main frameworks for teaching, researching and thinking about race and racism in education. This is an accessible, engaging volume aimed at students of education and critical race studies, together with educational practitioners and policymakers. Following the introduction, *Critical Frameworks on Race*, which gives an overview of the subsequent chapters, Leonardo explores, in turn, Critical Race Theory (CRT), Marxism, Whiteness Studies and Cultural Studies. His fifth and concluding chapter draws these frameworks together under the title *Race Ambivalence and a Multidimensional Theory of Racism and Education*.

Beginning with *Critical Race Theory in Education: On Racial State Apparatuses*, Leonardo organises each chapter into an introduction to the particular framework, and a second section that 'assesses the framework for what it illuminates about race (hermeneutics of empathy) as well as what it covers up (hermeneutics of suspicion)' (p.3). His *Appraisal of CRT, Race, and Education* critiques the intellectual movement of CRT, which was 'inspired by innovations in legal studies' (p.3), partly a response to Critical Legal Studies and Liberal Legal Studies, revealing how 'in effect, CRT grafts racial analysis onto class inequality wherein class "achieves a color" and becomes a variant of race' (p.5). The chapter investigates whether a 'Black or "endarkened" Marxism, or labor-informed CRT, is possible' (p.5).

Following Chapter 1 is *Marxism and Race: The Racialized Division of Labor*, where Leonardo begins by outlining how 'a Marxist-inspired version of race scholarship is not a racial analysis of race but a class analysis of racialization' (p.5), that 'racism... is really a variant of class disparity' (p.6). Marxism is shown to fall short of providing an adequate framework for an understanding of racism, since while racism 'certainly is complicated by class struggle, it is neither reducible nor explainable by appealing to Marxism', which in turn evades 'analysis of race relations' (p.6).

Whiteness Studies and Educational Supremacy: The Unbearable Whiteness of Schooling approaches the recent (arguably 20-year-old) Whiteness Studies, where 'Whiteness becomes the center of critique and transformation' (p.7). Leonardo stresses that, crucially, 'Whiteness is not coterminous with the notion that some people have lighter skin tones than others; rather, Whiteness, along with race, is the structural valuation of skin color, which invests it with meaning regarding the overall organization of education and society' (p.7). What recommends it as a framework, he suggests, are its focus 'on the deepest investment in raciology', essential to race relations; its 'avenue for progressive White educators to enter the race struggle as Whites'; and the fact that 'in education the emphasis on Whiteness reminds us that White children and adults relearn how to be White on a consistent basis, if not daily' (p.7).

The final framework is discussed in *Cultural Studies, Race Representation, and Education: From the Means of Production to the Production of Meanness*, focusing on 'issues of representation, language, and meaning', with race assuming 'a properly symbolic status' (p.8). Leonardo traces the impact of

Cultural Studies and the way 'we speak of race by representing it, but also it speaks through us as a corporeal, if not also material, experience... race is signified as an embodied meaning system wherein our flesh and blood are implicated in its circuits' (p.8). This chapter includes subsections on Race as a Field of Representation; Myth of Science and Math as Culture Free; Representations of Race as Relational; Making Racial Subjects; and Race and School Structure.

Finally, Race Ambivalence and a Multidimensional Theory of Racism and Education begins with Leonardo's take on post-racial America, following the 2008 election of Barack Obama, citing the late Tupac Shakur's track "Changes" which suggested it was unlikely for the United States to have a Black president. Leonardo then moves to an exploration of 'the insights of post-race writings within the general field of race theory', asking 'questions about the possibility of a "post-racial project"', and a presentation of 'post-race thinking... as precisely the opportunity that affords educators the space to move race pedagogy into a different direction' (p.146). He concludes that 'post-race thought is ultimately hopeful', a cognitive sublimation of 'racial anger' (p.166) into something more constructive and positive.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

TRANSFORMING PRACTICE: CRITICAL ISSUES IN EQUITY, DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

Edited by Janet Soler, Christopher S Walsh, Anna Craft, Jonathan Rix and Katy Simmons

Publisher: Institute of Education Press: London

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-1-85856-516-3 (paperback)

Pagination: pp.256

Price: £30.00

A critical reader aimed at students concerned with equity and diversity across educational sectors, and professionals wishing to transform and augment educational achievement. The five editors all teach at the Open University UK, their subject areas including education; educational ICT; inclusion, curriculum and learning; and inclusive and special education. The book, divided into four sections, examines ways that 'critical educational issues related to equity, diversity and social justice... are historically, culturally, economically and socially rooted in educational practice across diverse educational settings' (p.ix). It challenges practitioners to reflect critically on their own practice while deconstructing traditional pedagogies that are still failing many diverse children and young people.

Part I, Investigating educational issues in practice, looks at 'key theoretical concepts and perspectives underpinning critical theory and related research methodologies' (p.xii) in five chapters. Peter McLaren begins with Critical Pedagogy and the way it interrogates how and why knowledge becomes constructed in a certain way, and 'how and why some constructions of reality are legitimated and celebrated by the dominant culture while others clearly are not' (p.6), citing the U.S. example whereby science and maths are often favoured over the Humanities. Such imbalance has political import and can 'legitimate certain gender, class, and racial interests', begging the questions, 'whose interests does this knowledge serve?' and 'who gets excluded as a result?' (p.6).

The remaining chapters of Part I include The Framing of Performance Pedagogies: Pupil Perspectives on the Control of School Knowledge and its Acquisition; An Introduction to Teacher Research; Positivist Standards and the Bizarre Educational World of the Twenty-First Century; And Multiple Lives, Disparate Voices, Different Educational Experiences: The Power of Narrative Enquiry to Investigate Diversity and Inform Pedagogical Change.

Part II, Contemporary Examples of Innovative, Transformative Practice, includes an examination of fourth-grade students' questioning of advertising and other mass media output in Chapter 6; an exploration of the consequences generated when 'queerness enters the classroom' (p.84) in an unplanned, natural way in Chapter 7; an analysis of miseducation in the West and globally that has led at times to Islamophobia, in Chapter 8; and the presentation of a case study of an apparently inclusive Swedish classroom in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 reports on an ethnographic study that worked from the premise that 'in professional settings, young disabled children's "voices" may be in danger of remaining marginal' (p.115), and Chapter 11 discusses four 'Counternarratives disrupting normative and dominant discourses' (p.127).

The way critical theory often 'pushes people to take a political stance in relation to ideologies, positioning and values they find at odds to their own beliefs and ideas' is explored in relation to 'specific issues, contexts, and research activities' (p.xiv) in Part III. Chapter 12 looks at Len Barton, 'one of the pioneers of British disability studies' and applies his arguments to 'the contemporary societal position of disabled children, their families and key professionals that work around them' (p.139). Chapter 13 advances the conception of culture 'as practice and historically based' (p.151); Chapter 14 writes toward a critical race theory of education; Chapter 15 concerns theory, values and policy research in education; Chapter 16, an exploratory employment of Lefebvre's (1991) "Lived Space" and Bakhtin's (1984) work on 'open-ended dialogue' (p.183) to examine 'why living dialogic space is necessary to transformational change' (p.183).

Issues for 21st century practice are the subject of Part IV. Bronwyn Davies asks 'how do managerialist agendas play out in schools, and in particular how might the new push towards evidence-based practice be understood in this context?' (p.198). Marilyn Fleer, in the following chapter, asks 'How is the child situated: inside or external to the adult world?' raising issues such as the learning environment for young children, the value of group membership and educational outcomes for early childhood education. Chapters 19-21 comprise *Even in Sweden? Excluding the Included: Some Reflections on the Consequences of New Policies on Educational Processes and Outcomes, and Equity in Education; Feminist Class Struggle; Valuing Young People in Community Settings; and From Equality To Diversity? Ideas That Keep Us Quiet*. The book is essential reading for anyone involved in working with children, young people and adults in policy and practice areas such as health, social welfare, social justice, education and employment.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics and Government

Social Theory

MAKING EDUCATION WORK: HOW BLACK MEN AND BOYS NAVIGATE THE FURTHER EDUCATION SECTOR

Sheine Peart

Publisher: Institute of Education Press: London

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-1-85856-509-5 (paperback)

Pagination: pp.146

Price: £23.00

Sheine Peart, a teacher on the LLS teacher education programmes, the Education Masters courses and the Education Doctoral programmes at Nottingham Trent University, attempts in this book to transcend the 'negative encounters and academic failure of Black men and boys in the statutory sector and consider what happens to this group once they enter further education (FE)' (p.4). Many questions are posed, such as why so many Black boys manage to 'end up on the wrong side of discipline systems in both primary and secondary schools' (p.5), but the key concern is: 'how do Black men and boys perceive and experience education in FE?' (p.5). The book gives this group the opportunity to represent themselves in this regard, avoiding the limitations of other educational texts that describe

their experiences from a White perspective. The research centred around two FE colleges in the Midlands, one 'urban with an ethnically mixed and diverse client group, the other suburban with a largely White client group' (p.9).

Following the introduction, the second chapter of part one charts the academic underachievement of Black male students since the 1980s, which is nonetheless countered by 'increased engagement' (p.25) at the FE level, attainment rates much improving over those at secondary school level. Part 2, FE Culture and Organisations, examines first the institutional culture of FE colleges; for example the way in which FE, as choice driven rather than compulsory, 'has always been customer orientated' (p.33) and in which it has its origins in the Adult Education tradition. One respondent, Michael, comments on the difference: 'I suppose the rules are cool, 'cause like the rules here are basically just like standard life rules. I don't feel like I'm restricted' (p.34).

The value of humour and sharing jokes is discussed, and a relaxed and informal atmosphere. Academic organisation of FE is then investigated, beginning with the prime difference of schools having a statutory National Curriculum while FE has not. Respondents relished the range of courses that were available to them, and 'overall they enjoyed being liberated from what they perceived as the rigid constraints of their school timetables' (p.47). This enjoyment 'translated into academic achievement and successful course completion' (p.55) among the students involved in Peart's research.

Part 3, Routes to Success, opens with the influence of race on learning: 'Within the context of poor academic achievement and being identified as at best an outsider and at worst as an aggressive assailant, Black males face a choice – will they conform to imposed racialised stereotypes or will they present an alternative construction of themselves?' (p.59). This chapter describes presentations of Black masculinity within education. These include 'Challengers' such as the "rude-boy" stereotype – deliberately belligerent and aggressive, and 'cool pose' which is defiant but 'lacks the overt aggression of the rude-boy presentation' (p.61). The term 'Chameleons' includes 'open accommodators' who use modifications of 'dress, speech and demeanour' (p.63) as a way of 'surviving and accessing education' (p.63). 'Resistors' include 'guerillas', exercising 'their resistance through their work' (p.65). FE provides a less negative learning environment, whereas in school, 'many of the Black students believed the all pervasive nature of racism was so great, that in order to achieve anything at all, / they were compelled to make additional effort' (pp.75/76).

The significance of support for educational success is then explored, with 'most FE colleges [having] dedicated student support teams committed to helping students achieve their primary learning target' (p.77), and then the ways Black men and boys create their own support systems. These included three main types, family, staff and peer support. The chapter also records respondents' 'personal motivation and self-determination to succeed' as often 'accompanied by varying degrees of moral outrage and a deep-seated desire to prove others, often unhelpful or suspected racist school teachers, wrong', feelings that 'enabled Black men and boys to persist within education' (p.87).

In Part 4, Planning for the Future, Peart makes several recommendations. College staff, for example, should have 'appropriate attitudes' and be 'supportive of social justice and promoting change'; they need to be trained to 'work with and meet the needs of diverse client groups' (p.109); eradicating racism and building on existing support systems should also be worked on. A FE college is like a microcosm of the wider society, and as such needs to implement 'the mantra that "young people are part of the solution, not the problem" (Alexander and Potter, 2005: 198)' (p.117).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Social Theory

HISTORY

THE EMPIRE OF NECESSITY: THE UNTOLD HISTORY OF A SLAVE REBELLION IN THE AGE OF LIBERTY

Greg Grandin

Publisher: Oneworld: Great Britain, Australia & New York

Year: 2014

ISBN: 978-1-78074-410-0 (hardback)

ISBN: 978-1-78074-411-7 (ebook)

Pagination: pp.360

Price: £25.00

This compelling volume reads like an adventure story underpinned by historical detail. It centres on a mutiny on board the slave ship *Tryal* whereby all its crew were killed, bar one. The slave-rebels initiated a 'day-long deception' (p.8), fooling the unsuspecting Captain Amasa Delano into coming aboard the apparently troubled ship with water and supplies, finally leading to the descent of Delano's own crew into barbaric slaughter of the slave-rebels. Greg Grandin explores the paradox that 'the Age of Liberty... also was the Age of Slavery', revealing the way the events on board the *Tryal* 'expose [] a larger falsehood, on which the whole ideological edifice of slavery rested: the idea not just that slaves were loyal and simpleminded but that they had no independent lives or thoughts', or if they did, these were 'subject to their master's jurisdiction' (p.8).

The first chapter of Part I, *Hawks Abroad*, refers to the abhorred press gangs who prowled ports such as, in this case, Liverpool; 'once at sea sailors were subject to rule as feudal as the ancient régime and as brutal as the plantation. They could be flogged, tarred, feathered, keelhauled...' (p.20). Chapter 2 moves on to Montevideo, Río de la Plata's 'official slave harbor' (p.23). Grandin traces the voyage of the pirate François-de-Paule Hippolyte Mordeille, alias Captain or Citoyen Manco, a one-armed French Jacobin, on board his ship, *Hope*. Mordeille captured another ship, the *Neptune*, which was holding around 400 Africans. Some of the *Tryal* rebels were among them. Grandin makes use of documents and records that have never previously been consulted to unfold such events. By this time, 1804, exponential numbers of African slaves were arriving, often contraband, smuggled into Spanish America by pirates like Mordeille.

Chapters 4 and 5 reveal many of the horrors of the Middle Passage. Many of the East Africans aboard the ship *Joaquín*, for example, were said to have died from a combination of problems: 'intestinal illness aggravated by... nostalgia, melancholy, and brooding or mourning'. Two decades later, a greater insight had been achieved: 'it was as if each time a doctor threw back a slave hatch to reveal the human-made horrors below, it became just a bit more difficult to blame mental illness on demons and personal failings' (p.46). Following the conclusion of each of Grandin's sections is an Interlude. For Part I, it is entitled *I Never Could Look at Death without a Shudder*, a quote from Herman Melville, whose "other" masterpiece was *Benito Cereno*, based on the true story of the mutiny and deception on board the *Tryal*. Melville wrote of slavery, 'sin it is, no less... it puts out the sun at noon' (p.54).

Part II, *A Loose Fish*, turns to the personality of Amasa Delano, 'truly a new man of the American Revolution' who wanted to 'learn the story of the world' (p.69). Among many other adventures, he 'visited the offices of the Spanish Inquisition... was the first to tell in detail the story of the mutiny on the *Bounty* against Captain Bligh... described the Dutch roots of apartheid in South Africa' (p.70). He believed in 'reason, free will, and man's capacity for self-mastery... but what he found in the world

was quite different, something that didn't confirm his certainty but crushed it' (p.71). Part II ends with discussion of literary perspectives such as 1960s African American writers and activists' opinions of Benito Cereno as 'subversive' (p.92).

Part III deals with the horrific treks across the Andes with chained and shackled slaves; seal killing voyages; Part V, *If God Wills*, focuses on the revolt on board the *Tryal* and subsequent reversal of the Middle Passage. Part VI, *Who Aint A Slave?* brings us to the confrontation of Delano's ship *Perseverance* with the mutinous *Tryal* and the ensuing four-hour battle between the crews. Delano's power was 'not based on the demagogic pull of charisma but the everyday pressures involved in controlling labor and converting diminishing natural resources into marketable items'; pressurized by these circumstances, Delano 'rallies men to the chase, not of a white whale [as in Melville's *Moby Dick*] but of black rebels' (p.235). Finally, Part VII, *General Average*, reveals the disgraceful Delano still desperately attempting to reap monetary rewards from the experience. We are left with a sketch of his meagre estate: 'one threadbare hammock, assessed at fifty cents, an old pine writing desk.... And seven hundred copies of *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels*': the relics of one man's discreditable life.

Also relates to:

Social Theory

Arts, Sport and Literature

BLACKAMOORES: AFRICANS IN TUDOR ENGLAND, THEIR PRESENCE, STATUS AND ORIGINS

Onyeka

Publisher: Narrative Eye and The Circle with a Dot

Year: 2013

ISBN: 978-0-9533182-1-6

Pagination: pp.461

Price: £24.00

Onyeka presents the results of years of exhaustive research here to challenge accepted British history and allow the Black, or African, people living in Tudor times to take their place in the historic social fabric of the country. Whereas previously these Black people have been considered an anomaly, and their status automatically assumed to be as slaves, Onyeka's efforts restore these people and their circumstances to a degree of visibility. As he writes in his Preface, 'if we cannot see England clearly, do we imagine her as a book with white pages and no black letters in?' (p.5). He quotes Arthur Schomburg, who, speaking in 1921, said that African history represents 'the missing pages of history' (p.5). Onyeka began his research in 1986; five years later he decided to focus on the Tudor period, developing 'acute concerns about how English history was being presented in books such as those by the historian Geoffrey Rudolph Elton' (p.5). Such books did not acknowledge that Africans were present then, even though Tudor life in Britain comprised their subject matter. There was a silence and indifference among historians that Onyeka seeks to overturn.

In Chapter 1, Onyeka discusses the relative dearth of visual images of Africans in Tudor England, but also their presence in public documents such as the Letters of 1596 signed by Elizabeth I and a Proclamation from 1601 apparently written by the Queen, important because they 'raise issues that are pertinent to the status of Africans throughout the entire Tudor period' (p.41). The Letters and the Proclamation 'contain rhetoric directed against Africans' (p.52), but Onyeka concludes at the end of the chapter that 'the evidence infers that even those Africans who were servants had a position akin to that of indentured workers... but they were not regarded as "property" in the same way as a slave is' (p.98).

The 'meaning of the words used to describe the race and ethnic origins of Africans in Tudor England' (p.100) and the concomitant issues arising from this usage are the main subjects of the second chapter. Onyeka questions the claim of several historians that those people referred to as "Moors" in Tudor

documents 'are not "dark skinned" or "black Africans"' (p.100). He argues that despite a traditional view of the blackness of Africans as being considered negative by Tudor contemporaries, 'there are also positive stories about Africans that Tudor writers could and did refer to, and that these are likely to have neutralised any negative fantasies' (p.102). Together with a deluge of footnotes – Onyeka's bibliography is nothing if not extensive – there are colour illustrations such as Peter Paul Rubens' *Studies of the Head of a Negro* (c.1615), painted with profound sensitivity and humanity. The notion of 'otherness' in Tudor society is discussed; also the "curse of Ham" (p.120), whereby Ham's son Chus was supposedly 'cursed' and born 'black and loathsome' (p.119).

Africans from Continental Europe in Tudor England follows, covering Africans who came from Spain and Portugal; Iberian Africans living in Jewish households; and Iberian Africans in England in the latter part of the sixteenth century. One way of tracing these people is their presence on the coats of arms of European aristocratic families. The entourage of Katherine of Aragon included Africans. At least one of these Moorish women can be named, as Catalina de Cardones, who is referred to in contemporary documents as a 'More' and 'escravo' (p.198). Because Katherine's daughter, Mary I, grew up with Catalina and other Iberian African attendants, 'it is not surprising that Mary herself had an African in her employment... "Fraunces Negro" or "Fraunces ye negro"' (p.199).

In Chapter 4, the presence, origins and status of West Africans in Tudor England, such as Jacques Francis, are explored. An example is the "noble" West-African depicted in Sir Francis Drake's diadem, given to him by Elizabeth I in 1586 or 1588. The man's image 'looks detailed and intricate and... appears to have been created from a live subject' (p.250). He could have been a man called Diego Negro, a Symaron or Maroon, who came to England with Drake on 9 August 1573. In this chapter, there are also fascinating details such as what UNESCO has called the "African Ink Road" – 'literally a network of pathways by land and sea across the continent of Africa and beyond, that knowledge and commerce travelled along' (p.282). Onyeka completes this remarkable volume with a case study of an African man, Henrie Jetto, whose descendants are alive today, resident in Pembrokeshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire.

Also relates to:

Social Theory

Arts, Sport and Literature

THUNDER OF FREEDOM: BLACK LEADERSHIP AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF 1960S MISSISSIPPI

Sue [Lorenzi] Sojourner with Cheryl Reitan, Foreword by John Dittmer

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Year: 2013

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Written with Cheryl Reitan, veteran civil rights campaigner Sue [Lorenzi] Sojourner's volume draws upon her richly layered personal archive of documents, letters, journals, oral histories and photography from her time in Holmes County Mississippi during the period around 1964 when civil rights activists were in the process of launching an African American voter registration programme. Threatened and harassed by violent White supremacists, the politically active community which Sojourner belonged to in Holmes County played an essential role in the struggle for racial equality in Mississippi. The book is organised into four parts, each with four chapters, which in turn contain a subsection generically entitled *Their Stories*.... John Dittmer provides the foreword; Lawrence Guyot, *Reflections on the Local Movement*; while at the back of the book is a *Chronology of Movement Events in Holmes County and the United States* by Cheryl Reitan and Kimberly Stella. There is monochrome photography by Sojourner throughout.

Part I of this fascinating, vibrantly-retold chronicle, *Becoming Part of Holmes County*, opens with a transcription of testimony spoken by Hartman Turnbow, 'as told to Sue Lorenzi, September 1967' (p.1). Sojourner was in the habit of quickly writing down the words of the civil rights activists she worked with and the local people of the area, 'reproducing the best I could their phrasing, style, and diction' (p.xvii). Turnbow was telling Sojourner, "'You've gotta tell all that and how they was lynching and beating on Negroes / and just what life was like down here. / And then how it built up to the movement that come'" (p.1). Sojourner begins by narrating her own involvement in *From California to Mississippi, August-September 1964*. Alongside her husband Henry Lorenzi she 'felt the overwhelming tide of the civil rights movement and knew / we needed to be part of it somewhere...' (p.5). The account then negotiates *Early Voter Registration Efforts, Winter 1962-September 1964*; *Mileston, September-October 1964*; and the *Holmes County Community Center, November 1964-January 1965*, interspersed with the stories – swiftly-drawn, perceptive written portraits – of, variously, Sam and Laura Redmond, Ralthus Hayes, John Daniel Wesley, Shadrach "Crook" Davis, Norman and Rosebud Clark and Reverend Jesse James Russell.

Working with the People, the second part of the book, reveals Sojourner and her husband thoroughly integrated with Holmes County activist life, beginning with *The Congressional Challenge and Marching for Freedom*. In 1962, the US government 'had brought an action against the state of Mississippi... because "the voting rights of African American citizens had been violated"' (p.84). While the case continued to be fought, Black people carried on attempting to register to vote. Sojourner and Henry Lorenzi, in the midst of their activities, were at one point 'threatened with firearms' by White Mississippians; 'a felony crime, but the FBI treated it as a routine incident' (p.87). In effect they did not have the protection of the FBI. The section also covers *School Desegregation, Head Start*, and the *Medical Committee, spring 1965 to early 1966*; *Voter Registration, December 1964-December 1965*; and *The Greenville Air Base Demonstration and the Community Action Program, January-December 1966*.

Part III, *Building Political Strategies*, opens with *Political Organising, January-June 1966*, when they 'had already begun [the] long march to the November 1967 elections' (p.157), which included important local offices, and whereby, 'if we could / get enough blacks registered... we would be able to elect black supervisors, justices of the peace, and constables at beat level as well as such county officials as sheriff, circuit clerk, and state representative' (pp.157/158). Chapter 10 then discusses James Meredith's 220 mile *Memphis-to-Jackson March against Fear*, which unfortunately clashed with preparation for the 7 June Mississippi primary elections held two days afterwards. Chapter 11 deals with *The November 1966 Elections and Coalition Building, Fall 1966-January 1967*, and Chapter 12, *Reading "The Some People" Story and a Trip North, February-April 1967*.

The final part of Sojourner's narrative, *Developing the Slate of Candidates*, covers selecting Holmes Freedom Democratic Party candidates; a new campaign office in Lexington; boycotting Lexington businesses; the successful 1967 Holmes County elections with the triumphant *New York Times* headline, "Negro Elected to All-White Mississippi Legislature" (p.265). The last chapter is entitled, *Changed Lives, Celebrating the Movement and Its People*, and contains a fitting concluding photograph of comrades Robert Cooper Howard and Burrell Tate laughing together as they attend a Countywide Meeting.

Also relates to:

Politics

Social Theory

X – THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO AS A PROBLEM FOR THOUGHT

Nahum Dimitri Chandler

Publisher: Fordham University Press: New York

Year: 2014

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Focusing on a close re-reading of the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, Nahum Dimitri Chandler, who serves on the core faculty in African American Studies and the affiliated faculty in Comparative Literature at the University of California, Irvine, reveals how the idea of race and culture emerged at the same time as the inscription of the so-called Negro as central to a historical problematisation underscoring twentieth-century explorations of the crux of human existence. Chandler launches his complex, philosophically rigorous study with *Anacrusis* (the title employing a word derived from the Greek *anakrousis* or prelude), in which he dissects the first twelve opening words of W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*: 'Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question...' (p.2), demonstrating the manner in which he intends to proceed with his analysis: 'we shall try, then, to read with Du Bois; writing' (p.3).

The first chapter of four, *Of Exorbitance: The Problem of the Negro as a Problem for Thought*, is dedicated to the memory of Jacques Derrida, and opens with a declamatory establishment of the kind of analysis required here: 'in a classical philosophical opposition we are not dealing with the peaceful coexistence of a *vis-à-vis*, but rather with a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms governs the other (axiologically, logically, etc.), or has the upper hand...' (p.11). Chandler acknowledges the 'historical form of the problematization of existence' (p.12) at the heart of the situation of the African American; reassesses 'key themes and questions that marked out the terrain on which the discourses of the Negro later took shape in the Americas in the nineteenth century', such as, 'Are Negroes human, and if so, are they "fully" human?' as well as the implicit but ubiquitous question, 'what is the human?' (p.21); and the presence of 'dogmatism in the midst of the Enlightenment' (p.29). He debates the paradoxes and discourses governing and determining Du Bois's thinking; indeed he is concerned with 'reading Du Bois anew and of situating him as a thinker, rather than simply or primarily as an activist and political figure... which is still the overwhelming mode of approaching him' (p.55).

The second chapter, *The Figure of the X: An Elaboration of the Autobiographical Example in the Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois*, deals with the 'question of difference or the question of the other', with the need for an 'account of that structure of ontological possibility in which the practice of racial distinction opens, and to which the concept of race, and hence racist practice, is a certain kind of response...' (p.69), including an analysis of Du Bois's often-quoted assertion that 'the problem of the twentieth-century is the problem of the color-line' (p.72); and an examination of his autobiographical *Dusk of Dawn*.

Chapter 3, *The Souls of an Ex-White Man: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Biography of John Brown*, opens with *The Sight of Death*, a section in which Chandler discusses the 'narrative of the death or deaths, or lives, of John Brown' which contains an 'enigma that sets the stage or scene of W.E.B. Du Bois's telling of this tragic and beautifully difficult story' (p.112). John Brown was a "'White" man who died to achieve the freedom of the Negro' (p.113). Chandler asserts that in his retelling of Brown's martyrdom, Du Bois 'recognized... a... fundamental and radical orientation' in the man, that, 'we might say,... in order to live, he had to take this socially and historically granted [White] life and dispense with it, kill it, destroy it, give it up... he had to die twice: once as that ordinary historical being called a "White"

man and, again, as that flesh-and-blood being, John Brown' (p.115).

Following this fascinating section is *Originary Displacement: Or, Passages of the Double and the Limit of World*, beginning by questioning the very concept "America". This is elaborated upon by reference to Ralph Ellison's suggestion that "'It is possible that any viable theory of Negro American culture obligates us to fashion a more adequate theory of American culture as a whole'" (p.129). Chandler attests that we should perhaps 'generalize / and therefore radicalize W.E.B. Du Bois's formulation of the African American sense of identity as "a kind of double consciousness"...' (pp.130) in the face of racial distinction. The key issue, which he says is "'good to think with'", is that of the 'problematic identity' of 'the African American in what has historically become the United States' (p.130).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

MANHOOD ENSLAVED: BONDMEN IN EIGHTEENTH- AND EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW JERSEY

Kenneth E. Marshall

Publisher: University of Rochester Press: Rochester, NY & Woodbridge, Suffolk

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Pagination: pp.208

Price: £18.00

Kenneth E. Marshall takes 'previously understudied, white-authored nineteenth-century literature about New Jersey slaves as a point of departure' to reconstruct the lives of three male bondmen and their 'precarious day-to-day existence' (p.1). These are Yombo Melick, Dick Melick and Quamino Buccau (Smock). *Manhood Enslaved: Bondmen in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century New Jersey* uses two obscure examples of 'elite written texts' (p.2), *Memoir of Quamino Buccau, A Pious Methodist (1851)* by William J. Allinson, a New Jersey Quaker abolitionist, and *The Story of an Old Farm; or, Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century*, dictated by Andrew J. Mellick, Jr.

Having concluded his introduction by citing Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s 1997 book, *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man*, in which Gates 'dismisses the notion that black males are a monolithic group who approach their blackness in exactly the same ways' (p.14), Marshall begins his engaging study with *Black Images in White Minds*. Here, he contextualises the racialised accounts of the three chosen bondmen within the 'larger Western (White) mind of the mid to late nineteenth century', exploring the ways in which Yombo, Dick and Quamino are characterised not as 'real historical actors but as static and exotic objects largely acted upon by Whites, including the authors themselves' (p.15). He also reveals the way these rural Northern slaves conceptualised themselves as Black men, in spite of the White ideology that 'obscure[d their] gendered identities' (p.39).

Marshall's second chapter, *Powerful and Righteous*, further examines the life of Yombo, the 'malcontent' (p.12), with an analysis of a different text, from a speech given by the Reverend John Bodine Thompson, in which he gives an account of the joint suicide of an enslaved couple from West Africa. Marshall speculates that these people were Yombo's parents, extrapolating the influence of their resistance on Yombo. Suicide here was a 'political statement apparently sanctioned by the African couple's religious beliefs' (p.12). Religious faith 'played a prominent role in many West Africans' survival of their voyages to the North American colonies/...[and] may have continued to bolster their self-esteem and courage, served as their defense against personal degradation, and helped to keep alive their desire for freedom' (pp.44/45). The chapter delves into the processes of survival and resistance in the Middle Passage; 'in a way, Yombo's thievery and disagreeable disposition were

tributes to his deceased parents, who continued to influence and guide his life. Yombo refused to act as the obsequious servant his owners desired, for the memory of his parents' heroism would not allow it' (p.62).

Chapter 3 continues to focus on Yombo, examining why the local Whites particularly remembered him, contending that 'his obstinate persona was a creation of his circumstances under bondage and not a manifestation of his innate, intractable nature, as Andrew Mallick implied' (p.64). There is, among much other fascinating detail, an analysis of Truancy and the Appropriation of "Time" – 'in sum, the conception, utilization, and manipulation of time by White people dominated the lives of enslaved Blacks' (p.68). The example is given of Peter Demarest's slave Tom, who "'would run away and stay for weeks until his clothes were worn out, and he felt a longing for the comforts of his master's kitchen. Then he would return and go to work and continue in it until another freedom-seeking fit would overmaster him'" (p.69, *New Jersey Gazette*).

Threat of a (Christian) Bondman looks at the life of Quamino, who at near the age of 18, perceived Christianity 'as a means of presenting himself to his Patriot / owners as an agreeable or "good" slave' at the same time as engaging in the 'politics of self-presentation' (pp.86/87) as way to maintain inner strength. Marshall shows how despite the 'psychological trauma that he experienced in slavery and literally took to his deathbed, Quamino was a shrewd survivor of racial oppression who had, in a sense, learned how to psychologize white people' (p.108).

Chapter 5 tells the story of Dick Melick's survival of Northern slavery. Marshall's epilogue, *Losing It*, concludes the study with an incident concerning the slave York, owned by John Blanchard of Woodbridge, which could, he says, 'serve as a metaphor for black men living in American society throughout the ages' (p.135). Here, one bondman's enraged reaction to his situation goes some way to explaining 'why so many black males today remain angry in the age of the country's first black president' (p.138). Northern slavery was 'a battlefield where enslaved blacks fought whites for the preservation of their minds and bodies' (p.139).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

JOSEPHINE BAKER AND THE RAINBOW TRIBE

Matthew Pratt Guterl

Publisher: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England

Year: 2014

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Pagination: pp.250

Price: £21.95

Matthew Pratt Guterl reveals a remarkable, little-known aspect of Josephine Baker's life in his new biography, steering his narrative from Baker's poverty-stricken origins in 'the crudely segregated city of St. Louis', her flight to Manhattan, escaping race riots to search for 'a far bigger stage and much brighter lights', and her arrival in Paris where she 'transformed herself into an icon of race and sex' (p.2) – the world's first Black superstar. Guterl then turns to the period in her life when, thirty years later, her career was waning, and she reconfigured herself as the queen mother of the 'Rainbow Tribe'. She adopted twelve children, 'a big, dazzling, strange family... a metaphorical rainbow of colors and types, all raised in a castle in the midst of the Cold War' (p.5), revealing Baker as one of the 'most universally inventive, if strangely iconoclastic, theorists of antiracism' (p.9).

Guterl's first chapter explains the apparent death of Baker in 1942. A false obituary attributed her death to the Nazis. Other reports cited include the *Baltimore Afro-American*, which suggested that she was alive and well in the Arab quarter of Casablanca. It transpires that following a serious case of

peritonitis, a recovery and a come-back tour, she let it be known that she had lost an unborn child, although this is dismissed by Guterl as 'a canned, commodified fabrication' (p.21). While recovering from her illness, she began to project a vision of a fairy-tale life and then proceeded to construct it around herself. She married Jo Bouillon, and bought an old chateau in the Dordogne, Les Milandes, as the first steps towards the heretopia that this book portrays.

Chapter 2 describes how Baker, by the end of World War II, had developed a reputation as a 'national war hero... at odds with the sexualized, exotic, foreign public persona she'd established during the interwar years' (p.29). Now she needed to become a 'modern cosmopolitan', a 'serious champion of racial equality' (p.29). Guterl provides poignant commentary: 'if much of what we know about Baker's wartime life as a spy reads like Hollywood folklore, this is partly because she always hoped it would be a movie' (p.31). Baker is portrayed as constantly scene-setting and arranging her life, collecting people and animals around her, not to mention her vast array of outfits, costumes and accessories.

By 1951, Baker's tour had re-established her on the celebrity scene; she was singing on Broadway, her performance 'a kaleidoscope of racial and ethnic stereotypes' (p.47). She appeared in society magazines and while 'service to the cause of civil rights and racial equality went hand in glove with her new public life' (p.48), she balanced out the imposition of her earlier rumoured death with an 'epic spectacle' that saw her 'like Disney's Cinderella... practically float[ing] above a cartoon landscape of singing pets and adorable wildlife and warm-hearted French country folk' (p.49). At the same time, this was also the year that 'there simply was no "white" hotel in Atlanta with a room for Josephine Baker' (p.57), and 'encounters with Jim Crow escalated' (p.59).

Influences such as Eva Perón, with her own ideal of state motherhood and her 'miniature city built for poor children just outside Buenos Aires' (p.79), the Ciudad de los Niños, and parallels such as Pearl Buck's Pennsylvania adoption agency, are explored. Regarding Baker's aim to create 'une famille panachée', opinion was divided as to whether this was a 'fantastic family of all colors with Baker as mother [or] "an interracial experiment" managed by the human rights activist Baker as a distant caretaker' (p.87). Many astounding elements of the story are brought together. 'In 1956,' Guterl recounts, 'Marianne and Brahmin, both from Algeria, arrived. Then Koffi came from Côte d'Ivoire and Mara from Venezuela. Poor Noël, found in a trash heap on Christmas Eve, was brought to Les Milandes in 1959...' (p.95). All were 'racial exemplars, or stereotypes brought to life' (p.95).

Subsequent chapters chart the development of the family, the rise and fall of Baker's revamped career, her involvement in civil rights activism, and her final demise following, 'as one might expect.....a final burst of energy, an enthusiastic leap into the spotlight one last time, a last commercialization of the self for the good of all' (p.185). However, already the world was 'drifting toward a future in which Josephine Baker and the Rainbow Tribe seemed like a rather quaint reminder of the past' (p.184). Despite potential accusations of megalomania and child exploitation, it seems that Baker's intentions were always for the good of all.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

History

THE FANTE AND THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

Rebecca Shumway

Publisher: University of Rochester Press: Rochester, NY & Woodbridge, Suffolk

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In her introduction, Rebecca Shumway crystallizes the essential question that is at the core of this meticulous study of the people of Ghana's Gold Coast during the period of the Atlantic slave trade. She enquires how it came to be that Thomas Melvil, governor of Ghana's British Settlements, writing in 1753, two years into his residency and possessing 'extensive knowledge of the slave trade' could describe the Africans of 'Fanteland's' Anomabo as 'Masters', asking 'who were these Africans who had such a formidable reputation with the English governor of Cape Coast Castle?' (p.2). The book narrates the development of an African elite built on slave brokerage, as well as the history of the African captives sold into slavery between 1700 and 1807, encompassing a detailed account of economic growth, state formation, political structuring and cultural shifts.

The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade diverges from previous accounts of the relationship between Fante political history and the Atlantic slave trade, which have tended to focus on and to amalgamate Akan ancestry; the period of the gold trade (fifteenth to seventeenth century); or the era of British colonial rule. Instead, it emphasises the development of 'Fanteland', a location of specific language and culture, the eighteenth-century political unification of the coastal people, and the creation of a coalition government, which Shumway refers to as the Coastal Coalition, and which 'enabled coastal groups to cope with the violence and devastation presented by the Atlantic slave trade – and the concurrent expansion of the Asante kingdom – while capitalizing on the opportunities that the expansion of slave trading presented' (p.11).

The first chapter, *Selling Gold and Selling Captives*, contextualises these paradigm shifts and outlines the history of southern Ghana in relation to the developing Atlantic World, as the 'first two-hundred years of European trade on Ghana's coastline', in gold, was overtaken by the new commodity of enslaved Africans. However, the point is made that unlike many other peoples of Atlantic Africa, the experience of urbanisation through the gold trade equipped them with 'commercial and diplomatic skills for Atlantic trade' which gave them an advantage, allowing them to 'chart a path toward sovereignty and unity in a way that was not possible elsewhere' (p.52).

Fanteland in the Atlantic World pursues this theme of initiation into eighteenth-century slave trading. While underlining the inappropriateness of any suggestion that 'the transatlantic slave trade was a boon to any African population', Shumway shows how 'a variety of conditions... created by the slave trade opened up opportunities for economic growth and state formation in southern Ghana' (p.53). Divided into two sections, this second chapter examines the economic history of the area in the eighteenth century, covering 'the expansion of the slave trade on the Gold Coast and in the hinterlands.... The unique impact of forts and castles – left over from the era of the gold trade – on the developing slave trade, and... the rivalry between English and Dutch traders' (p.54). The second section of the chapter looks at Anomabo specifically, as the principal slave market.

Chapter 3, *A New Form of Government*, explores the creation and development of the Coastal Coalition, prior to its 1807 defeat by Asante. Shumway divulges this political transformation through 'a new interpretation of southern Ghana's political history between 1700 and 1807' (p.89), by examining 'internal dynamics', such as 'the rise of a new warlord elite... and the commercial development of Anomabo' (p.90), using a combination of 'different types of European correspondence and records, oral tradition, and ethnography' (p.91). The leaders of the Coastal Coalition, 'whose authority rested variously on political office, military prowess, sacred power, and personal wealth', are revealed as 'guiding the people of Fanteland through the era of the slave trade' (p.131).

Shumway's concluding chapter, *Making Fante Culture*, turns away from the political and economic arena of southern Ghana and towards the social and cultural world through which the common people, rather than the elite, forged their shared identity. For example, two institutions key to the development of Fante culture are described, 'the religious shrine known as Nananom Mpow and the asafo militia companies', the former providing 'spiritual protection', the latter unifying people 'by

strengthening relationships between people unrelated by kinship' (p.133). Shumway's study makes an immensely valuable contribution to the field of African studies and the story of the Atlantic World. As she points out, the ramifications of the slave trade on 'entire subcontinental regions', on the demographics, economics and political organisation of Africa and America, 'could be fully appreciated only in hindsight' (p.156).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

THE LEGAL UNDERSTANDING OF SLAVERY: FROM THE HISTORICAL TO THE CONTEMPORARY

Editor: Jean Allain

Publisher: Oxford University Press: Oxford

Year: 2012

ISBN: 978-0-19-966046-9 (hardback)

Pagination: pp.396

Price: £60.00

An edited collection published at a time when slavery and people trafficking are salient social problems, this is the first full-length study of the legal definition of slavery and the only edition to embrace both the historical and the contemporary perspective. The book is the result of two years of United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded (AHRC) activities under the AHRC's Research Network Scheme, beginning with two symposia, *Considering the Parameters of Slavery* and, at Harvard University, *The Legal Parameters of Slavery: Historical to the Contemporary*. The most important outcome was the Bellagio-Harvard Guidelines on the Legal Parameters of Slavery, reproduced here for the first time, originating in re-evaluations of the 1926 definition of slavery established by the League of Nations ('slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised' [p.v]), which underpin the main themes of the book.

The first of four sections, *Historical Readings of the Law of Slavery*, encompasses the writings of Antony Honoré, emeritus Regius Professor of Civil Law at the University of Oxford, who takes Roman law as his starting point; R.H. Helmholz, Ruth Wyatt Rosenson Distinguished Service Professor of Law at the University of Chicago, who explores slavery's definition in the 'medieval and early modern *ius commune*' (p.17); and Bernard K. Freamon, Professor of Law at Seton Hall Law School and Director of the Law School's Program for the Study of Law in the Middle East and its Zanzibar Program on Modern Day Slavery and Human Trafficking, who puts the case for Islamic jurisprudence as a system that acknowledged the need for emancipation. John W. Cairns, Professor of Legal History in the University of Edinburgh, examines the situation in eighteenth-century Scotland; and Seymour Drescher, Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh, broadens the scope of the section to embrace slavery in international law and the movement towards 'a normative, political and imperial consensus' (p.102) on slavery as criminal in the 1880s and the concomitant creation of 'new sources of extreme coercion' (p.102).

The second section, *The American Experience: Blurred Boundaries of Slavery*, opens with Paul Finkelman tracing the history of United States slavery from the development of a legal system to 'accommodate and perpetuate slavery within a common law regime that was essentially hostile to human bondage' (p.105) in colonial Virginia, to 'the Supreme Court and Africans as People and Property: The Antelope Case', and on to Abolition. Allison Mileo Gorsuch presents 'To Indent Oneself: Ownership, Contracts, and Consent in Antebellum Illinois; Rebecca J. Scott contributes 'Under Color of Law: *Siliadin v France* and the Dynamics of Enslavement in Historical Perspective; and Stanley L. Engerman 'The Rise, Persistence, and Slow Decline of Legal Slavery'. Concluding the section is 'The Abolition of Slavery in the United States: Historical Context and its Contemporary Application' by

William M. Carter, Jr.

In Section 3, *The 1926 Definition in Context*, Jean Allain engages with the establishment of a legal regime on an international level by the League of Nations and the 1926 Slavery Convention; the replacement of the League of Nations by the United Nations post-WWII, the 1956 Supplementary Convention and the separate Apartheid Convention. Robin Hickey then focuses in detail on aspects of the exact meaning of slavery, such as the 'incidents of ownership' (p.223): the rights to possess, to use, to manage, to the income, to the capital, to security; 'Incidents of transmissibility and absence of term'. J.E. Penner scrutinizes equally closely *The Concept of Property and the Concept of Slavery*, in an attempt to establish whether someone is still a slave if the slave-owner has not exercised the power of ownership over them. Joel Quirk explores variations of human bondage that do not 'reach the relevant thresholds associated with slavery' (p.262), but, in the cases of 'forced marriage and forced military service' (p.277), should perhaps now be classified as such.

The concluding section, *Contemporary Slavery*, continues this interrogation with Kevin Bales' *Slavery in its Contemporary Manifestations*, Holly Cullen's *Contemporary International Legal Norms on Slavery: Problems of Judicial Interpretation and Application*, and Orlando Patterson's *Trafficking, Gender and Slavery: Past and Present*. Finally, Kevin Bales responds to Orlando Patterson's chapter, in which Patterson critiques Bales' contribution; and Orlando Patterson's 'Rejoinder' written, in turn, in response to Kevin Bales. The 2012 Bellagio-Harvard Guidelines on the Legal Parameters of Slavery appear in the appendices along with the 1926 Slavery Convention and the 1956 Supplementary Convention.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

DEATH AND THE MIGRANT: BODIES, BORDERS AND CARE

Yasmin Gunaratnam

Publisher: Bloomsbury: London & New York

Year: 2013

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Drawing on a rich array of oral history, ethnographical accounts, philosophy and feminist scholarship, *Death and the Migrant: Bodies, Borders and Care* reveals a new perspective on transnational dying, the gift of care given by migrant workers recruited to the British National Health Service, and the history of the modern-day hospice movement. It is not, Yasmin Gunaratnam says, 'primarily a book about loss. My hope is that the stories will show the vitality and musicality of human experiencing right up to the point of death' (p.8). The book can be read as 'a compilation of short stories about migrant lives and end-of-life care...' or as 'a fleshy account of geo-social politics from below' (p.22).

Section 2, *Eros*, explores the work of evangelical Christian doctor Cicely Saunders, who 'envisioned' (p.24) the first palliative care hospice, St Christopher's in Sydenham, south-east London, which opened in 1967. Gunaratnam assembles a collage of fragments of experience, liminal spaces and hidden histories by sifting through details of David Tasma, a dying Polish Jew befriended by Saunders in 1948; documents from The Cicely Saunders Archive at the King's College campus; and the work of contemporary artists: Tania Kovats' audio-visual installation, *Birch*; Caroline McCarthy's *Light for Cicely*. The chapter poses questions such as 'is the modern hospice movement an allegoric mirror

image of the Holocaust, reversing the philosophy and regimes of the camps and ghettos that sought to inflict total suffering and abjection to the point of death?' (p.29).

Section 3, *Thanatos*, asks 'how to interpret diseased bodies, their gestures and rhythms as signs?' (p.42). Next, *A Catch*, begins with the author's childhood memory of being confronted one lunchtime by a frightening woman, which leads her to consider the necessity of avoiding the tendency to 'colonize the unsaid and to suggest that bodies – breath, swallowing or skin – "speak"', quoting film-maker and writer Trinh T. Minh-ha: 'Reality is delicate.... My irreality and imagination are otherwise dull. The habit of imposing a meaning to every single sign'' (p.44). This section also discusses the idea of White medical staff misinterpreting apparent oversensitivity (to being touched, bathed, moved, by nurses) as paranoia, and focuses on the case of Maxine Lewis, a Baptist retired nursing auxiliary who is now a patient herself. There is a poignant reflection on the question, 'what if restlessness, paranoia and hypersensitivity are a body's testimony to its past and not only a recent past?' (p.55).

The book contains remarkable insights into illness: 'the conjoined twins of disability and disease pull Violet in different directions. The left side of her body is leaden and icy, drooping downwards in a yogic hyper-relaxation. Her upper-right-side, skewered by the tumour, lists feverishly away from the left in a new growing compulsion' (p.58). Gunaratnam writes about becoming 'entangled' with James's 'anxiety and nervousness': as she interviews the Kenyan man dying from HIV-related cancers of the throat and lungs, 'I felt small rushes of adrenalin and pinpoints of heat igniting in my face as we moved towards and then around incriminating words and topics' (p.73).

Section 8 explores the importance of music, beginning with a description given by the 'pioneer of music thanatology, Therese Schroeder-Sheker, a musician, clinician and educator' (p.81), who, confronted by a man dying of emphysema, in pain and unable to swallow, felt such 'distress and forsakenness that... [she]/climbed into the old man's bed and... in this intimate cradling, with heads and hearts aligned, Therese began to sing and sway their bodies in rhythm' (pp.81/82). It also examines the reverberations in a hospital or hospice ward when Western 'cultural expectations are breached' (p.86) by the ululation of mourners.

The section on Pain returns to Cicely Saunders and her preoccupation with the 'challenges of alleviating the chronic pain that characterizes terminal disease' (p.138). Saunders gathered hundreds of patient case studies 'and used them, together with patient interviews, drawings, poems and paintings, to develop her ideas for hospice care and for pain alleviation' (p.138). Gunaratnam rounds off this fascinating assemblage of testimony with a poem, *Geese*, by John Burnside, and an appendix on *Research and Methods* which concludes by citing Michael Ondaatje's explanation of how 'materials can cultivate and draw out thinking and writing': "'I still believe the most beautiful alphabet was created by the Sinhalese... Sanskrit was governed by verticals, but its sharp grid features were not possible in Ceylon. Here the Ola leaves which people wrote on were too brittle. A straight line would cut apart the leaf and so a curling alphabet was derived from its Indian cousin'' (p.161).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

Social Theory

History

BAD NEWS FOR REFUGEES

Greg Philo, Emma Briant & Pauline Donald

Publisher: Pluto Press: London; Palgrave MacMillan: New York

Year: 2013

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Pagination: pp.203

Price: £17.00

A forensic examination of the media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the United Kingdom and the negative effects this has not only on the public's perceptions of these groups, but on the everyday lives of immigrants, both new and established. Alternative perspectives are delineated, and the study is aimed at those concerned with the consequences of misleading media accounts on vulnerable communities in British society. Following an overview of existing research, the context of British media coverage of the subject from two key periods, 2006 and 2011, is analysed, ending with interviews with a range of experts in the area of media accounts creation, and individuals with direct experience of the impact of media production on those seeking asylum. Finally, UK citizens from 'established migrant communities' (p.1) are interviewed.

Divided into five parts, each with numerous subtitled sections, the first, *A Brief History of Contemporary Migration and Asylum*, examines political, economic and environmental contexts, migration on a global and on a UK level. This ranges from detail such as the Coca-Cola company's production process which led to 'the draining of local water supplies in India and Mexico, impacting on subsistence farming and local health, and forcing people to buy Coca-Cola as there was no water to drink' (p.17), to the UNHCR data that shows "'conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan accounted for more than half of the world's refugees", forced from their countries by US and British-led conflicts' (p.25).

Part 2, *Methods, Explanations and Perspectives on Asylum*, begins with methodology, which for this study was both qualitative and quantitative. Thematic analysis is used to establish which of the competing perspectives in the areas of debate are dominant and which are fragmentary or indeed absent. This part gives main 'explanations and perspectives on asylum in the United Kingdom', for example "Abuse" of the Asylum System by "Illegal Immigrants" is followed by 'Alternative Perspectives', and tackles assumptions that 'a "failed asylum seeker" must be an "illegal immigrant" who tried to "abuse" the system' (p.33). Other views include "Soft Touch" Britain Takes Too Many; A Burden on Welfare and the Job Market; and The Benefits of Immigration.

Part 3, *Media Content: Press and TV Samples, 2006*, looks at case studies in this period, with an introduction to TV news content and an introduction to newspaper content. The TV sample was drawn from news items on BBC1, BBC2, ITV and Channel 4, the press sample from items in the Daily Mail, the Daily Express, the Sun, the Mirror, The Times, the Guardian and the Telegraph. Eight key themes emerged, which this section then discusses in turn: these include 'conflation of forced and economic migration', 'criminality, threat, deportation and human rights', 'the need for immigration control' and 'problems facing asylum seekers' (p.57).

Case studies of Media Content, 2011, follows in Part 4. The qualitative TV sample here was taken from June 2011 when the government asylum case backlog was cleared; 'a Home Affairs Select Committee

Report criticised the way this was done, likening it to an “amnesty” for asylum seekers’ (p.87). In terms of the 146 press statements reported, only five were from asylum seekers or refugees themselves – ‘3.4 per cent of the total’ (p.94).

For Part 5, Impacts of Media Coverage on Migrant Communities in the United Kingdom, a series of focus groups of four or five members each were interviewed, each group made up of people from the Asian or Afro-Caribbean communities. Five questions were asked, with members answering in writing, material which formed the basis of discussion. Questions included: ‘Do you think that media coverage has affected how people in the UK think about refugees and asylum seekers? If so, how?’ (p.131). One asylum seeker from Sudan said that ‘“Children in school started telling our asylum seeker children, ‘I saw you on TV, you are not normal’, and they make our children not feel they belong here because they are different”’ (p.160).

Despite the fact that this book reveals many negative and unpleasant attitudes within British society, abetted by a sometimes highly prejudiced media, it also suggests that ‘we must go beyond simply criticizing such coverage and argue for a humane and rational approach to the issue of refuge and asylum... we can demand accuracy and balance in media reporting, but also humanity in public life and political policy’ (p.169).

Also relates to:

Economics and Globalisation

Social Theory

History

SOCIAL THEORY

ISLAMIC FASHION AND ANTI-FASHION: NEW PERSPECTIVES FROM EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Editors: Emma Tarlo and Annelies Moors

Publisher: Bloomsbury Academic: London & New York

Year: 2013

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Pagination: pp.294

Price: £19.99

This compelling and innovative interdisciplinary book brings a contemporary global perspective to Islamic dress, with contributions from 16 academics and PhD students, the fashion photographer Alessia Gammara and the editors. Emma Tarlo is Professor of Anthropology at Goldsmiths, London; Annelies Moors an anthropologist and professor of contemporary Muslim societies at the University of Amsterdam. Their shared interest in Muslim dress around the world led to a joint edit of a double issue of the journal *Fashion Theory*, which included pieces about Egypt, India, Iran, Turkey, West Africa and Yemen. The current study constitutes an expansion of the debate about Muslim sartorial choices within Europe and North America.

The five sections of the volume present a set of ‘ethnographic and analytical tools for analysing... What such a concept as global fashion might mean in practice’ (p.25). The first section, *Location and the Dynamics of Encounter*, comprises Pia Karlsson Minganti’s appraisal of the controversial article of clothing invented in Australia and popularised by Turkish company Haçema, the burqini, which permits modesty while swimming; A. Brenda Anderson and F. Volker Griefenhagen’s survey of *Covering Up on the Prairies: Perceptions of Muslim Identity, Multiculturalism and Security in Canada*; and Emma Tarlo’s *Landscapes of Attraction and Rejection*, looking into cosmopolitanism and ethnicity in London’s Islamic fashion scene. These are followed by *Perspectives on Muslim Dress in Poland*:

A Tatar View, where Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska and Michał Łyszczarz evoke the dual impacts of 'ethnic traditions and the confrontation with other Muslims' (p.93) faced by Polish Tatars.

Histories, Heritage and Narrations of Islamic Fashion opens with Rustem Ertug Altınay's portrait of Şule Yüksel Şenler: An Early Style Icon of Urban Islamic Fashion in Turkey, followed by a charting of The Genealogy of the Turkish Pardösü in the Netherlands by R. Arzu Ünal, and finally Maria Curtis's examination of Ottoman and Turkic culture in Houston, the wearing of pardesü ('a long overcoat resembling a stylish trench-coat' [p.146]) typical of "Islamist yuppies" (Jenny White, 2003: 47); and the construction of 'modest wardrobes' (p.149) – without veils but with certain conservative elements.

Section III explores the global context for marketing Islamic fashion. Transnational Networks of Veiling-fashion between Turkey and Western Europe begins with co-authors Banu Gökarıksel and Anna Secor's visit to the Berlin branch of Tekbir, 'the leading designer and manufacturer of Islamic fashion in Turkey' as they explore the 'geography of exports and sales' (p.159); Leila Karin Österlind presents Made in France: Islamic Fashion Companies on Display, with case studies of companies Amal-mode in Paris, Knz-couture in Lille and the Belgian Saouli, founded by designer Karima Saouli and her sister. Reina Lewis examines Hijab on the Shop Floor: Muslims in Fashion Retail in Britain focussing on stores in London, Bradford and Manchester to ask, 'what is the impact of sartorially Muslim women behind as well as in front of the shop counter?' (p.181).

For Islamic Fashion in the Media, Emma Tarlo begins with an interview with the fashion blogger, designer and "cover girl" for the book, Zinah Nur Sharif, in "Fashion is the Biggest Oxymoron in My Life", revealing fascinating insights into such issues as the compatibility of modesty and fashion, religious belief and, for example, 'figure-hugging clothes' (p.206). Degla Salim then engages with the subject of Mediating Islamic Looks with an analysis of the hijab designer Mejsa, illustrating "Islamic fashion" through focussing on how young hijab-wearing women in Sweden understand diverse types of fashion imagery' (p.210). Connie Carøe Christiansen then looks at the fashion contest, Miss Headscarf, in Islamic Fashion and the Danish Media.

The final section of this illuminating volume, Dynamics of Fashion and Anti-Fashion, ranges from Annelies Moors exploring Fashion and Its Discontents: The Aesthetics of Covering in the Netherlands, to The Clothing Dilemmas of Transylvanian Muslim Converts by Daniela Stoica, to "I Love My Prophet": Religious Taste, Consumption and Distinction in Berlin, where Synnøve Bendixsen shows how 'the dress styles of a group of young Muslim women in Berlin are formed in relation both to spatial factors and to the dress politics of a moderate, but what may be considered as a conservative, religious organization.... Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland (Muslim Youth in Germany; MJD)' (p.274). The book collectively and vividly highlights the ways in which young Muslim women in Europe and America off-set certain stereotypical views of Muslim women by 'wearing fashionable styles, blogging about fashion, creating outfits from unexpected combinations and introducing new colours, patterns and silhouettes to the urban landscape' (p.19).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

History

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF DRESS: GLOBAL FASHION AND FAITH

Lynne Hume

Publisher: Bloomsbury Academic: London & New York

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Pagination: pp.176

Price: £19.99

Lynne Hume sweeps the reader along a sensual and sensorial journey as she investigates the meaning of religious dress from a global and ethnographic perspective. The book presents dress as an 'active participant in human lives', showing how religious dress 'affects the wearers and their relationship to what they believe' (p.2) as well as a means of defining which religion they belong to, and, within that religion, an indication of their status, power, agency, identity and specific beliefs.

In the first of three parts, Western Monotheistic Religions are the focus of three subsections, beginning with Chapter 1, Hierarchies and Power: Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church. Here, the gender division in dress is explored, whereby 'the female dress of the Roman Catholic Church lacks the elaborate richness of the male hierarchy and is much more modest... usually black or black and white, articulating the lowly status of women religious' (p.15). The finery of the male vestments is described; the trimmings of the shoulder cape – scarlet for cardinals and red for bishops; the headdresses including the silk skullcap or zucchetto, the palliums of white lambswool 'decorated with five red or black crosses' (p.17). Exploration of changes in the Vatican from the 1950s is followed by Spreading the Word: Missions, Authority and the Indigenization of Christianity, and Crosses, Rings, Rosaries and Memento Mori.

Chapter 2, Simplicity and Humility: Anabaptist Orders of Amish, Hutterites and Mennonites, contrasts the habits of opulence with those of 'community, simplicity and humility, as well as isolation and conformity' (p.35). The conservative nature of the plain dress of these people visually emphasises their separateness from the rest of the world. For the Amish, 'homemade clothing extends to wedding dresses... they may be navy blue, sky blue or shades of purple... instead of a veil, the bride wears a white prayer cap on her head and an apron over her dress, indicating her readiness at all times for work even on her wedding day' (p.41).

Two other major monotheistic world religions are the subject of Chapter 3 – Judaism and Islam. Judaism, the 'religion of the ancient Israelites' (p.50), has very specific laws and standards pervading almost all aspects of life, dress included. Ultra-Orthodox Jews still adopt traditional dress, such as the kittel, 'a white, shroud-like linen gown that signifies purity, holiness, humility and new beginnings' (p.52), worn for special ritual occasions. The Torah forbids the mixture of linen and wool (i.e., from sheep, lambs and rams) in clothes, although wearing linen over a woollen garment is permitted, 'since they are not attached to each other' (p.53). American modern Orthodox Jews, on the other hand, as young adults, 'might demonstrate their Jewish identity in somewhat rebellious ways... the traditional nonleather shoes worn at Yom Kippur might appear as canvas sneakers or colourful plastic Crocs...' (p.59).

For Muslims, each 'deemed personally accountable to God' (p.62), the Shari'ah or sacred law 'contains teachings and practices for everything concerning Muslim life' (p.62). In the subsection Touch, Sound and Perfume, Hume records that the Prophet Muhammad favoured the use of tattoos, kohl and perfume, and that 'within the enclosures of the Moroccan harem in which Fatima Mernissi, the Moroccan feminist writer and sociologist, was born and raised' (p.67), she remembers the women dressing in their favourite clothes, burning musk or amber, and letting the scented smoke permeate

the fabric and their long unbraided hair. Later in the chapter, Hume describes the contemporary 'burqini' (a conflation of burqa and bikini), 'a top-to-toe two-piece Lycra swimsuit with hijab attached' (p.75).

The section on Eastern Religions dazzles the reader with references to saris shimmering with 'sequins, beads and mirrors' (p.80); 'jingling, glittering nose rings and anklets that make sounds as they walk' (p.84); Buddhist mala beads of 'crystal, pearl, mother-of-pearl, white lotus seed, moonstone, conch shell or ivory' (p.119), East Asian kashaya woven from 'exquisite brocades decorated with gold leaf, gold threads and embroidery' (p.120).

The third and final part, *The Mystical and the Magical*, explores groups which 'call on, and incorporate, both internal spiritual practices and external methods of achieving an altered state of consciousness that leads to a metaphysical outcome' (p.127). First, Sufis, Indigenous Shamans and Modern Pagans, followed by *Possession: Vodou, Santería and Candomblé*, with fascinating descriptions of ceremonial dress and rituals such as spiritual marriage or honouring a spirit. This book, essential reading for those studying anthropology, fashion, textiles, sociology or cultural studies, brings to life the 'transformative process that occurs when one dons sacred garments' (p.9) – a sensorial articulation of faith.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

History

GHOSTS OF JIM CROW: ENDING RACISM IN POST-RACIAL AMERICA

F. Michael Higginbotham

Publisher: New York University Press: New York & London

Year: 2013

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Price: £30.00

Inspired by the 2009 inauguration of America's first Black president, Barack Obama, F. Michael Higginbotham unfolds the historic formation of the racial paradigm, which he reveals as comprising three elements: 'the misguided belief in both white superiority and black inferiority... the practice of separating blacks from the rest of the American community... and the continuing victimization of blacks, both by whites and by blacks themselves, through overt and covert practices including race-neutral laws and policies that have a disproportionate negative impact on blacks' (p.28). Higginbotham then explores how persistent the racial paradigm is today before offering 'resolution to finally move America beyond race' (p.28).

The three components to the racial paradigm define the three chapters of Part I: *Creating the Paradigm: Racial Hierarchy*, which discusses the American nation's 'early efforts to legitimize the insidious notions of racial / hierarchy and separation' (pp.40/41). Racial categorization or classification is shown to have 'entrenched notions of white superiority and black inferiority', the latter defined as a 'legal construct' (p.62) in Chapter 1, from the time of the arrival of the first blacks in Jamestown Colony, Virginia in 1619 through the colonial period to the Civil War.

Chapter 2 looks at *Maintaining White Dominance during Reconstruction*, where, post-Civil War, 'slavery ended in name only', as a 'new racial schism of white superiority/black inferiority and black separation' (p.63) was unleashed. After the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, many southern states initiated the 'Black Codes' – laws 'directed at newly freed blacks – effectively reenslaving them' by subjecting them to 'vagrancy and curfew laws' leading to their subsequent conviction and imprisonment followed by 'convict labor provisions' (p.63).

Preventing Excellence between Plessy and Brown examines the ways racial segregation removed the possibility of blacks competing with whites. The creation of the term 'Jim Crow' and the 'discriminatory laws and policies that separated Blacks after Reconstruction' (p.86) are outlined, revealing how economic opportunities for Blacks were denied, how Blacks were excluded from living in certain areas and employment in certain jobs, and how Black 'inventions and technological advancements' (p.87) were ignored. The extreme violence of White supremacist race riots at Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898, is described, along with the occupation by 1899 of all southern state governments by White Democrats 'committed to separation of Blacks' (p.91) and the "separate but equal" doctrine introduced by the Plessy ruling.

Part II: Sustaining the Paradigm: White Isolation and Black Separation and Subordination examines Maintaining Racial Segregation in Schools and Neighborhoods from Brown to the 21st Century in Chapter 4. Here, the shortcomings of the second Brown ruling, Brown II, in which the Court declared 'that the Black school children were entitled to attend a desegregated school' (p.120), but unfortunately allowed states to 'make exceptions to desegregation' and failed to require 'immediate desegregation' (p.122).

In Chapter 5, Victimized Blacks in the 21st Century, Higginbotham writes about racial discrimination in the education system, about Black economic inequality, Black stereotypes in the criminal justice system, the excessive separation of Blacks and Whites in housing, together with sections on Disparities in Homelessness, Racial Bias in Politics, and Black Self-Victimization, illustrating how the 'paradigm persists and thrives' (p.178) into contemporary times.

The final part of the book, Ending the Paradigm: Building a Post-Racial America, interrogates the idea that with the election of Obama, the racial paradigm can be broken down. Already, Higginbotham states, 'when we elected Obama, we, as a society, looked beyond racial differences and focused on our needs as a whole. Our unity is evidence that many of us desire to no longer embrace the paradigm of isolation and victimization' (p.178). In Chapter 6, Black Empowerment and Self-Help, he emphasises the power of the individual to control their own destiny, and raises the issue that some Black people may overestimate the role of racism, but maintains that most Blacks do not 'suffer from "victimology" thinking' (p.183). He argues the case for Black empowerment educationally, economically and politically, for example advocating a 'constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to education' (p.185); an effort on the part of Congress to establish 'parity in home ownership' (p.188), and that states 'reform the redistricting process by creating independent commissions' using a 'diversity-in-representation mandate' (p.193) to improve the diversity of a state's elected officials. He calls for criminalising private race-based acts of discrimination, an end to racial profiling and to laws with a severe disproportionate impact, concluding with a demand that the existence of racism is acknowledged and that apologies are made for its harmful effects.

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Politics

History

WOMEN AND SLAVERY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL CUBA

Sarah L. Franklin

Publisher: University of Rochester Press: Rochester, NY and Woodbridge, Suffolk

Year: 2012

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-402-4 (hardback)

Pagination: pp.223

Price: £60.00

Sarah Franklin presents a fascinating and thorough analysis of nineteenth-century Cuban slave society through the lens of patriarchy, a concept which until recently was seen as 'an unbending, monolithic

construct', but which over the past twenty years has become acknowledged as a framework 'infused with distinct and dynamic meanings that shift in response to time, place, and issue' (p.5). Franklin explores how patriarchy was employed to direct the positions of White women and women of colour in order to uphold the slavery system in Cuba and its plantation economy. The focus is on patriarchy which has previously been missing from 'gender-based historical analyses of nineteenth-century Cuba' (p.4). The sugar boom brought great wealth to Cubans – to a large extent 'they owed their good fortune to the Haitian Revolution and the destruction of Saint Domingue as the world's leading sugar producer' (p.13). Franklin shows how circumspect this made Cuba towards slavery; it was a sign of economic fortune but also a 'social menace that could eventually destroy that prosperity' (p.13); also how this led to Cuba's reputation as the "'ever-faithful isle'" (p.13), equating peace and loyalty to Spain with prosperity.

The study reveals nineteenth-century Cuba as reliant on 'strict social control not just of slaves but of all members, especially women' (p.20). In *Virgins and Mothers*, Franklin explores the role of Catholicism and the concept of *marianismo*, 'the idea that women are morally and spiritually superior to men' while at the same time 'subordinate to fathers and husbands, and to God' (p.21) and also that of secular publications such as the novel *Sab* (1841) by the Cuban woman writer Gómez de Avellaneda, banned in Cuba by the Royal Censor because it 'contained "doctrines subversive to the system of slavery in this island and contrary to morals and good habits"' (p.30). Meanwhile, for the enslaved women, 'both marriage and motherhood had totally different meanings than for white women... her social calling was to labor, and that determined her existence' (p.37).

The chapter on wives expands on the previous section to focus on the institution of marriage and its role in nineteenth-century Cuba in the 'formation and conservation' (p.38) of slave society. There is a discussion of marriage and the law; Iberian traditions that classified women as "'imbecilitas sexus" along with children, invalids, and delinquents' (p.39) yet that allowed single women and widows more rights than their married counterparts. The chapter also explores the legacy of historical scholarly studies 'of marriage and family among people of color, both slave and free' (p.44) that has been based on European concepts, with the 'European family' as the ideal, with the result that the Black family is then relegated as its 'atavistic, immoral, subaltern opposite' (p.45). Other sections here cover honour, adultery and divorce.

Chapter 3, *Pupils*, examines the role of education in the lives of White Cuban women and the way in which it 'allowed elites to assert the "civilized" nature of their society even as the institution of slavery rapidly expanded' (p.71). There was a dichotomy between the "instruction" of men that highlighted 'abstract intelligence "dominant in men and inadequate in women"' (p.72) and the 'emotional system most concerned with the formation of sensibility, the soul, the will, and character' (p.72) in women. The control of plantation society was further secured through 'benevolence in the form of institutionalized charity' and the 'instillation of ideas regarding familial ordering into young girls and women' (p.102). The chapter *The Needy* begins with a contextualisation of the *Casa de Beneficia*, founded in 1792, 'the first secular institution of social assistance in Havana' (p.103). It moves onto a discussion of the *Casa de Recogidas*, or correction; this acted as a shelter for women with no other recourse, who might be vulnerable to prostitution, and for the mentally ill. There was also the *Casa Cuna*, or foundling home. Benevolence, as with the other institutions, was primarily concerned with social order.

The final chapter, *Wet Nurses*, looks at the 'mothering' of young White Cuban children by enslaved women; 'working as a wet nurse sometimes gave slave women the greatest boon a master could bestow – outright freedom' (p.146). While numerous historians have written about nineteenth-century Cuba, this book 'joins a burgeoning literature that will reinscribe women into the Cuban narrative, putting them, finally, in their rightful place' (p.157).

Also relates to:

Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal

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