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The journal is created and edited by the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, University of Manchester, J Floor, Sackville Street Building, Sackville Street Area, M60 1QD

Telephone: 0161 275 2920
Email: racereviewjournal@manchester.ac.uk

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Contents

Editorial Statement

This issue has an interesting range of subjects being discussed in the two essays and the Commentary piece. One theme is that of the construction of identity, in these pieces, in the UK. The essay by Darrell Newton, "'How Can We Help You?': Hugh Greene and the BBC Coloured Conferences" is an historical analysis of BBC archives, which considers early attempts to shape BBC responses to post-war immigration from the Commonwealth to the UK. Sadia Habib's Comment piece, "Bermondsey Being and Belonging", addresses these issues in a contemporary setting in a multi-ethnic area of inner-city London. The other theme, Environmental Racism, is of great importance throughout the world and Perlita R. Dicochea's essay, "Discourses of Race & Racism Within Environmental Justice Studies: An Eco-racial Intervention", provides a critique of the existing literature and a model for future research.

Although Sadia Habib's piece is based on detailed interviews with two students, the perceptions of her interviewees about their lives, communities and identities, and of 'Britishness', are of great salience. She argues in her Conclusion, that the "students discuss the "racial" aspects of being British – and what this specifically means in their personal experience of Bermondsey. The students show us that any discourse on Britishness will inevitably highlight the complex relationship between family/home and identity/belonging. Lastly, the students are extremely articulate in voicing the ever evolving nature of Britishness, as well as its intricate mingling with multiculturalism".

Darrell Newton's essay examines the cultural and ideological framework which shaped the BBC's approach to the highly sensitive issues of race, immigration and xenophobia. He concludes that:

> ...racial formation and postcolonial difference continued to be a social construct, which subsequently became a way of comprehending and explaining these new citizens. However, West Indian settlers as the focus of these programmes often remained muted by comparison, able to offer little input on these representations and their ultimate affect upon the British public. These immigrants as settlers needed further opportunities as agents of change to tell their own stories and develop multiple narratives of the Afro-Caribbean experience; particularly through the seemingly liberal social framework of the BBC.

Despite these limitations,

> Even if not fully acknowledged by these dominant producers as fundamental in their programming schema, management it to engage with these subjects, due in large part to constructs of postcolonialism, nationalism, and subjectivity. Simultaneously however, discourses of those West Indian cultures represented resonated within the gathering, and challenged constructs of Britishness and whiteness.

Perlita R. Dicochea's theoretical critique of the dominant view of Environmental Racism in the study of Environmental Justice includes a case study and concludes that there is a need for a new approach which she defines as an 'eco-racial consciousness' which

> ...may guide more captivating evaluations of race and racism as discursive and material forces allowing for the intentional consideration of the full spectrum of race-thinking and race-making as processes of power that are engaged by the more and less privileged within and beyond political borders and revealed in our complex, ever changing relationships with an equally dynamic and powerful natural world.

We are pleased to be bringing such a valuable range of articles to our users and hope that many of you will share them with colleagues and we encourage.

Editorial note

In this issue we feature the essay 'How can we help you?' Hugh Greene and the BBC Coloured Conferences by Darrell. M. Newton. This in-depth examination of the BBC's approach to programming featuring Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) communities provides a window on the way in which BME communities were referred to, and treated, not just in the media, but by the general public. One of the most obvious expressions of this is the commonality of using the word 'coloured' to refer to Black people until the 1980s. The use of the adjective 'coloured' throughout the essay is in keeping with the use of the word as part of the name of the conferences discussed, but also in the everyday language of those involved in said conferences. The editorial team thought it important to retain the use of the word throughout the essay for these reasons.

Essays

Peer Reviews for this issue were provided by:
Professor James Jennings
Professor Lou Kushnick
Dr. Rajinder Dudrah

'How can we help you?' Hugh Greene and the BBC Coloured Conferences

by Darrell. M. Newton, Salisbury University

Abstract
This essay examines a 1965 meeting between The British Broad Casting Corporation (BBC) Director General Hugh Greene, and members of the West Indian community. The assembly was significant, in that Greene and other managers actively sought the opinions of these citizens as the BBC planned new programmes on race relations. This unusual effort came after the Nottingham and Notting Hill riots exposed obvious racial tensions in a country that claimed no colour bar, and the highly controversial Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962. The discussions created possibilities within a social and institutional environment foreshadowed by social tensions examined by 1950s programming, yet seldom from the perspective of West Indians scholars or citizens. Further highlighted, through the examination of original documents at the Written Archives Centre, Caversham, Reading, are discursive elements and the varied perspectives of these attendees. How did these muted voices affect previous programming decisions, televised representations of race, and the canonical formation of programming texts?

The BBC's first General Manager Sir John Reith saw the organization as a 'mighty instrument to instruct and fashion public opinion; to banish ignorance and misery; to contribute richly and in many ways to the sum total of human well being.'[1] Under the Director of Television, Gerald Cock, audiences soon had a choice of musical variety programmes, a host of dramatic teleplays, and informational talks; each demonstrating the ability of television to hopefully do what BBC radio had done for nearly fifteen years: entertain and inform a variety of publics on current, global and national events.

Media historians have chronicled the development of the Corporation and its vast ideological construction of a nation[2,3,4,5,6]. Social influences of the BBC during this period, and its ultimate responsibilities to nationhood have been deconstructed[7], as have been the many contemporary discussions of race in the media and within Englishness[8,9]. The organisation's origins, intent, and onus have been discussed[10,11,12]., as have dystopic forecasts of commercial influences upon British audiences, but with little regard to multiethnic perspectives until the early 1960s. However, studies of West Indian ethnicity and immigration[13,24,15,16,17] have proven to be essential to understanding how dominant cultures framed their presence in post-war England. Hybrid identities[18,19,29,21] and postcolonial theory[22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30] are essential in addressing notions of diasporic formations and resistance within the imperial centre. Also of particular importance have been texts dedicated to a chronology of West Indian actors within BBC programming as a whole[31,32,33] and on British television generally[34,35].

The Black presence in the United Kingdom is clearly documented[36,37,38], yet this present study is concerned with efforts undertaken by the BBC to address the specific needs of the West Indian community through its public service and educational agenda on radio and television[39,40]. Also examined is the influence of television upon racial issues, and perceptions, but from the perspectives of the West Indian community, and their subsequent recommendations to the BBC. The historic significance of West Indian immigration after World War II, was underscored by the televisual impact of their arrival.

One such occurrence took place on June 21, 1948, as the troop transport *Empire Windrush* arrived at Tilbury Docks with West Indian immigrants eagerly searching for a better life within the British Isles. This became a landmark event, particularly when shown on *Television Newsreel* (BBC, 1948-54), a programme that originally used British Pathe 'cinema' newsreels. In some cases, newspapers

reported the arrival of the settlers, while letters to the editor's page of various papers warned of civil unrest as these men sought employment.[41] With looming concerns of housing, employments, and racial tensions, the BBC Television Service began creating programmes that addressed the impact of Black Britons, their attempts to establish citizenship within England, and subsequent issues of colour prejudice. Management soon approved talks and scientific studies as a means of examining racial tensions, though originally not in England.[42] In the years that followed however, social tensions led to transmissions that included a series of news specials on Britain's Colour Bar, and docudramas such as *A Man from the Sun* (BBC, 11/6/56) that attempted to frame the immigrant experience for British television audiences, but from the West Indian point of view.

Despite these efforts, many West Indians making the transition toward citizenship continued to feel isolated from mainstream British society. As the BBC moved further into television broadcasting, the organisation and its managers drew from ideologies of nationalism that continued to place the African-Caribbean settler in a position marginalised from the imagined mainstream of English culture. However, the concerns of 'typical coloured folk,' as the League of Coloured Peoples called them[43], eventually came to the attention of management through a series of community meetings. These assemblies brought management together with these new citizens to determine what they were experiencing, and how best to help them and define their lives and experiences in England. As an example, BBC's Director General Hugh Greene called upon leaders of London's West Indian, Pakistani, and Indian communities in 1965 to discuss ways the Television Service could better serve their needs as new citizens. These 'public conferences' created possibilities within a social and institutional environment that had been foreshadowed by social tensions, some of which were examined by programming. Of major importance however, was that these were seldom from the perspective of West Indians themselves.

This paper discusses how the BBC ultimately drew upon various African-Caribbean organisations to serve as advisors, and coordinators in these efforts - helping, in large part, to shape the future of British television. Topics included representations of race, preferred programmes, and multiethnic audiences. This article seeks to address some of the concerns West Indian organisations expressed, and the suggestions made as the BBC continued to shape its programming choices in relation to race and immigration. Though the aforementioned histories carefully discuss the development of the BBC and its massive influence, there are seldom discussions about how ethnicity as a focus of management practices, shaped television programming, and policy-making even before the turbulent 1960s. After hearing the opinions of those invited to the conferences, management, and the Director General, could hypothetically develop better policies, and programmes, that addressed challenges undertaken by these peoples.

An Eye on Immigrants

In the January of 1965, Russian born journalist Taya Zinkin wrote a series of articles published in the *Manchester Guardian* addressing how immigrants, particularly women, could assimilate into English culture. In one that addressed non-English speaking Indians, she noted that:

> The most rural of immigrants have transistor radios, most immigrants dwellings have a television set, The BBC finds time once a fortnight for a television programme for the deaf and dumb; it should find time, at least once a week, for a programme in Hindustani (understood by both Indians and Pakistanis).[44]

Postmaster General, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, forwarded this article to Director General, Hugh Greene, and two others addressing Bedford's Italian population, and Zinkin's concerns over a sense of xenophobia among Britons. Greene thanked Benn for his efforts, and noted that discussions about programmes for immigrants had taken place at a recent meeting of the General Advisory Council.

Opinions about the desirability of special programmes as discussed in Zinkin's article were evenly divided:

> But some of the people closest to the problem through their daily work were doubtful about the wisdom of doing anything which might tend to emphasize the apartness of coloured immigrants.[45]

Greene wrote to Phillip Mason of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) about the same possibility, and expressed the concerns he had to Benn, yet Mason was in favour of such broadcasts, particularly for Pakistani and Indian women. However, Greene voiced a need to gather data on location, and available viewing and listening facilities for audiences, and continued discussions about this problem with the Institute of Race Relations. He also expressed a desire to get more advice from them, and keep Mason in touch with the BBC's ideas as they developed. He commented that the BBC had already done a special series of informational programmes to the Caribbean Service addressed to immigrants intending to come to Britain. He felt that this effort fitted with the desirability for training before people go to live in a new environment.[46]

When considering the intent to educate these immigrant audiences on life in Britainn, the Head of Northern Regional Programmes (H.N.R.P.), G. D. Miller, reported that the Education Officer, North West had produced a report on Adult Education interests, and found that the 'old-style adult education is old-hat and out of date.' People were not interested in international affairs, or extra-mural education offered via sound, but immigrant groups were supposedly more interested in things at a much lower, less sophisticated level; issues that related more to 'their homes, children,' and such. Therefore, he believed in a serious examination of programmes for immigrants since integration as a social problem was becoming more acute.[47] Yet, in a memo from television secretariat, Colin Shaw, a suggestion was far from racially sensitive:

> Have you ever considered the possibility of mounting a regular programme for West Indians in this country? **It is not possible** that combination of West Indian rhythms and news from home would be a useful service to provide and might interest other listeners. While there is some danger that such a programme might underline the separate status of West Indians in the British community, it is questionable whether more harm than good would be done. (It might be called *Spades are Trumps*.)[48]

As West Indians continued the transition toward citizenship, a number of organisations wrote letters to BBC management critical of programming choices. A major complaint was that race programmes simply did not go far enough to stress the similarities of cultures as opposed to problems in assimilation. The BBC's Director General Hugh Greene who, at a meeting with Regional Controllers in March of 1965, expressed concerns that special programmes for coloured immigrants should not emphasize the 'apartness' of the coloured community reemphasized this concern.[49] In agreement was famed West Indian cricketer Sir Learie Constantine, who also served as a member of the BBC General Advisory Council, yet other members of the General Advisory Council were less convinced, choosing to believe instead that most immigrants work in England for a number of years but then return to their home countries with income earned. From the meeting notes with Hugh Greene, it is clear that Robert Stead, controller of the North Region also stated that it was doubtful whether immigrants would listen to such programmes 'judging from the evidence already in hand to the lack of initiative many immigrants were showing toward helping themselves acclimate to British life.'[50]

Constantine, through the General Advisory Council, had already requested that the BBC strongly consider more employment of coloured people and in the External Services, in particular.[51] L.G. Thirkell, Controller of Staff Training and Appointments, requested a copy of minutes from a recent board of management meeting in which Constantine's suggestion was considered 'hardly practicable'.[52] Greene asked that Sir Learie know of the on-going recruitment of non-White programme staff for domestic services. However, Director of Administration, J.H. Arkell, in a memorandum to Greene

expressed no knowledge of any specific plans to train non-White programme staff, other than an attempt by the BBC to hire a coloured announcer.[53] It was also during 1965 that *the Colour in Britain* radio series on the BBC's Third Programme was receiving critical acclaim for providing a balanced look at race relations within the country. In addition, the BBC planned special broadcasts for the immigrant communities of the Northwest (such as *English by Radio*, programmed for Indian and Pakistani immigrants). These programmes underscored a belief by Greene that management should re-examine educational programmes about race relations and, more importantly, cultural assimilation.

In a report cautiously entitled, *The Immigrant Problem*, Greene described a meeting with Maurice Foley, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department of Economic Affairs, who had special responsibility for coordinating the work of the various departments concerned with Commonwealth immigrants. Greene and Foley were concerned with what role BBC Radio and Television could play in the assimilation of all immigrant groups, but primarily West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis. Foley emphasized the urgency of the need for language teaching for Indians and Pakistanis, and advice to immigrants about many aspects of life in Britain. Greene advised him of the correspondence with Mason and the Institute of Race Relations, who agreed that the problem was most acute in London, the Midlands and Yorkshire. Foley felt there was evidence that Indians and Pakistanis relied more on television than on radio partly because they so often had little or no knowledge of the English language. Greene explained the daunting financial problems involved in the production of special television programmes as well as sound broadcasts; therefore, the experimental efforts on radio in the London, the Midland and North Regions would provide some guidelines before the use of television began.

Greene further explained that to formulate the plan, the BBC would host two separate conferences. Leaders of the Indian and Pakistani communities would attend the first, whilst people concerned with the West Indian communities would attend the second conference. Also invited would be social workers, Directors of Education and a representative of the Ministry. Learie Constantine would attend both conferences as an observer. At the first conference, the BBC featured sample recordings of English by Radio lessons prepared for Hindi and Urdu-speaking audiences, whilst at the second conference; audiences would hear examples of Overseas Services programmes giving advice to West Indian immigrants. Greene also discussed making 'suitable films' in the BBC Television Enterprises catalogue available to immigrants curious about life in England. Greene felt this was a natural connection to the special series already offered by the Caribbean Service, and seeked advice on what each community felt about the Corporation's efforts.[54] The efforts of the BBC within the Asian immigrant community directly addressed the challenges of assimilation through an understanding of the English language. However, concerns for the West Indian community clearly incorporated marked cultural differences between their lived communities and the British public.

The Coloured Conferences

In July of 1965, the Press Officer of the Television Service sent a message to several news organisations announcing a series of planned conferences in which BBC management (including Director General Hugh Greene) would meet with selected 'coloured guests' to discuss immigration issues. A press announcement from the BBC Evening Press Officer, Dulcie J. Marshall, was distributed to the Press Association, Exchange Telegraph, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Reuters (UK Desk), and the United Press International's Television Department. Each responded by sending representatives to cover the meeting and subsequent discussions. The first conference on the 6th would specifically discuss the problems of Indian and Pakistani immigrants.[55] The second conference on 13 July in the Council Chamber at Broadcasting House would be with representatives of the West Indian community as 'the guests of the BBC.'[56] The meeting led by Greene, welcomed representatives from more than twenty coloured organisations concerned about the impact of immigrants in London, the Midlands

and the North. Joining Greene was: Chief Assistant, O.J. Whitley; H.G. Campey, Head of Publicity; D. Stephenson, Head of Overseas and Foreign Relations, F.G. Gillard, Director of Sound Broadcasting, and others trusted with the new direction of the corporation.[57] Those in attendance at the first conference were comprised of various members of the Asian community, including Dr. D.R. Prem, Activist, Liberal Parliamentary candidate and Birmingham's first Asian Labour councillor; Tassaduq Ahmed, prominent community leader, and associate of the Centre for the Study of Minorities; Educator, activist and scholar Mrs. Hansa Mehta and others.[58]

In an effort to serve these peoples, BBC management discussed further development of the programme *Make yourself at Home*; touted as a new BBC service for Indian and Pakistani immigrants. The segments would run on radio and television with a planned for transmission beginning 10 October 1965. In a report filed from producer David Gretton, the programme would be considered a 'simple English by Radio series in basic Urdu/Hindi,' and 'compiled to take account of the everyday situations in which immigrants find themselves in this country.'[59] The approach involved radio broadcasts early Sunday mornings on medium wave (for the North, Midlands and London) as part of the Home Service, and each programme included lessons in English. Featured were the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Chaudury, their family and friends, and the programme considered the problems immigrants may meet in their daily lives. Listeners would meet the Chaudury family on the first broadcast *Mrs. Chaudury goes shopping*.[60] Also included as a means of drawing audiences, was popular music from current Indian and Pakistani films. The programme planned for repetition on Wednesdays at 12:25 p.m. invited Indian and Pakistani listeners to forward questions, and problems, to the BBC's Birmingham Broadcasting House.

The West Indian Conference

The focus of the West Indian meeting seemed highly encouraging; Greene stated the Service recognized that the problems of West Indians were unique and the main purpose of the conference was to provide an opportunity for the BBC to learn from those present what the West Indian problems actually were and how the BBC could help. The BBC held a list of Societies and Organisations identifying coloured groups in the mid-1950s as important sources for televised interviews and talks by management. Some included the popular West Indian Students Union, the Stepney League of Coloured People, the Anglo-Caribbean club, and the League of Coloured Peoples.[61] The conference held with leaders of the Indian and Pakistani communities, helped the BBC to recognize that their problems were, in many ways, different from those of West Indians. The main purpose of this conference was to provide an opportunity for the BBC to learn from those present what the West Indian problems were specifically, and how the BBC could help. O.J. Whitley, in preparation for the West Indian conference, sent a note to Greene as evidence of the 'BBC's interest in coloured people' and frequent representation of them, and their views. He suggested that the Director General mention the programmes, *Our God Is Black* (BBC1, 6/7/65), *Frankly Speaking* with Prime Minister of Uganda Milton Obote on the Home Service (9/7/65), and *the Reith Lectures on Race Relations*, delivered by author Robert Gardiner, entitled *A World of Peoples*. Also suggested was mention of the appointment of a Jamaican as a Home Service announcer.[62]

The Director General noted there were 'two sides' to the BBC's problem. One was to decide how the BBC should make West Indians feel at home in the United Kingdom, and the other was to educate public opinion, both in general, and in the particular communities in which West Indians lived. With regard to the second part of the problem, it was unfortunate that there was no system of local broadcasting, because this could have provided an excellent way of reaching the communities, and discussing their day-to-day problems. As it was, the BBC had to depend on its existing regional and national services in radio and television, not forgetting the External Services' Caribbean service which had made a useful contribution.

For those who were interested, there was a booklet available, *Going to Britain*, which was based on a series of talks given via the Caribbean Service. Its purpose was to prepare immigrants for the life they would meet in England. He stated:

> The information that we seek from you this morning falls under two main headings: first, what can we do for immigrants in our broadcasts; and secondly, what can we do about immigrants directly or indirectly to improve the climate of public opinion; and, beyond that, how can the BBC's efforts, which must necessarily be to some extent limited, be integrated with what the central Government is doing, with what local authorities are doing, with what local education is doing and what local welfare organisations are doing. Then there is a lot of detailed information which would be helpful and which, I hope, will emerge during the discussion: what, for instance, are the listening and viewing habits of West Indians in this country, if it is possible to generalise at all? Do they prefer television, or do they prefer radio? Are there any arrangements for group listening or viewing or any organised form of further education especially directed to West Indians? Those are some of the points, which, I hope, will emerge, and perhaps I could ask someone to set the ball rolling.[63]

Within the proceedings, attendees had the opportunities to express concerns over the Service's plans for future race-related programming. Among the many suggestions made, some related to more documentaries to give the other side of the West Indian situation and that 'programmes giving the historical background of the link between Britain and the West Indies would be useful'.[64]

Chief Welfare Officer R.E.K. Philips noted that educational programming by television and radio should focus upon educating the British public in accepting West Indians as citizens - not just educating West Indians to be citizens. The lives of West Indians, subsequent customs and behavior were also principle issues. Philips then mentioned a BBC programme about life in Jamaica, *A Little Bit of Madness* (BBC, 1965), produced in conjunction with the Jamaican Broadcasting Company. Philips felt that the documentary showed a very small aspect of life in the islands, yet helped to spread the idea that every 'black man in the street' was uncivilized and practiced lower ethical standards. Philips noted that one of the 'principal roles, whether it be sound or television, must be in the interest of helping to build the right climate of relationships in this society'. His further concerns included a matter of education, via radio or television, 'of the British public into acceptance; into recognising that the differences which they might claim on the basis of stereotype, do not really exist'[65]. Philips explained to Greene and other managers that the BBC had already received concerns over the programme, yet ignored the concerns. He notes:

> It was pointed out to the BBC that this was an unfortunate programme. They disputed it, and we had a further slap in the face by a repeat of the programme. I do not think that this is very helpful to the situation. I raise the matter at this stage because I should sincerely hope that we are not just here to discuss things because this is the done thing, but that we are here because there is genuine interest in arriving at some way of dealing with these situations, that any comments we make will be regarded with a measure of weight and that, so far as policy will allow, these words will be taken into consideration. I assume that I will speak further in the discussion, but at this stage, I merely wish to have this assurance.[66]

Greene disagreed with Philips, citing the programme as a 'brilliant documentary, made in association with the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation', which seems to provide some measure of authenticity, and 'an accurate picture of a certain aspect of life in Jamaica. It had pretended to be no more than this, and any unfortunate side effects could have arisen only through misunderstanding of its aim.' [67] He also noted that, as a single programme, it did not represent BBC policy in any way. Philips retorted:

> I do not question the brilliance of the documentary. I do not suggest that anything false was stated in the film. This is something which I have no objection to being shown to people who can relate it to the rest of the society, but different results are to be expected when you show this as a

> mass thing when people already have false notions of families which live in the street because they are coloured — 'Out you go, because you lower the standards' — and yet, if you closed the door of the house, you would never realise that the occupants were West Indian people and children.[68]

J. E. Fraser, formerly of the West Indies Commission, said the primary concern of those present should be to improve relationships between the English people and West Indians. It would be necessary first to realise, however, that there were differences which, in his view, the mass of people were not 'capable of accepting'. He felt that the BBC should avoid 'excessive condemnation of what West Indians did' in the United Kingdom, and should not be condescending. The guiding aim should always be to put the 'other side of the picture when dealing with subjects concerning West Indian immigrants'. In conjunction with previous concerns expressed, Fraser noted:

> Alongside what Mr. Philips has said, I should like to say that before we begin to think seriously about improving relations, West Indians and others concerned with this problem must first accept that there are differences. What are the things, which appear to trigger this increase of racial feeling? One point that stands out to my mind is the desire on the part of, possibly, the Press and, possibly, even the BBC unconsciously perhaps to condemn excessively…in my view, any approach which suggests an attitude of condescending to tolerate West Indians would not get very far.[69]

Mrs. P. Crabbe, Welfare Secretary for the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child, said it would help greatly if West Indians or Africans could be 'used more in programmes simply as people in their own right and in their own jobs', highlighting representations that stressed normalcy. She felt that the BBC could 'get away from the tendency of thinking of coloured people who appear on programmes only as entertainers'.[70] She noted that, because she was West Indian, she was sure that this would be one of the ways of helping with liaison and getting day-to-day acceptance. The Director General entirely accepted this point, yet proudly revelled in the appointment of a West Indian BBC announcer. He explained how the BBC had appointed Dwight Wyley, and another West Indian, Mr. Eric Abrahams, who would shortly join Panorama.

Mrs. Thirlwell, Adviser to the Paddington Overseas Students and Workers Committee, regretted that the BBC had publicly announced its appointment, noting that it should have been unnecessary to draw attention to a perfectly natural event. She notes:

> For example, it is fine that we have a West Indian announcer, but probably you should not have said, 'We have appointed a West Indian announcer.' When Stuart Hall, for instance, was appointed to the Youth Council or whatever it is called, he was described as a lecturer in Richard Hoggart's department at Birmingham University; they did not say that he was a West Indian. When a child in Smethwick got typhoid, why not say that a child in Smethwick got typhoid instead of saying that it was a West Indian child? She may have been born here.[71]

Philip Mason of the Institute of Race Relations also expressed concern over the highlighting of difference. He discussed his appearance on Panorama years before, after which he received letters describing his participation on the programme as 'the same, old BBC brainwashing, putting across the fact that immigrants are just like anybody else':

> Because there had been shown an educated West Indian and this was described as 'untypical and brainwashing'. This is the danger, obviously, if you put across a message too strongly. I should, therefore, very much like to second what Mrs. Crabbe said about making it natural and not too much of a message.[72]

Mason discussed the possibility of a programme that provided a history of England's relationship to the West Indies, but concerns arose over the past colonial relationship. He noted that 'it would show that we in Britain owe a debt to the West Indies and this would almost be bound to show the

West Indies in the slave days and the arrival of people from Africa.' Despite this, Mrs. Jeffrey felt a series of programmes could help to provide history as to why slavery developed, and other myths 'which one has to kill'. Mason suggested that a highly educated audience would get the best out of the programme. Philips stated that balance of representations of social issues was essential. He felt that the press and television alike fall into the same rut of approaching issues with a degree of sensationalism and 'anything to incite'. Philips notes:

> It is no secret, for example, that on Monday night on Gallery you had [the] Ku Klux Klan [on the programme], and by Wednesday night you had crosses being lit in Leamington Spa. It is all very well to talk about a lunatic fringe, but what is inciting this lunatic fringe and making them believe that these are the accepted and done things - and that they are in order is that this is what we are showing.[73]

A highly important issue raised by Leeds University lecturer E. D. Butterworth was the continued onus on the BBC to educate the populace about subsequent race misunderstandings. He stated that on the question of prejudice, it was wrong to assume that people would automatically make the right judgments if presented with the facts about the constructs of race. He reminded Greene and other attendees that there was a need both for education of the leaders of the community, the intellectuals, and the public in the reasons for the British attitude to race. Butterworth further noted that if the BBC could show 'West Indians and other migrants in the position of human beings exercising their civic duties and responsibilities and facing up to the various local situations,' it would help social conflicts considerably. Similarly, Mr. G. W. R. Lines, Director of Education, Wolverhampton Borough Council, addressed ways in which children could be educated to see colour as immaterial. He felt if documentaries concentrated on various children playing together, and in school [the images] would produce aspects of racial understanding acceptable to 'both sides'. Greene noted that programmes of this sort 'had been done, from time to time'.[74]

Other suggestions included niche programming that addressed specific audiences within the West Indian community, particularly mothers. The Woman's Hour, as mentioned by Greene, could be a programming block in which subjects of parenting and unwed motherhood, 'would fit in very naturally'. Crabbe noted that Sound broadcast many programmes regarding unmarried mothers, adoption, and so on. However, she was concerned that a programme at 12 o'clock midday is a 'great favourite, though social workers never listen to its content', losing an opportunity to learn more about immigrant mothers. Greene reassured Crabbe noting that people with whom the social worker works 'are at home (and) might turn to listen to it'. Miss I. Harrison of the Westminster City Council Welfare Officer noted that a problem of the future 'will be the acceptance of coloured English by our own communities, which means that we have to place emphasis on the English children, who are coloured but who speak like other English children.' Greene concurred, citing comments made by Crabbe and others. He then asked R. S. Postgate, Controller of Educational Broadcasting, to address education on the BBC. He noted that many programmes currently produced were those that concentrated on teaching English, as discussed in the previous conference.

However, when considering the content of these kinds of programmes, Dimes warns Postgate that the West Indians issue of assimilation and acceptance is different. She felt the BBC would go wrong if programmes featured the West Indies as too exotic and desirable, causing audiences to note,

> "This is where they come from. That is where they belong. Why don't they go back to that sunny land? Why do they come here?" We do not want to [highlight West Indians] as being different from anyone else. We should be careful to guard against showing anything which perpetuates the difference between us [as citizens], which I should like to see got rid of.[75]

Yet, Mr. W. Knight, Managing Editor - designate of Concord, said he would like BBC documentaries to show how culture, music and the arts in the West Indies had developed throughout the years. People

tended to associate the West Indies with Jamaica and Trinidad, and knew very little about the other islands, and when the BBC sent a team to Jamaica, footage should show people doing 'worthwhile jobs,' to help the people. Sir Learie Constantine noted that in the past, the pictures of the Colonies had shown only the huts and shanties - no pictures of the 'nice buildings in which the doctors and the lawyers lived'. It was important now, he argued, to project the successful man holding his place in the 'Western circle', but, equally important for West Indians to contribute in a way that would help to project 'a new society'. He noted that the BBC had a tremendous job to do, and with regard to the treatment of West Indian history, he saw no purpose in hiding the facts of slavery, for any discredit would fall on those who had made people slaves, and 'not on those who had been enslaved'. Bennett noted that there was frequently disagreement and animosity between Africans and West Indians and between West Indians from different islands, and that the BBC might be able to help in bringing them together in discussion. Constantine disagreed that this was a serious problem, and Philips noted that it was particularly unimportant compared with the main task of helping West Indians 'find their feet in society'.[76]

Dimes asked whether consideration had been given by the BBC to doing programmes about multi—racial projects undertaken by people in areas where there were integration committees, as, for example, Sparkbrook in Birmingham. Butterworth said it would be wrong to assume a national pattern for immigrants' problems;the position, in terms of prejudice, changed depending on the area. He did not, however, think that there could be much lasting effect from getting people together to resolve differences and understand one another, nor could the BBC do a great deal to change public opinion. He did feel that the BBC might do something to explain the strains and stresses of moving from one country to another. Programmes could be featured that stressed the contribution of all immigrants, as could an exploration of common assumptions about jobs and housing. Such subjects could be highlighted within 'education programmes or in a tough kind of documentary like *Tonight* or *Panorama*'.[77]

As the discussions concluded, the Director General said it appeared that West Indians and Indians and Pakistanis had differing sets of priorities. For West Indians, the problem of integration was fundamental, in that many of them wished to settle in Britain and become British. Asians, on the other hand, intended to go home eventually to their own countries. The overall group roundly disagreed, inferring that it was impossible to speak that generally about the issue. Greene noted that some Asians had told him and other BBC managers this, and that they have 'a different attitude toward integration. The idea has come up here, that [West Indians] are English children of another colour, did not come up with the Indians and Pakistanis; so to that extent there is a dilemma.'[78] Mr. Bennett said it often did not please West Indian parents when their children lost contact with the home country. Constantine said he welcomed the idea of West Indians as Black Englishmen. This was, in his opinion, a sign of successful integration. He regretted the housing difficulties, which caused many West Indians to rent from other West Indians, forcing them to reside in ghettos, and preventing them from moving into 'wider circles and achieving integration'. There is the question of whether a West Indian ceases to be a West Indian when he wants integration. Constantine notes:

> I know where to go and where not to go. I have lived here twenty eight years and am quite content. I am more contented here than I am in my own country. That may be a reflection on me, it may be a reflection on my own society, but I beg them to make their contribution in fields other than the immediate circle in which they live. This would be a better way of advertising the fact that a West Indian has moved. If you keep to your own immediate circle in the face of opposition, of prejudice and of antagonism, how will you educate the rest of the world that we are making progress in London, in Liverpool or in Manchester?[79]

Mr. Fraser said that although he agreed with Sir Learie, when touring schools he had been astounded to find racialism among the young. In the North, younger children under the age of eleven were less

racialised, but in the older age groups resistance to integration was hardening, and in the Midlands it was worse. Even in London and in the South, children showed very little interest in coloured people or the way they lived. One puzzling trend of the past three years (1962-65), of children aged between six and nine was to take on the prejudices of their parents. It was felt by many that the BBC could contribute by avoiding nursery rhymes such as *Ten Little Niggers* in children's programmes, and by directing programmes at parents to correct the attitude of their children. Mrs. Dimes said similar arguments could be applied to religious broadcasts in which imagery was based upon notions of 'white was pure and evil things, dark'. Sir Learie agreed that the problem really started because of adult influences, and that prejudice would have to be 'broken down in the adult world, not in schools'.[81] When speaking to over 5000 students, his aim was to help the child stand up against a prejudiced parent.

R.D. Chapman said his own experience led to a similar conclusion. There was a need to educate the English towards integration; however, there was a need to educate West Indian communities in their responsibilities to the larger community in which they lived. This was vital because in areas where there was 'bad behaviour due to lack of understanding, prejudice was the result. Two-way education was needed.' Irons agreed with both speakers, noting that in Nottingham there was progress towards getting immigrants to identify with the larger community. It would be a great step forward if the BBC's programmes could emphasise that West Indians had to decide what role they were prepared to play in the community.

However, the suggestion made by many attendees was that the Service should 'not be thinking in terms of special programmes addressed to West Indians, whether immigrants or people born and long settled in the United Kingdom'.[81] Instead, programmes should take into account that White and coloured people were living in a mixed community, and would be listening and watching those programmes together. It was on this basic concept that the BBC would have to build. Crabbe and others realized, however, that the mass media alone could not overcome all the problems. The Director General thanked those who had attended, and noted that the discussion had given the BBC many individual ideas to follow up. As Mr. Lines had said, the occasion would have influenced the BBC's thinking, and this was perhaps one of the most important things of all. When asked, the West Indian participants felt that the conference was helpful, but the events had not led to any specific commitments from the Corporation. Within the proceedings, attendees also had the opportunities to express concerns over the Service's plans for future race-related programming. Despite numerous comments that addressed possible reactions by White audiences to West Indian themed programming, several specific issues were raised. In brief:

1. The listening and viewing habits of West Indians and their preferences for radio or television was essential for the BBC's efforts;
2. Education of the British public in regard to West Indians and their ultimate acceptance as citizens was important for those not informed about Caribbean cultures;
3. Documentaries that examined the historical background between Britain and the West Indies would have been helpful;
4. The BBC should have shown both sides of the issue regarding immigrants; that is showing how both White Britons and immigrants are affected;
5. It was important to show the West Indies in a much more diverse way; highlighting more than just Jamaica and Trinidad;
6. When examining the islands, well-developed areas should also have been shown, not just poverty-stricken neighbourhoods;
7. The BBC needed more programming on radio or TV about multiracial projects undertaken to solve social tensions;
8. The BBC often did not report events highlighting positive progress toward integration;
9. Treatment of news stressed areas of conflict instead of resolution, bringing attention to racist groups and exciting the lunatic fringe;

10. When West Indians ran afoul of the law, there was a need to avoid excessive condemnation of them, yet this approach should not be condescending;
11. There was a need to address concerns about Black marriages being biologically unsound;
12. There was a need to concentrate on educating children more so than adults, many of whom had already formed opinions;
13. West Indians used for TV programs as subjects or presenters should increase, yet be featured simply as people in their own right, living their lives and working their jobs;
14. The suggestion made by many attendees was that the Service should not be thinking in terms of special programmes addressed to West Indians, but programmes which took into account that White and coloured people were living in a mixed community, and would be listening and watching those programmes together.

The representatives were highly concerned however, that once again, 'BBC programmes in general should lean toward integration rather than emphasising racial differences',[82] something the Service had done throughout history within its constructions of West Indian culture and ethnicity.[83]

Conclusion:

This essay acknowledges the BBC Television Service's approach to the highly sensitive issues of race, immigration and xenophobia. As a producer of popular and normative culture, the BBC undertook the ideological formation of audiences throughout the United Kingdom, its colonies and the world. As West Indians began to immigrate to England, the BBC began to produce these hopeful citizens and their culture in a fashion that would be more acceptable by White Britons. Special programming on race, immigration, government policies, and other related issues followed with mixed reactions from audiences, sometimes positive, yet often negative[84], particularly when no solution was offered to combat ignorance and conflict. Through the cultural authority of BBC television, West Indian immigration and subsequent problems were visually encoded as 'actual', creating representations of immigrants not through transculturalism, but by the authority of the BBC. Therefore, racial formation and postcolonial difference continued to be a social construct, which subsequently became a way of comprehending and explaining these new citizens.

However, West Indian settlers as the focus of these programmes often remained muted by comparison, able to offer little input on these representations and their ultimate affect upon the British public. These immigrants as settlers needed further opportunities as agents of change to tell their own stories and develop multiple narratives of the Afro-Caribbean experience; particularly through the seemingly liberal social framework of the BBC.

Sources from the Written Archives Centre provide insights on the presence of these 'imagined others', through meeting notes taken for Greene and managers during the year of the conferences. While discourses of liberalism, and integration abounded at this gathering, there remained notions of cultural difference and the problematic circumstances allegedly due to immigration. According to many attendees served by the BBC Television Service, these historiographic constructs of their Afro-Caribbean culture shown on television were not helping to establish an intercultural bonding that may supersede difference. There were attempts to address racism by the BBC that helped to deconstruct assumptions about race, yet frustrated audiences by a lack of resolution or guidance when it came to the social implications of post-colonial immigration.

Previously these Colonials had participated in the war as flyers, sailors, and fighters through recruitment efforts featured on radio and newsreels. After World War II had ended, those West Indians that came to England to train and fight were expected, and often demanded, to return from where they came.[85] Economic conditions in their homelands had not improved during the war, and in some cases became worse, forcing many Afro-Caribbeans to return to England seeking work or extended

military service. During the post-war era, the BBC's World Service radio created texts designed to educate these immigrants to the realities of living in England, but highlighted cultural differences. Yet, within years the arrival of West Indian men and two female stowaways on *the Empire Windrush* at Tilbury placed them into the very heartland of England, and via the 'mod con' of BBC television and British Pathe, found their very presence as hopeful citizens, amplified.

However, there was a need for autonomous self-expression of these hopeful citizens, allowing for an intrinsic self-definition of the Afro-Caribbean experience despite constructs of British nationalism and cultural supremacy through public education and entertainment. Even if not fully acknowledged by these dominant producers as fundamental in their programming schema, management had to engage with these subjects, due in large part to constructs of postcolonialism, nationalism, and subjectivity. Simultaneously however, discourses of those West Indian cultures represented resonated within the gathering, and challenged constructs of Britishness and Whiteness.

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[57]All management in attendance are noted as:
Sir Hugh Greene (Director General)
Mr. O.J. Whitley (Chief Assistant to Director General
Mr. C.J. Curran. (The Secretary)

Mr. H.G. Campey (Head of Publicity)
Mr. D. Stephenson (Head of Overseas and Foreign. Relations)
Mr. F.G. Gillard (Director of Sound Broadcasting)
Mr. R. D'AMarriott (Assistant Director of Sound Broadcasting)
Mr. A.P. Monson (Chief Engineer, Sound Broadcasting)
Mr. G.E. Mansell (Chief of Hone Service and Music Programme)
Mr. J. A. Camacho (Head of Talks and Current Affairs, Sound)
Mr. P.M. Beech (Controller, Midland Region)
Mr. R. Stead (Controller, North Region)
Mr. D.F. Gretton (Assistant Head of Midland Regional Programmes)
Mr. R.S. Postgate (Controller, Educational Broadcasting)
Mr. D.M. Hodson (Controller, Overseas Services)
Mr. G. Steedman (Head of Overseas Regional Services)
Mr. D. G. Scuse (General Manager, Television Enterprises)
Mr. G. Del Strother (Head of Productions, Television Enterprises)
Mr. D.B. Mann (Secretariat). Controller's meeting notes, 6/9/65, E/2/930.
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Discourses of Race & Racism Within Environmental Justice Studies: An Eco-racial Intervention

By Perlita R. Dicochea, Santa Clara University

Abstract
The social force of racism in relation to natural resources plays a prominent role in the development of environmental justice (EJ) studies within the United States. I contend that the dominant paradigm of environmental racism (ER) may encourage superficial applications of race and racism and colorblind approaches to EJ. I argue that race and racism are at times essentialized, which has in part to do with essentialized notions of the environment. The goal of this eco-racial intervention is to encourage more explicit engagement with the dynamic ways that society creates meaning around and makes use of race and natural resources in relation to each other, processes that may include and operate beyond conventional and critical approaches to ER. Spirited by critical ER and racial formation theory, I propose the construct 'eco-racial justice project' as part of an alternative framework for evaluating racialization within efforts to achieve environmental justice.

Introduction

The social force of race in relation to natural resources plays a prominent role in the development of environmental justice studies within the United States. Many have recorded the history of data gathering that founded environmental racism as an analytic framework (Bullard 1993a, 1993b; Pulido 1996a, 1996b; Bullard 1997; Agyeman, Bullard, et al 2003; Visgilio and Whitelaw 2003; Pellow and Brulle 2005; Manaster 2005). Studies by environmental justice (EJ) scholars demonstrate that racism is related to multiple social discourses and structures, and is imbedded in dominant value systems (Hurley 1995; Pulido 1996a; Bullard 1997; Laduke 1999; Cole and Foster 2001; Gedicks 2001; Peña 2005; Lipsitz 2012). While EJ studies has grown since initial assertions of environmental racism (ER) in the 1970s, and a few EJ scholars offer alternative, critical approaches, I contend that as a theoretical paradigm ER remains under-analyzed in some social science EJ scholarship. Building on the work of Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994), I argue that in the dominant ER discourse relations between race and natural resources are often only observable as specific types of racist eco-racial projects. I intercede an eco-racial consciousness in order to foster more analytic scrutiny of ER metanarratives and expand the vision for assessing relationships between racial and environmental processes.

This eco-racial intervention is intended to encourage more direct engagement within the field of EJ with the dynamic ways in which society creates meanings around and makes uses of race and environmental resources in relation to each other by building stronger connections to racial formation theory. Some EJ scholars hold conflicting views in debates about ER, and present different directions for further analyses of race, racial projects, and White privilege in relation to environmental inequalities (Pulido 1996b, 2000; Bolin G., Grineski S. E., and Collins, T. 2005; Lipsitz 2012). My focus regards the restrictive understandings of environmental racism that are maintained and unquestioned in prominent EJ texts, are detached from critical evaluations of ER, and at times erect debilitating boundaries around the presence and contours of race in relation to natural resources. The theoretical implications include the promotion of essentialist applications of race, racism, the environment, and a colorblind or homogenizing tendency in the use of the phrase 'environmental justice'. I promulgate that racial formation theory facilitates an alternative notion of the environment - one that includes where we live, work and play - as many EJ scholars and activists assert; nature, as mainstream environmentalists understand it; as well as the processes by which we create meanings that impact and are impacted by, among other things, racial, gender, and class formations.

In this essay, environment indicates relationships between various social and environmental forces.

Natural or environmental resources refer to elements and systems of the natural world, as forces of their own, upon which communities place diverse values. Environmental processes include the role that humans play in negotiating and shaping natural resource developments. Resources broadly represent any type of natural or social resource.

In the following I address a) dominant social scientific paradigms of ER developed within environmental justice studies, b) one theoretical and one applied example wherein rigid approaches to environmental racism feature significant epistemological limitations about both race and racism, and c) my own struggle to apply ER concepts to a transnational water pollution problem in Baja and Southern California. I conclude this intervention with a synopsis of an eco-racial awareness that builds on critical ER thought and racial formation theory.

Dominant Paradigms of Environmental Racism in the US

Environmental racism as a specific movement and concept evolved from community-based leadership and research around unequal environmental policy enforcement that heightened public awareness of the relationship between the placement of toxic waste sites and communities of color in the United States. The United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice 1987 report, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*, as well the U.S. General Accounting Office 1983 report, *Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*, employed the concept environmental racism (ER) and concluded that low-income communities of color are disproportionately impacted by the negative social, economic and public health effects of hazardous waste facilities and uneven environmental regulation enforcement (Agyeman, Bullard, Evans 2003; Visgilio and Whitelaw 2003; Bolin, Grineski and Collins 2005; Pellow and Brulle 2005; Manaster 2005). In the tradition of these initial reports, Bunyan Bryant (2002) defines environmental racism as:

> .....those institutional rules, regulations, and policies or government or corporate decisions that deliberately target certain communities for least desirable land uses, resulting in the disproportionate exposure of toxic and hazardous waste on communities based upon certain prescribed biological characteristics. (p. 4)

Bryant's definition draws significantly from earlier ruminations grounded in community-based experiences and knowledge. For example, Benjamin Chavis, Jr. (1993), a reverend who participated in the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice that produced the aforementioned 1987 report, includes racial discrimination as a factor in environmental policymaking, the enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste disposal, and the deliberate targeting of communities of color for the siting of polluting industries in his formulation. Chavis adds further that ER is evident 'in the official sanctioning of the life-threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in communities of color' (p. 3), and in the exclusivity of predominantly White, mainstream environmental groups, decision-making boards, commissions, and regulatory agencies. Bryant's 2002 definition likewise includes 'the unequal protection against toxic and hazardous waste exposure and the systematic exclusion of people of color from environmental decisions affecting their communities' (p. 4).

Peter Riech (2005) notes that some policy structures at the state level have developed understandings of equal protection, environmental decision-making procedures, and related socioeconomic impacts, providing a foundation for implementing race in environmental policy. Arguing similarly for an approach to race beyond juridical constructs, Luke Cole and Sheila Foster (2001) outline three pillars for framing environmental racism that:

> .....1) retains a structural view of economic and social forces as they influence discriminatory outcomes, 2) isolates the dynamics within environmental decision-making processes that further contribute to such outcomes, and 3) normatively evaluates social forces and environmental decision-

> making processes which contribute to disparities in environmental hazard distribution. (p. 65)

While moving beyond strictly legal understandings of environmental racism, Riech, Cole and Foster maintain a preoccupation with state-sanctioned processes that differentially distribute environmental burdens.

Efforts to expand the boundaries of environmental racism as a concept by focusing on those who benefit from environmental inequalities and socio-spatial relations have not been thoroughly integrated within EJ studies. For instance, aspects of Robert Bullard's (1993) theorizing appear rather conventional as he promulgates that ER:

> .....refers to any policy, practice or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended), individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color. It also includes exclusionary and restrictive practices that limit participation by people of color in decision making boards, commissions, and regulatory bodies. (p. 23)

However, Bullard also recognizes that the burdens imposed primarily on communities of color are relationally beneficial to Whites and reflect racialized power imbalances. Similarly, George Lipsitz (2006; 2012), Bob Bolin, Sara Grineski, and Timothy Collins (2005), and Laura Pulido (2000) contend that White privilege, as a direct result of, in Lipsitz's terms, the possessive investment in whiteness, reinforces historical and on-going, hegemonic socio-spatial patterns of environmental racism. In addition, Pulido (1996b) delineates the shortcomings of reductive positivist rationality underpinning some critiques of ER that relegate racism to overt acts, do not see racism as ideology in addition to institutionalized practices with structural impacts, and only understand racism in a fixed, singular form. In another analysis, Pulido (2000) argues that ER is facilitated by land use, residential patterns, and industrial development. In both essays (1996b; 2000), Pulido emphasizes racist racial projects, a tool within racial formation theory. Focused on racialized landscapes, Pulido asks readers to consider 'what race means to people and how racism shapes lives and places' (p. 33). These alternative, or critical, ER voices present new directions that EJ studies has yet to fully exploit.

In summary, whether focusing on the disadvantaged or the privileged, the dominant discourse of environmental racism underscores structures and institutions as mechanisms that facilitate unequal outcomes in the distribution of resources or enforcement of environmental policy along White/non-White racial lines. In more conventional understandings, ER is located in situations where communities of color experience the disproportionate impact of, or unequal protection from, environmental problems - two key pillars of EJ policy (Manaster 2005). In order for a group to be disproportionately impacted by an environmental ill, this group must be concentrated or isolated in some way either by experiencing a level of segregation and/or another form of discrimination - such as hiring practices that target a specific group - thereby emphasizing the importance of a network of social structures in creating and maintaining racial inequality. These paradigms focus on racism as a structural process happening to communities of color that lack the resources or social position to partake in decisions that shape their communities. Furthermore, Bryant's (2002) idea of ER as 'an extension' implies that racism only becomes systematic or uniquely complicated when encountering environmental problems. This perspective is disengaged from the critical ER advances discussed above, conflicts with racial formation theory, which I elaborate on below, and narrows the scope for observing and assessing race and racism in relation to natural resource values and uses.

Bound by the machinations of established institutions and a specific view of environmental resources as either burdens or benefits, conventional ER frameworks continue to privilege state-sanctioned discourses, processes, values, and procedures in identifying and ameliorating environmental racism. Understanding ER as an occurrence that is furthered or violated within state-sanctioned mechanisms

marginalizes those discriminatory acts and discourses that occur beyond the confines of dominant institutions. As a result, opportunities to evaluate and theorize coexisting and conflicting functions of race and racism as manifested through both official and non-official discourses and practices which may resist, reinforce or otherwise impact environmental inequalities are overlooked.

I assert that the compartmentalized and, at times, over-determined location of race in some EJ research is indicative of dominant and uncontested notions of environmental racism developed within the field. While more critical ER thought is present within EJ studies, simplified applications of race and racism may be encouraged, and theoretical development of the relations between race and natural resources are stifled. Moreover, some EJ scholars confine race to specific forms of racism thereby collapsing conceptions of race with racism and under-analyzing the workings of both social forces. As cases in point, below I review a theoretical article by Gary C. Bryner (2002) and an applied article by Beverly Wright (2003), neither of whose essays have been assessed for their employment of race and racism.

Applications of Environmental Racism: A Theoretical Example

Gary C. Bryner's (2002) conceptual piece categorizes various methods for approaching environmental justice. He defines environmental injustice as a problem regarding the uneven societal distribution of environmental burdens and benefits. He identifies five frameworks: Civil Rights; distributive justice and ethics; public participation; social justice; and ecological sustainability. Bryner locates race under the Civil Rights and Social Justice frameworks. In both frameworks, the significance of race is attached to legal discourse and only relevant within forms of racial discrimination.

In his overview of the Civil Rights framework for pursuing environmental justice, Bryner addresses statutory law and constitutional provisions to mitigate disparate environmental impacts as they reflect racial inequities. Under this framework, Bryner maintains, EJ activists and scholars are most concerned with 'the extent to which communities of color are seen as sacrifice zones for pollution and hazardous waste' (p. 35). Bryner pinpoints some weaknesses of the Civil Rights approach including, for constitutional claims, the difficulty of proving intent to discriminate, and, for both statutory and constitutional claims, and the exclusion of class as an outcome of environmental disparities. Furthermore, Bryner discusses the tension between the competing principles of non-discrimination and racial preference. Non-discrimination prohibits consideration of race in decisions that impact the natural environment as a method to halt further racial disparities. To this approach, Bryner asks, what of current environmental resource disparities resulting from historical racial inequalities? A focus on race, or 'preferential treatment' (p. 38), and compensatory measures are noted as alternative approaches within the Civil Rights framework that Bryner states would address 'past discrimination' (p.38).

In response to the aforementioned tensions, Bryner calls for a new perspective on rights:

> .....not just as restraints on government, but as ways of empowering individuals, reinforcing our responsibility for one another and for the kind of society that we are part of, and asserting the moral and social responsibilities we have in common. (p. 39)

He adds:

> .....rights can help foster common concerns and encourage us to commit to ensuring that each person enjoys access to natural resources and environmental quality, which are essential for realizing a meaningful life and enjoying real equality of opportunity. (p. 39)

In focusing on the individual, Bryner's reply to the gaps in the Civil Rights approach to achieve environmental justice is as race-blind as it is dismissive of societal patterns that continue to privilege

Whites, as a group, and disadvantage many communities of color. Here, the relational aspects of group differences reflective of power imbalances offered by Bullard, Lipsitz and Pulido may have corrected for Bryner's individualistic approach to resolving racial disparities.

Interestingly, Bryner mentions that the distributive justice framework furthers the preferential racial treatment approach by ensuring that 'the risks of environmental harms and the benefits of natural resources are spread more evenly' (p. 38). However, race and racism do not make explicit appearances in Bryner's overview of distributive justice and, thus, are not theorized. Within the Civil Rights section, Bryner acknowledges preferential treatment as a way to compensate for 'past discrimination' (p. 38). This interpretation of racial inequality as a past event evades legal discussions that explain distributive justice and concurrent policies such as affirmative action (which Bryner refers to as preferential treatment) as methods for disrupting contemporary social systems that reinforce White privilege in the present moment (Harris 1993). Bryner also misconstrues the role of history - acknowledging past discrimination is not the same as acknowledging the historical legacies of contemporary racism and contemporary White privilege.

The social justice framework reviewed by Bryner might provide a pathway to explore various other sites for theorizing race in relation to EJ frameworks, however, here too, Bryner situates the discussion of race strictly within the discourse of critical race theory and he lessens the significance of race by emphasizing class. According to Bryner's understanding, the social justice approach considers various inter-related social problems, the roots of which are uneven distributions of political power. He contends that this approach 'reaches much deeper than race to address fundamental issues of class' (p. 47). On the subject of the relationship between race and class, whiteness studies showcases examples of environmental racism wherein race prevails over class as the primary discriminatory rationale, or functions inextricably with class to reinforce social and economic disparities. For instance, Lipsitz demonstrates how federal policies such as the GI Bill, interstate highway construction, and governmental and private home lending entities facilitate concentrations of Whites and wealth. Along these lines, David Roediger (2005) argues that federal policies helped many blue-collar off-Whites, Eastern and Southern Europeans who came to the US in the late nineteenth century, move into the White middle class in the early twentieth century by expanding employment opportunities and increasing access to social and economic benefits. Thus, to maintain that the social justice approach to EJ is characterized by the 'deeper' critique of class disparities skews the social justice perspective and assumes that a class analysis is in fact more complex than, and disassociated from, that of race in all cases at all times. Consequently, Bryner implies that racism exists as a superficial feature of society that is merely symptomatic of, yet unrelated to, something else.

While Bryner recognizes that a faction within the social justice approach focuses on race, here he narrowly fixates on a critique of legal discourse via critical race theory. He writes:

> Critical race theory is based on the experience, traditions, culture, and perspective of people of color. It offers a race-conscious perspective by which legal doctrines and decisions are critiqued. Rather than color blindness, critical race theory calls for race consciousness - analysis that is rooted in the history of American race relations, that recognizes major economic differences between White and black communities, and that seeks to develop a distinctive set of legal theories and principles rooted in those differences. (p. 48)

Bryner elaborates that critical race theory also identifies the need for more 'minority scholars' to partake in developing civil rights law, yet, he does not identify race relations and economic differences beyond a Black/White binary. Furthermore, Bryner leaves uncontested the idea that the essentialized experiences of 'the minority' may facilitate the development and implementation of more just natural resource law and policy.

Under Bryner's assessment, I maintain, race and racism do not exist without the presence of the legitimating juridical process and legal discourse. Effectively, Bryner contributes to the limits of claiming environmental racism by acknowledging race only as racism and then placing racism within the confines of the Civil Rights Act and critical race theory. Bryner's restricted vision is not coincidental—the genealogy of race-thinking within EJ studies remains rooted in very particular designs of environmental racism. Indeed, the anthology in which Bryner's piece is published, Justice and Natural Resources (Mutz, Bryner et al 2002), maintains boundaries around racism. While striving to expand 'traditional' (p. 3) EJ studies by calling for the broad inclusion of natural resource management issues, the introductory chapter issues Bryant's assertion that ER is "an extension of racism" (reviewed above). In effect, the anthology as a whole does not directly grapple with the applied or theoretical deficiencies of traditional ER paradigms.

An Applied Example

In an applied analysis of the Mississippi River chemical corridor, Beverly Wright (2003) focuses on the impacts of pollution and environmental racism on the residents of Norco, located within 'Cancer Alley' (p. 125). As noted in the introduction and the first half of the article, Wright's application of environmental racism is US-based, which she describes as:

> .....spawned from a history of human slavery and is a by-product of racial segregation and discrimination legitimated in the southern US with the enactment of Jim Crow laws that made all form of segregation and discrimination legal. (p. 125)

This interpretation of ER is specifically centered on the Black experience of slavery in the US and discriminatory policies that enforced racial segregation and inequality in the South. Wright notes that other parts of the US implemented similar discriminatory practices even in the absence of Jim Crow laws. She contends, 'Environmental racism is merely one of the vestiges of the overall pattern and practices of racism and discrimination in the US' (p. 125). Surely, the history of slavery, Jim Crow, and other policies, like anti-miscegenation laws and residential covenants, are important events that contextualize racial patterns and racial inequities. However, the foundations for racism cannot be reduced to the Black experience of racism in the U.S. It would logically follow that an ostensibly general framework of ER should not be reduced to the specific experiences of environmental injustices within Black communities.

Wright offers a particular genealogy of ER as though it were a universal one when in fact her definition is geared only toward contextualizing the experiences of a specific predominantly Black community in Louisiana. It would have been more appropriate for Wright to offer a list of examples such as those offered by Chavis and Bryant and analyze, as one example, the struggles of the black community of Norco which has experienced negative health and environmental impacts from the activities of the Shell Chemical Corporation. In fact, Wright's review of the development of Louisiana's oil economy delineates the coordination between the oil industry and state and local government, in facilitating the oil economy's dominance, and offers much to the discussion of the network of processes and social contracts within and between dominant institutions that often exacerbate patterns of racially differential public health impacts. Hence, Wright offers a complex historical, social, economic, and political overview for understanding the positionality of the community of Norco in relation to the local oil economy, one that reaches far beyond the operating definition she offers of ER.

Most problematic is the leap Wright makes from assessing racial dynamics and the polluting oil industry in Louisiana to an evaluation of the impact of Nigeria's oil economy on the Ogoni tribe, the latter of which is not mentioned in her introduction. Mid-way through the article, Wright employs a new framework for the comparative analysis that involves six factors identified by a non-profit group, the International Possibilities Unlimited. These factors are oil, minority group status, poverty,

multinational corporations, human rights' violation, and environmental devastation. The experience of the Ogoni tribe in Ogoniland, Nigeria, and residents of Norco share in common the development and impacts of the oil economy and communities in both regions might have predominantly black skin color, however, Wright does not offer a reasonable explanation for employing one specific definition of environmental racism for these two divergent communities. The lack of elaboration on the efficacy of defining and applying race and racism in an article that includes a black community in Louisiana and a tribal group in Nigeria provides readers with a superficial understanding of both race and racism.

Wright mishandles the experiences of two Black communities with two distinct histories and social circumstances in relation to race and oil in two completely different parts of the world. As a result, Wright reinforces binary notions of race and racism as a Black/White dynamic. While she concludes that 'race, politics, and pollution all combine to place minorities and the poor at greater risk from exposure to toxic chemicals around the world' (p. 143), the complexities of race and racism in the context of Nigeria's power relations are left unexplored. The result is that Wright imposes a specific kind of US - based race-thinking on a tribe in an African country, misconstrues processes of racialization, and circumvents an opportunity to add to comparative, transnational studies of ER.

Wright's analysis is published in the anthology Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World (Agyeman, Bullard, et al 2003). The relationship between environmental quality and human equality is the overarching theme through which the anthology aspires to facilitate the achievement of social and economic equity between, and within, nations. Race is represented by examples of environmental racism - namely, the disproportionate impact of environmental harms on non-White communities - and presented as a symptom of economic or other social patterns related to income inequality, political rights, civil liberties, economic opportunity, or literacy. The lurking presupposition is that if we address those other indicators of inequality, somehow environmental racism (and perhaps race itself) will disappear. By not applying analytic rigor to the social forces of race and racism as they shape and are shaped by environmental processes in the transnational scene, much of what we think we know about race and environmental racism remains unscrutinized. Consequently, for Wright's units of analysis the anthology offers a lack of guidance for unpacking what it means to be Black and experience environmental racism in one region of the US versus Nigeria.

Environmental Racism on the Borderlands

Similar to the problems I identify in the work of Wright and Bryner, metanarratives of ER do not capture the intricacies of cultural identity, class, cross-border social positions, race, and racism that I encounter in my analyses of the bi-national New River pollution problem that flows south from Mexicali, Baja California through a predominantly Mexican and Mexican American population in the City of Calexico, located in Imperial County, California (Dicochea 2006; 2010; 2012). The River is composed of a toxic mix of agricultural, industrial and household run-off including a long list of chemicals and biological contaminants that threaten the environment and public health. How does one pinpoint environmental hazard exposure when both the polluted environmental resource and the surrounding communities are mobile? While there is a growing body of literature addressing border region environmental problems through an environmental justice lens (Peterson, Peterson and Peterson 2007; Sandler and Pezzullo 2007; Grineski and Collins 2008; Johnson and Niemeyer 2008), there continues to be a lack of explicit confrontation with concepts of race and environmental racism on the borderlands. Instead racialization often looms within EJ research conducted in Othered border regions, which tends to homogenize borderland communities and thwarts our comprehension of how such 'Othering' occurs in the context of both US and Mexican racial sensibilities. Where is race and environmental racism located and how are these social forces observed in a transnational community of predominantly Mexicans and Mexican Americans?

In one aspect of my research, I employ ER as a framework in tandem with a distributive justice argument by shifting the geographic and political scope of my analysis (Dicochea 2006). When focusing on the problem of New River pollution in the U.S., I make the case for environmental racism given the significantly uneven distribution of resources from state and federal agencies - including financial assistance, research commitments and expert attention - by the border communities of Imperial County versus San Diego County for similar transnational water pollution problems. San Diego County has received an unprecedented amount of financial assistance from the California Environmental Protection Agency (Cal/EPA), which will likely not be offered to any other border region in the future (Dicochea 2006; 2010). Demographic and other variables distinguish the two counties, - with Imperial County characterized by a much higher percentage of Spanish-dominant households, consistently higher rates of unemployment, and a higher percentage of persons living at, or below ,the poverty level in comparison to San Diego County and the rest of the state (Dicochea 2006; 2010; 2012). The border community of Calexico (population 30,000) is particularly vulnerable as the first US recipient of the toxic River.

When shifting the scope of my analysis to compare and contrast Mexicali (population 1 million) with Calexico, I contend that over-determined ideas about what ER looks like may mask the multifaceted social and environmental inequalities that manifest within racial groups on the borderlands. The concept of environmental racism does not reflect the various hierarchies within the Mexican and Mexican American communities on both sides of the border that may be at once benefiting from, and burdened by, the New River catastrophe. While the downstream community of west Calexico faces more direct exposure because the river flows through an older neighborhood, some upstream neighborhoods in Mexicali situated directly on the riverbanks appear to be just as and, in some cases, more exposed. Observing these complications, I struggle to apply ER as a framing mechanism when analyzing the cultural, economic, and environmental impacts of transnational water pollution, not because race and racism vanish at the border, but because existing definitions of ER do not capture what I observe.

In other developments of my research, I employ borderlands thought in partnership with bioregionalism and assert that it is necessary to apply a layered observation to the region's New River contamination problem - one that considers material and ideological political divides that coexist with material and ideological cross-border ways of living and knowing (Dicochea 2010). Borderlands thought acknowledges the ways that people draw from multiple cultural values and in the process negotiate various forces of power. Bioregionalism encourages communities to organize around the natural contours of environmental resources including regional weather patterns, flora and fauna, and watersheds. Because a bioregional way of life that is undeterred by political boundaries does not reflect the present moment, I conclude that the communities surrounding the River are located somewhere between borderlands and bioregionalism in terms of both their lived and perceived realities.

I further grapple with the intricacies of intra-racial hierarchies and competing notions of environmental justice in my assessment of the Cal/EPA's Environmental Justice Pilot Project (EJPP) for the New River (Dicochea 2012), initiated by a chemist of the State Water Resources Control Board (SWRCB) who is of Mexican heritage. A local non-profit made up of predominantly Mexicans and Mexican Americans - the Calexico New River Committee (CNRC) - represents for the SWRCB the key grassroots organization to partner with in order to ensure meaningful participation in the Pilot Project. Having conducted extensive fieldwork that includes in-depth interviews, contingent valuation surveys, ethnography, and participant observation, I conclude that the CNRC is reflective of a tight group of mostly male local elites. My data reveals diverse views and tensions within the community of Calexico as some residents support the CNRC while others distrust its plans and leadership (Dicochea 2010). SWRCB officials involved in the New River issue - the majority of whom are Latino - partner with the CNRC

as the lead local group because of the non-profit's regional and state-wide political momentum garnered previous to the inception of the EJPP. I suggest that the Cal/EPA officials involved overlook hierarchies within a predominantly Mexican and Mexican American population, thereby embracing a class- and gender-blind notion of the grassroots. Furthermore, I argue that the CNRC's goals conflict with the SWRCB's methods for achieving justice, evident in the discourse of cumulative impacts -emphasized by the CNRC - and the precautionary approach - emphasized by the SWRCB. The concept of cumulative impacts allows the CNRC to further its objective to encase three miles of the River in order to increase economic development in the western region of Calexico. Meanwhile, the SWRCB employs the concept of the precautionary approach to critique the CNRC's plan to encase the River, which participating SWRCB officials characterize as a shortsighted, band-aid measure.

In summary, multiple meanings of race and justice collide and individuals representing various racialized groups appear on all levels of the social order, on all sides of a political boundary, and may at-once benefit from and be burdened by a given pollution problem in border regions. Some borderland dwellers may spend much of their lives on both sides of a national border and maneuver through various kinds of pollution and a web of cultural forces. In situations of daily or seasonal migrations, the idea of a community as a deliberate target is not very useful because it is nearly impossible to determine a single, deliberate perpetrator in cases where pollution and people are mobile. Conceptions of ER that focus narrowly on disproportionate impacts and unequal protection are also inadequate for capturing more nuanced workings of dominance and power within race relations, one that may involve convoluted engagements with accommodation, resistance, negotiation, and compromise.

I invite EJ scholars to explicitly test the strengths and weaknesses of ER as a framework lest we subvert the subject of co-existing axes of power and privilege and implement an ostensibly consistent perception of what it means to achieve environmental justice.

Map of an Eco-racial Intervention

Thus far, I espouse an eco-racial perspective in exploring the epistemological limits of the dominant paradigms of environmental racism within EJ studies. What proceeds is a synopsis of my main points of critique followed by an eco-racial reply that I craft in the spirit of both critical ER and racial formation theory.

1. ER is recognized as institutionalized racism and, to a lesser extent, institutionalized White privilege, thereby emphasizing structural forces. Eco-racial response: Processes of race and racism involve dynamic interplays between structural forces, or the social order, and ideologies, or discourse. White privilege and racism may shape and be shaped by cultural values revealed through physical or discursive acts and events, laws and policies, art and performance, social movements, government and non-governmental organizations at the individual, regional, national, or transnational level within and beyond state-sanctioned institutions. Race is a thoughtful and illogical, reasonable and irrational, rationalized and contradictory social contract—as is our relationship to the overall environment. I adjust Pulido's questions, presented earlier, and ask, What do race and environment mean to people and how do they interact to shape lives, places and natural resources? Thus, I assert that processes of race and racism must involve the interplay between structure, ideology, and environmental forces.

2. Conceptions of ER put forth as framing mechanisms are in actuality lists of examples of racism featured by the main problems of disproportionate impacts and unequal protection, and other related forms of discrimination and elitism versus over-arching theoretical blueprints. While reflecting important social inequalities, these lists indicate a tendency to essentialize race, racism, and the environment, meaning that these terms are perceived and operationalized in static or otherwise debilitating ways. Eco-racial response: Society places manifold and conflicting values

on racialized human bodies and these values are relational to the variegated and competing values placed on environmental resources. Natural resources are value-laden, socially constructed, cultural and material forces that are ever-transforming. The diversity in the ways that the environment is defined and natural resources are utilized impacts communities differentially. Coexisting understandings of the environment in its many manifestations—as a burden, benefit, market, communal or spiritual value; as physical spaces where humans live or not; or as sites that engage various social forces—are community- and culturally-specific and imbued with relations of power.

3. U.S. racial sensibilities employed through an ER lens tend to homogenize non-White groups and oversimplify the genealogy of ER as experienced by non-White communities within and beyond the U.S. This pattern maintains the power of whiteness and other intersecting social privileges. Eco-racial response: The contexts of social and, I add, environmental resources are important to assess in observing difference and hierarchy within and between particular racial groups. The complexity of power relations is recognized in racial formation thought by the concept of hegemony, in which resistance, accommodation, coercion, consent, and negotiation may intermingle with patterns of environmental racism and struggles for environmental justice. I suggest we identify eco-racial projects and evaluate the extent to which they create, reinforce, resist, and/or transform racial and other social dynamics while influencing and being influenced by natural resource values and uses.

4. Environmental racism is at times characterized as merely symptomatic of presumably more significant or more powerful social forces, which explains colorblind approaches to environmental justice. Eco-racial response: This common theme contradicts over-determined notions of ER and fails to recognize EJ research that demonstrates situations wherein race plays the most important role in furthering unequal access to environmental amenities and disproportionate exposure to environmental harms. Alternatively, efforts to address racialized environmental disparities may be framed as eco-racial justice projects, which underscore the ways that race and racism are connected to environmental values and uses and encourage intentional engagement with the axioms of ER. Toward this end, we may ask, To what extent do environmental justice efforts impact racial segregation and racial discrimination, two major social patterns that are foundational to cases of disproportionate impact and unequal protection? What are the implications for racial formation theory when EJ efforts reinforce or transform structural inequalities or hierarchical discourse?

In racial formation thought, because every body is racialized in ways that reflect interests in, access to, and struggles over resources, race is not an ornament or externality, but an engrained aspect of the U.S. social fabric and environmental landscape. Subsequently, approaches to environmental justice must be contextualized within relational values and orders of race, racism, and natural resources. Addressing class inequities alone will not make race, racism, or environmental problems go away.

Conclusion

EJ scholars tend to be thinking too much alike in approaching race narrowly in terms of racist racial projects, in over-specifying the contours of environmental racism, or in evading analyses of racialization. Within EJ studies race is often held captive by racism, racism is contained within particular forms and functions, and efforts to include social systems of whiteness and its relationship to natural resource values remain ephemeral. An eco-racial consciousness may guide more captivating evaluations of race and racism as discursive and material forces allowing for the intentional consideration of the full spectrum of race-thinking and race-making as processes of power that are engaged by the more and less privileged within and beyond political borders and revealed in our complex, ever changing relationships with an equally dynamic and powerful natural world.

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Comment And Opinion

Race, the Other and Resident Evil

By Laura Wilson, University of Manchester

The article analyses the characterisation of two female action heroes in *Resident Evil* (Paul W. S. Anderson, 2002) to argue that, through generic conventions and standardisation, regressive and essentialist notions of race are upheld and thinly veiled via the concept of the liberated progressive woman in film. References are made to earlier horror cinema to argue that this is a longstanding practice that may only be unpacked through a consciousness to the mechanisms of mainstream cinema. The Other is also briefly discussed to argue that representations of non-White races are marked as that which should be expelled, paralleling or even subsuming the presence of monsters and zombies.

Race has long been a contentious topic in relation to the horror film. We've all heard of the moniker 'the Black guy gets it first', but, of course, non-White characters had to actually exist in the horror film before they were even able to be killed off first. During the early twentieth century horror cycle, including classics such as Tod Browning's *Dracula* (1931) and James Whale's *Frankenstein* (1931), the most notable victims were screaming White women.

This leads to the question, how, if at all, are non-Whites represented in horror cinema? To answer this we must consider the foundation of almost all horror films: there is a structure that must be upheld (this could be a town, a country, a family, a relationship); and there is a presence that threatens to destroy it. In classic horror cinema this presence came in the guise of the vampire, the zombie, the mummy, the werewolf, the giant ape, to name just a few. These monsters are always signified as the 'other' of the norm that must be upheld, in other words they are that which is different from 'us', that which is not 'us' and consequently that which must be expelled for society to continue in the desired way. Unlike contemporary horror films that often see monsters represented as not only human but also potentially living just down the road, classic monsters are distinctively non-human (although they do work to blur the boundaries between human and non-human) and come from far off lands (in relation to the American and British audiences these films were intended for): the Carpathian Mountains, castles in Germany, the deserts of Egypt, an unexplored island. Consider the actors who play the monsters in Tod Browning's *Dracula* and James Whale's *Frankenstein*: Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff. Even their names signify them as non-American. As a result, some studies of classic horror cinema have considered these films to express an anxiety of other races and cultures and their potential to invade American society and corrupt their women and children.[1]

Consider *King Kong* (Merian C Cooper and Ernest B Schoedsack, 1933) for example: When *King Kong* was released, organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan were in decline; however, the emancipation proclamation had only been enforced less than seventy years before and institutionalised racism continued with force. Stereotypical images of African Americans were prolific in the media, and for many decades Black characters in films were only ever minor or providing comic relief, nearly always identifiable as their stock stereotypes: the hyper-sexual buck, the fat mammy, the lazy and carefree sambo, the magical negro.[2] These representations propelled the myth that African Americans were lazy, stupid, dishonest, and something to be feared and expelled.

In recognising these negative perceptions of non-Whites, we can see a number of binaries that form, and actually generate each other. If an African, or African American is sexually lascivious, a White is sexually demure. If the former is overly passionate the latter is blessed by reason. If the former is wild the latter is impeccably cultured. And if the former seeks to strip White women of their virtue the latter seeks to uphold and protect it. These binaries are quick, easy ways to tell a complicated story in a short space of time. But the price to pay for speed and simplicity is the emergence and/or upholding

of reductive, essentialist, racist, and sexist stereotypes.[3]

The main focus of this comment piece will be *Resident Evil*, a horror action thriller released in 2002, directed by Paul W. S. Anderson and based on the popular videogame of the same name. I chose this film because it could quite easily be read as a representation of strong women, however I would suggest that these values are constantly and consistently undermined by reductive notions of race. As Stephen Harper, writing for *Jumpcut* argues; 'despite containing some feminist and other progressive representational strategies [*Resident Evil* films] deploy stereotypes of gender, race and sexuality.'[4] Further, this comes as a result of standardisation, which is the process of making something palatable for as many people as possible, often through stereotypes.[5] Although it could be considered as rather sneaky, it is not an uncommon practice to disguise regressive and harmful stereotypes with potentially liberating, progressive stereotypes.

The two most interesting characters, in regards to race and gender relations, are Alice and Rain, played by Milla Jovovich and Michelle Rodriguez respectively. Unsurprisingly, the marketing campaign behind the film capitalised on the image of these two women. Frequently they are seen together, with Milla Jovovich locking eyes with the camera and Michelle Rodriguez looking off to the right. Whereas Rodriguez has an aggressive stance, her shoulder creating a barrier between herself and viewer, Jovovich holds her shoulders back with her entire torso open to attack – in spite of the absolutely massive gun she is brandishing. Sometimes, one of the film's taglines, 'Evil Never Dies' runs underneath this image. Although we can assume this is referring to the zombies they will inevitably encounter, there is no direct reference to the film's content, leaving us to ponder on the possible connection between 'evil' and the overtly female presence. Further, the depiction of these two women together is interesting in regards to how race is used as a signifier for their respective personalities. As Harper points out, the image serves as a signifier for 'the film's hierarchical structuring of racial identity.'[6] Before going into this, a brief synopsis is in order.

Resident Evil is a zombie movie set in 'The Hive', which is a beehive shaped office and research facility located deep beneath the surface of Raccoon city. The Hive is owned by the Umbrella Corporation, a faceless bio-engineering conglomerate. One of the research projects for this company involves genetic engineering for which a virus is produced. This particular virus causes human tissue to become reanimated after death, in other words, it makes zombies. The virus is released at the very start of the film, triggering the Hive to activate its intelligence defence networks. In order to inhibit the release of the virus onto the surface of the city, the Hive closes its doors, releases nerve gas and floods its offices and laboratories. The main action begins once everyone who was working underground has died and external soldiers enter the site to investigate what has transpired. They find Alice in the mansion above the Hive.

Alice is one of the security team for the Hive, who is suffering from short term memory loss as one of the Hive's security defences. As mentioned above, she is played by Ukrainian-born Milla Jovovich who is probably best known for her role in Luc Besson's *The Fifth Element* (1997), in which she plays Leeloo, a humanoid. In both these roles Jovovich's character is defined by an absent past; one is inhibited by a loss of memory (Alice) and the other by a language barrier (Leeloo). Indeed, Leeloo is created by scientists, as the only part of her recovered was a hand holding a briefcase; in essence, Leeloo is a clone born by man who consider they have created the 'perfect woman'. In both films, these characters' stories are told by their body. In both *The Fifth Element* and *Resident Evil*, Jovovich's body is a character in itself; dressed in tight and revealing clothes, her body's clean hard lines and stark White skin, often enhanced with lighting, is striking to behold. Her bodycage in *The Fifth Element*, designed by John Paul Gaultier, speaks to her restrictions laid out by men (she is their creation after all). In *Resident Evil*, her strange and skimpy red dress (the purpose of which is never explained, but seems wholly inappropriate attire in which to be investigating an underground facility whose defence

systems have been activated) is laid out for her when she emerges from the bathroom, bewildered as to where she is. Perhaps she laid it out for herself before her shower; however this would merely be conjecture. The underlying factor is that frequently Jovovich's characters have very little say in their physical existence. As a White woman, her body is objectified and acts as a representation for 'the' White woman. In both films mentioned here, her almost child-like, yet sexualised and fetishised, body is linked to virtue and innocence. This becomes all the more significant when she is contrasted with her non-White counterpart. For Alice to be White in Resident Evil, and to infer a meaning from this, it has to be read against non-Whiteness.

Alice's non-White counterpart is Rain. We end up knowing very little of who she actually is, contrasted to the 'titbits' of information we are given regarding Alice's love-life and political values. It is likely that too much character development would take up precious space needed for action sequences and pithy one-liners. As fun as these may be, unfortunately it does mean that regressive stereotypes are resorted to in order to create a recognisable character. By choosing Michelle Rodriguez, who is of Dominican Republic and Puerto Rican descent, this character has already been partially formed – she is frequently chosen to play the 'tough girl', see *Girlfight* (Karyn Kusama, 2000) and *Avatar* (James Cameron, 2009). Immediately she is sexualised with her opening line ('blow me'). Later in the film, this is referred to again as she claims 'when I get outta here ... think I'm gonna get laid'. As Harper points out in his article, there are certainly notions of class entwined with notions of race and the binary of good/bad woman in this statement,[7] particularly when juxtaposed with the intermittent flashbacks of Alice's own sexual encounters – slow motion shots of her and her security partner rolling around, sharing a passionate embrace in white sheets on a magnificent and luxurious four-poster bed.

Rain's physicality is also highlighted early on in the film, as she comfortably climbs amongst pipes and wires to fix an electrical fault in a shuttle they are using as transportation. While climbing amongst these metal limbs, an industrialised version of a forest, she holds her torch in her mouth, forcing her to curl her lips and bare her teeth. When compared with our first encounter with Alice's physicality (lying in a half unconscious and helpless state, naked on the bathroom floor), it is clear that whereas Alice is presented as passive and submissive, Rain is active to the point of being aggressive. She is the human version of the sexualised animalistic counter-part of the good White female that dates back to Schoedsack and Cooper's *King Kong*. In short, her race is used as shorthand for certain characteristics that uphold harmful, regressive, racist assumptions of non-White cultures, which is enhanced in *Resident Evil* by Milla Jovovich's Whiteness. This is evident even down to their eyes – frequently there are shots of both actresses staring off-screen, each striking in their own, and highly opposite, way. Whereas Alice's big wide blue eyes suggest an openness, an innocence, and a questioning, Rain's heavy lidded, dark brown glare, rolled up to reveal a large amount of white, is that of a sexualised predator. Even as her representation as a 'strong woman' is undermined by its relation to regressive representations of her race, it is further neutralised by fetishisation.

As the film progresses, Alice and Rain's characters begin to change. As a result of injuries, Rain becomes physically inhibited, having to be helped along by others until she is ultimately required to be sacrificed as the 'Red Queen' (the intelligent defence system of the Hive) declares her a risk to humanity. Alternatively, Alice slowly regains her memory culminating in a fantastic fighting sequence between her and a number of zombified Dobermans. (Fighting styles also point to differences between Alice and Rain: whereas Rain depends on her gun and forward aggression, Alice's stylised and choreographed fighting style suggests rationality, class and intellectualism). It appears as a perfectly synchronised sliding scale: as Rain loses her active aggressive autonomy, Alice gains it in equal measure. Thus, can we not argue that both races are treated and represented in a similar fashion? Well, no, for a number of reasons. First, Alice's passive child-like nature at the beginning of the film is signified by her clean, unblemished, naked body and innocent ignorance of the dangers and evils around her. Rain's descent into a submissive state is coupled with disease as her body continues to deteriorate and she looks

more and more sickly. Rain's initial aggression is the one and only characterisation we have to go on in order to understand her narrative trajectory; Alice's aggression is justified as she couples it with reason and rationality – she is the only one able to keep calm enough to figure a way out – and a maternal streak. Even as she fights her way through zombies, dogs and capitalist giants, she displays a tremendous amount of care for those around her, (who she has only known for a few hours) and takes care of them if and when they become injured. Particularly her relationship with Rain, which develops at an incredible rate from barely looking at each other to Alice willing to risk her life for her, these character traits temper her aggression and provide an acceptable reason for it. The message is clear – whereas aggression is an essential trait for Rain, which is entwined with the whole of her character that is non-White, it is merely an adaptive measure for Alice, rather than an inherent quality of her nature.

Of course, in spite of all of the above, we cannot forget that this film ends with one woman, Alice, standing and prepared to take on a post-apocalyptic world. Only a mere few decades ago this would have been unheard of in cinema. Indeed, in 1979 when the makers of *Alien*, (Ridley Scott) decided to make the final survivor a woman, it was a conscious decision – undoubtedly influenced by the contemporary wave of feminism – to make the film a little different and to create an alternative dynamic and, of course, appeal to audiences who were open to strong leading female characters (this was the era of *Charlie's Angels* and *The Bionic Woman* – in spite of the many feminist critiques that can and have been made of these series, the presence of women in lead roles on television was significant nonetheless). The survivor of *Alien* can likewise be criticised for her sexualisation (the infamous vest and knickers scene towards the end of the film has been said to undermine everything she has done before, although one film scholar, Cynthia Freeland, argues that her near naked stance is not especially marked by femininity[8]) and for her relationship with Jonesy the cat creating a maternal motivation for her behaviour. In spite of this, I would suggest that without Ripley, we would not have had the 'Final Girl'[9] seen in many horror films throughout the 1980s, there would be no *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, and there would have been no Alice and Rain in *Resident Evil*. Whether this is a good or a bad thing is entirely subjective, I'll leave that up to you. What is predominantly problematic however is the tendency for gender theories, and feminist theories (particularly those that emerged in the 1970s) to ignore differences other than man/woman. 'Woman' can too easily be seen as universal and this has often meant White, heterosexual and middle class. Although *Resident Evil* is drawing on the potential for fighting, surviving women to create a progressive and liberating narrative, I would suggest that this is merely a thin and poorly conceived veil that attempts to disguise the use of harmful gender and racial stereotypes for the purpose of pleasing the masses.

The danger of films such as *Resident Evil* is that they are often a lot of fun – their action sequences and quick dialogue tend to propel you forward, thinking of nothing but suspension and climaxes. Although there may be many that scoff at my suggestion that such a film presents a 'danger' of any kind, without consciousness of mechanisms put in place to provide a narrative quickly and easily, regressive and reductive stereotypes will continue to proliferate both consciously and in the unconscious. Further, it doesn't have to be like this. A more recent release, *District 9* (Neill Blomkamp, 2009), represents the Other very markedly as a non-White race, and produces them as monstrous, revolting and very difficult to identify with. However, throughout the process of the narrative, character development and the introduction of human traits, this Other becomes subsumed, enveloped and accepted by the self. Films can explore, critique and question these boundaries, opening up different ways to theorise the self and the other, or even question the necessity for this theorisation.

One way films may attempt to transgress binaries such as self/other, man/woman, White/non-White is to flip them on their head. This can be seen nowhere more clearly than in *Dr Black and Mr White* aka *Dr Black and Mr Hyde*, released in 1976 and directed by William Crain. It was part of the Blaxploitation cycle of films prolific at this particular time and attempted to unpack racist assumptions inherent in Robert

Louis Stevenson's original tale by making the Doctor a good-hearted Black man working tirelessly to help members of an under-privileged and segregated Black community, and consequently presenting his aggressive counter-part as White. Film scholar Harry M. Benshoff argues that Blaxploitation horror films' narrative structure and racial identities produce a potential critique of social and generic racism, as well as significantly changing how the horror film normally represents normality and monstrosity.[10] However, during a recent screening of this film at the University of Manchester as part of the Race-Relations Resource Centre cinema series, discussions with the fantastic students who attended led me to conclude that all this film has done is to reverse a damaging binary without fully interrogating it. Without interrogation, reductive stereotypes will remain. This is all *Resident Evil* has done – placed a woman into what many before the 1970s would have considered a male role and attempted to create a place of aggression for Alice and passivity for Rain.

I would go so far as to suggest that the Other represented as horrific in *Resident Evil* is not the zombie, it is Rain herself. Zombies merely provide a convenient sub-story to the relationship that develops between Alice and Rain. One of the key concepts of the Other is that it must be continuously expelled in order to regain equilibrium. Hence Kong, Dracula, Frankenstein's monster, the mummy, giant ants and killer tomatoes are ultimately defeated. What Alice is able to do, and where Rain fails, is to take on certain qualities of the Other – action and aggression – without becoming lost to it. By contrast, as Rain dies and becomes a zombie, she is merely an intensified version of what she already was – her head tilt and bared teeth recall facial expressions seen earlier in the film. Because of her non-White status in this film, Rain cannot expel the Other; she can only herself be expelled.

End notes

[1] See for example: Berenstein, Rhona J. *Attack of the Leading Ladies: Gender, Sexuality, and Spectatorship in Classic Horror Cinema*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.; Pirie, David. *A Heritage of Horror: the English Gothic Cinema, 1946 – 1972*. London: Gordon Fraser Gallery Ltd, 1973.; Grant, Barry Keith.,ed. *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film.* London: Scarecrow, 1984.; Tudor, Andrew. *Monsters and Mad Scientists: A Cultural History of the Horror Movie.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1989.; Jancovich, Mark. *Rational Fears: American Horror in the 1950s.* Manchester:Manchester University Press, 1996.; Hutchings, Peter. *The Horror Film.* Harlow: Longman, 2004.; Prince, Stephen., ed. *The Horror Film.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.; Worland, Rick. *The Horror Film: An Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.; Silver, Alain. and Ursini, James., eds. *The Horror Film Reader.* New York: Limelight editions, 2000.; Hutchings, Peter. *Hammer and Beyond: The British Horror Film.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.; Humphries, Reynold. *The American Horror Film: An Introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.; Benshoff, Harry. M. *Monsters in the Closet: Homosexuality and the Horror Film.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.; Janocovich, Mark., ed. *Horror: The Film Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002.

[2] See for example Leab, Daniel. J. *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures.* London: Secker and Warburg, 1975.; Pines, Jim. *Blacks in Films: A Survey of Racial Themes and Images in the American Film.* London: Studio Vista, 1975.

[3] See Turner, Graeme. *Film as Social Practice.* 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 1999, pp.77 – 109, Film Narrative.

[4] Harper, Stephen "I could kill you, you bitch." Race, gender and sexuality in *Resident Evil* and *Resident Evil 2*: Apocalypse. *Jump Cut. A Review of Contemporary Media.* 49, 2007. [Online]. (Retrieved August 11, 2012). (Url, http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc49.2007/HarperResEvil/index.html).

[5] See Adorno, Theodor. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture.* London: , 1991.

[6] Harper, Stephen (ref. 4).

[7] Harper, Stephen (ref. 4).

[8] See Freeland, Cynthia. *The Naked and the Undead.* Oxford: Westview, 2000, pp. 64-66.

[9] See Clover, Carol. *Men Women and Chainsaws: Gender and the Horror Film.* London: British Film Institute, 1992.

[10] Benshoff, Harry. M. Blaxploitation Horror Films: Generic Reappropriation or Reinscription? *Cinema Journal*, **39**(2), 2000, pp. 31-50.

Britishness in Bermondsey: Being and Belonging

Sadia Habib, Goldsmiths

The research was conducted in a secondary school in South East London with two classes of students who completed GCSE Art coursework on Britishness. The students completed questionnaires midway and at the end of the project. I also conducted one hour interviews with two pairs of students.

Here I will outline my specific findings and analyse these findings in order to achieve an understanding of the definitions and discourses of Britishness according to two GCSE students who have studied this identity issue in extensive detail. One of the students in this interview was male, the other female and they were different cultural backgrounds. The paired interview allowed the students to interact with one another, converse with one another and share their ideas with me in a relaxed and open research setting. I was able to learn about their definitions of and discourses on Britishness.

THE RESEARCH:

My interest in exploring the meanings and definitions of Britishness stemmed from my own experiences: I am – in no particular order - British, of Pakistani descent, Muslim, and from Lancashire but living in London. The meaning of Britishness has evolved throughout my life. I was born in the late seventies, and now more than thirty years on, Britishness has been adapted, amended and articulated in so many exciting new ways. And this is what I aimed to learn: what has Britishness now become – specifically to these Bermondsey students?

My keenness in this research was also sparked by the contemporary concern on issues of identity. It was talk from previous and current government figureheads that made me want to affirm or negate their standpoints and positions; the government's concerns with 'radicalisation' of young Muslim males, and the educational failure of the White working-class males, were two significant concerns. The Labour government – towards the end of its reign – was promoting the teaching and learning of Britishness in schools. David Cameron – early on in the coalition government's rule – attacked multiculturalism.

I aimed to see the discussing, debating and defining of this difficult concept of Britishness in action, in practice and in the classroom itself. For this is what the government was proposing – that Britishness be taught in school. I wanted to steer away from it being almost side-lined in extra-curricular subjects. I wanted the topic to have significance by giving the students an opportunity to treat this discourse on Britishness seriously, and the perfect place seemed to be through the curriculum in a classroom setting. Further the fact that it was a GCSE Art module gave the subject more seriousness. This would be a valid and valuable avenue to study and reflect on Britishness in a personal and meaningful, yet structured and specific way. In this way the students would be given time to work on their ideas of Britishness for weeks rather than simply discussing it in a one hour interview. In addition to learning about their definitions and discourses of Britishness, I also wanted to see how the students and teachers regarded the actual process of studying Britishness. Moreover, by using data from a GCSE Art project over a longer sustained period of time, I would be able to obtain deeper and more reflective responses from the students. The Head of Art wanted to write a module which allowed her Art students to explore Britishness. I was keen to investigate how it felt for these students and their respective teachers to study Britishness.

BRITAIN: DO YOU BELONG?

> ELLIE: I don't think there is like an obvious concept of being British....maybe not anymore...I think...It's more about London which is very multicultural. It's not what it is to be British... Everyone is unique in London.

The female student importantly articulates that identity is not fixed, but changes as generations come and go. She recognises that multiculturalism has added another dimension to the definition of Britishness, highlighting the 'unique' nature of our demographics. Her focus on the city of London – belonging to a part of London is key to her to identity, and from what she tells me it is more important than Britishness itself. The male student then raises the point that there are differences, and that being British isn't a straightforward acquisition for those who migrate to the UK. For him there is a respect for freedom of choice. Though he mentions his Polish neighbours not wishing to belong to British society, at the same time he recognises that the attitudes of people can change, and often do change. Again this highlights the evolving nature of identity as well as how the discourse and discussion on identity is ever developing too. Is it Britain or is it Poland – where do they belong? The answer for this student seems to be that the neighbours want to be Polish.

> CHRIS: Yeah, I'm thinking about some new people in my area. They are from Poland, I think, and they can't speak that much English properly. But I think that…they were talking to my neighbours and she said that they don't want to be part of this society. She doesn't feel part of society yet, but I don't know about now…Probably changed now.

Notions of belonging, home and national identity affiliations are subject to change in our globalised world. And no doubt the Polish neighbours the male student uses to illustrate his example will have adapted and evolved in terms of identity over the last five years. The male student, like the female student earlier, recognises that identity is not fixed in time, but is subject to change.

LONDON: GLOSSY AND GRITTY

Ellie relates to us how the glossy façade of London that the tourists see on their visits to the capital is very different to the reality of the city. The 'nice and perfect' elements of London are not all there is: there is 'so much more than that':

> ELLIE: …last Christmas I did my work experience up in London. And when I started getting the bus back, and there were like loads and loads of tourists around taking photos, cos all the Christmas lights were up… And I got the impression that this is what they saw London as…I think I was in Regent Street, while I was there, I felt out of place, and then I thought this is London, this is Britain, this is what I am…and this is what they think London's about, but it's not. It's so much more than that. Tourists think it's all nice and perfect, but it's not.

The student at a very young age is aware of the stark differences between the rich and the poor parts of London. Regent Street is a world away from Bermondsey, though both belong to London. And the student is obviously moved by the fact that for many Londoners (that is many British people) poverty is a problem. The language she uses 'struggle', 'poverty' and 'in need' highlight the grim aspects to life in the city:

> ELLIE: Because like, well in Regent Street where I was, there had been so much money and effort put into making it look so lovely and everyone was friendly in the shops and that…like Christmas spirit or whatever. But there are so many people that are in need…and poverty in London, and I don't think a lot of people know about that…they think we are really rich and posh and formal, but there are a lot of people who struggle in London…
>
> CHRIS: It's like the same thing with us though, if we haven't visited a country we judge a country before we go and there and actually see….someone could say that country is poor and run-down or something but we haven't seen everything, you just have seen what you seen on the media, that representation of the country, that's all we see. But there could be good parts to the country. Tourists

> who come here won't think there's all gun crime and that because tourists who come here go up London to Oxford Street, Tower Bridge and that…they see the nice parts of London.
>
> ELLIE: Peckham, Brixton…

The male student then is able to also recognise that media representations give people a chance to pre-judge a place, a nation and their people. Thus for him, although the tourism of London revolves around Oxford Street and Tower Bridge and such places both pleasing to the eye and the mind, a principal association with the reality of living in London is 'gun crime'. Moreover, for this student – and many others living in London – there is a stark contrast between areas such as 'Peckham' and 'Brixton' in comparison with central London itself in all its glossy glory. Britishness will surely have different meanings depending on where your actual abode is, and thus what your lived experience of Britain and social identity is within that specific geographical boundary. London, the students are telling me, is all about the glossy versus the gritty. The female student echoes the concerns of her male peer, and further she refers to governmental policies neglecting inner city areas and their residents, and gives her perception that the money goes into areas of London which are already affluent. It must not be ignored that these students have major concerns about issues which affect young Londoners: gun crime, gang culture and redistribution of wealth. These are serious plights that these students have had a significant experience in what they see happening in their immediacy and in their reality.

There is real socio-political awareness in the discourse of these students – as Londoners they see beyond what they believe is glossiness sold to tourists. They feel proud of the city, they feel part of the city – but they feel separate from it at the same time regardless of 'race'. This seems a class issue: a White female student and a male student with dual heritage do not refer to issues of 'race', but instead class differences dominate their discussion on the meaning of Britishness. For example the divided nature of the city of London beyond geographical boundaries but into class boundaries is an issue they raise. Areas such as Peckham and Brixton are very different to Regent Street, Oxford Street and Tower Bridge – and to the students these social class differences are visible, real and lived. Geographical differences within London figure in their ideas on Britishness. Being British then is about local identity as well as national identity. Definitions of Britishness are determined then not just by one's ethnic or religious background, but also by one's social class status or position. These students feel neglected by powerful institutions such as polity – they feel that money and efforts to improve their locality are not being put into where they belong, for instance Bermondsey or Peckham.

FAMILY, HOME AND BELONGING

> ELLIE: I don't know because all my family are in Beckenham, so when I'm there I do feel I'm at home, because I can go 'round to my nans or my aunts…

Family is a factor that heavily influences Ellie's ideas on home and belonging. Discussion about national identity also focuses our understanding on the changing nature of home for the individual, as well as the changing landscape of Britain generally. One student may have multiple affiliations – the places from whence grandparents came (for example many of the White students claim Irish descent), the places dear to the hearts of their parents, and then the places they themselves have been born, lived in and grown up in.

> ELLIE: …because Beckenham, maybe because it is further from central London, it's not so multi-cultured, and people are more like all the same. Whereas in New Cross, it's so many different cultures, there's so many different people from like all over the world, so many different clothes, they speak different languages, they eat different foods. I just think our people are more accepting of something that they don't think is normal.

Ellie recognises that there is an impact of multiculturalism on notions of national identity. She is able

to contrast the ideas about social identity out in those suburbs of Kent with her experience of residing in New Cross in South East London. The multiple languages, cultures, peoples and foods of New Cross and other vibrant 'ethnic' areas of London lend a new angle to the Britishness question. As she tells us 'people are more accepting of' what they think of as not 'normal', that is the other. Thus in some parts of inner and outer London where there is a multicultural population Britishness of a multicultural ilk seems more readily accepted, whilst in the mono-cultural suburbs of Kent, for example, it seems that the 'other' – languages, cultures, people and food – are not so 'normal', not so acceptable and not so British. In Kent, she tell us Britishness conforms to a 'stereotypes…of like…living in a three-bedroom semi-detached house, like happy families, sit down and eat dinner together…'.

'There's different sides to Britishness', she goes on to tell me. Thus Britishness is not fixed or rigid – but the notion is flexible and open to interpretation:

> SH: And in New Cross? What does Britishness mean to people in New Cross?
>
> ELLIE: I think it's too far spread to connect it together …because to say this is Britishness, because everyone has such different opinions because everyone is so different…

And then when she draws a comparison with New Cross, her ideas once again point to difference – 'everyone has different opinions' and 'everyone is so different'- and so in her eyes these differences lead to difficulties in forming a stable and solid idea on what Britishness means to the people who reside in areas such as New Cross. She regards the residents of places such as Beckenham, with different demographics, as having more homogeneity in their views on the meaning and definition of Britishness.

Whereas the female student deemed her 'ethnicity' as White 'British', the male student hailed from a dual heritage background; and he acknowledges that he feels closest to his maternal side of the family who mainly live in Jamaica and the United States and who he visits regularly, and whilst out there he feels like he is an ambassador for Britain. The male student has loyalties with both Britain and Jamaica. It is interesting that a change of place can bring out different feelings regarding national identity: when in Jamaica, the male student may feel much more of an affiliation with the Jamaican identity, yet at the same time when in Jamaica he is being reminded in his encounters with others of his British-ness. Moreover, not only do the Jamaicans he encounters when on holiday there remind him of his British identity, but he, himself, 'feels' British. In this way we can see the complexity of the intertwining of national and cultural identity. In Jamaica when Chris is with family and friends curious about London or Britain, then his sense of British identity is asserted and emphasised. It is this process of assertion and emphasis on his Britishness – both national and cultural identity – that allows him to probably feel more British when abroad, than when he is in Britain itself:

> SH: When you are here in London, do you feel Jamaican or British?
>
> CHRIS: I feel British, but…yeah I feel more British really. But if I'm talking to someone, and they ask me where I'm from, I say: 'I'm half-English and half-Jamaican'.

Thus though being British may be his 'natural' primary identity when he is in London, he still refers to his Jamaican heritage when he is asked about his background. Thus we can see that the geographical setting will impact upon a sense of identity: where we are gives meaning to who we are. We see that family heavily influences a sense of national and cultural identity – for the male student informs us that even in London, he spends more time with his maternal side of the family who are Jamaican and so he 'feels' more Jamaican.

RACISM IN BERMONDSEY: A GRAIN OF TRUTH OR INGRAINED?

CHRIS: Yeah, 'cos most people have stereotypes about Bermondsey...like there's loads of chavs there...and there's gangs around there. That's how it is around there.

ELLIE: Especially since Big Brother[1] people think it's quite racist...

CHRIS: Yeah, like people from a posh part of London would say Bermondsey is not a nice area, that it's racist around here and there's all chavs and there's loads of gangs...

A de-construction of these stereotypes would be helpful in any teaching and learning on Britishness in schools for a concern about stereotypes feature heavily in the discourse of the students. The response the two students provide shows that they believe that there is a disturbingly negative stereotype about what Britishness means in Bermondsey. Even more disturbing is when the female student refers to a picture of Britishness in Bermondsey being 'racist', which the male student reiterates.

ELLIE: In a way, I can see where people get the stereotype from...but...what they see as a chav they might think they see in Bermondsey, but how can they say that person's a chav when they have never met that person or those kind of people...because people around here aren't...they are not horrible. Alright they might...noone's perfect, but people 'round here, if you don't like them, that's your opinion...but I don't think you can put them into one category...

There is a fierce loyalty to Bermondsey. Ellie has a keen awareness of the homogenous nature of stereotypes, for she tells 'I don't think you can put them into one category'. She tells us she understands why this stereotype might exist, but she doesn't agree it can be applied to all of Bermondsey – because it is in essence a stereotype. There may be a grain of truth to it – but it is not ingrained.

SH: Do you think it's a stereotype about Bermondsey then that it is racist, or do you think racism does exist in Bermondsey?

ELLIE: Yeah, there is racism in Bermondsey...

CHRIS: Yeah, there is...

The students relay their experiences of extreme right-wing politics:

CHRIS: Yeah...round Bermondsey every year, they have a NF march...a National Front march... they are racist people...and everyone who wasn't born here or who isn't British...they want them to go back where they came from or to get out of this country...because this country belongs to them...but at the end of the day, because Britishness has changed so much now and involves all these different cultures, if everyone left and went back to their country, this country would kinda fall...

ELLIE: Yeah...

The male student brings up the annual marches led by extreme right-wing factions held in Bermondsey. Throughout my years teaching in Bermondsey a number of students had mentioned this annual march by the BNP through Bermondsey; I remember that this was a frightening and disturbing feature of Bermondsey in particular for those students from a non-White background. Chris believes that Britain would 'fall' without these multicultural elements, and his female peer supports his view:

CHRIS: ...because most people who come to this country...they come here and they build it up, if everyone left, it would fall...

ELLIE: Yeah...they are a part of us...

CHRIS: Yeah, they are a part of our country…they helped build up the country…and they still don't belong…

There is an element of sadness and disbelief in his words: that these people from immigrant backgrounds have helped to build Britain, and yet 'they still don't belong'. There is a lot of confusion about these different far-right groups – I wonder if the term NF is still part of the semantic field of racism throughout Britain, or just restricted to South East London or even Bermondsey. Groups such as the BNP and the EDL are the contemporary counterparts of the once notorious NF, yet NF remains in the vocabulary of Bermondsey. This opens the question about whether it is crucial to discuss these groups in school so that students have an informed understanding of what they stand for and what they do. Some teachers may regard this as dangerous territory, and be reluctant to raise taboo and highly sensitive topics. Some teachers though may be willing to engage in debates about such controversial issues. I recall when it was around the time of the BNP march – the students would bring up the topic just generally in chit chat during or after lesson – and I didn't quite know how to deal with it myself – I wasn't sure how to respond. There was genuine concern or curiosity about this annual march, and even fear. The non-White students who raised this were afraid for their immediate safety as well as for the implications for their belonging to Bermondsey and Britain.

Ellie goes on to recall disturbing experiences in other areas of London where she doesn't feel safe or where she doesn't feel she belongs. Both students are very loyal to Bermondsey, and very aware of feeling like outsiders in neighbouring areas of London. Although both students recognise the ugly side of Bermondsey, that is the racist reputation, they still point out that they have had no trouble and that they feel safe in Bermondsey. That it seems is where they immediately belong. Their sense of national identity is dwarfed by their sense of local identity. Both students are remarkably honest in front of each other and in front of me in their discussion on identity. They are extremely frank and candid about their views on 'race', particularly as the 'interview' or 'discussion' or 'exchange' progressed, they seemed to feel more and more comfortable, relaxed and able to say whatever was on their mind in relation to this topic.

Conclusions:

Belonging to Britain can be deconstructed: belonging to London, or belonging more particularly to Bermondsey is key to their identity. It is more about the Bermondsey identity than British identity for these students. It is more about local identity than national identity. The local is more loved and more real for these students – thus, what is happening in the areas of London they know and inhabit is far more important than Britain at large or national identity. And belonging to Bermondsey by default thus means not belonging to Peckham, or New Cross or another area of London.

The discussion on Britishness will vary according to where you are in Britain and who you are interviewing in terms of their age, gender and cultural/religious background. In this paper, I have presented findings relating to two Year Eleven students in South East London who come to a discussion on Britishness with their personal perspectives. When I interview them about their views on the meaning of Britishness, there are recurring themes that occur in their discourse and thus have significance for our understanding of what Britishness means to these young people.

An important finding is that London and their identity as Londoners is significant, and a major part of being British. London comes first, and being Britain is almost secondary in terms of identity. The students tell us about the territorial nature of different parts of London and how this affects their experience of Britishness; moreover we learn of the alarming unsafe and seedy elements to the city – guns and gangs – which affect their day to day existence. The students discuss the 'racial' aspects of being British – and what this specifically means in their personal experience of Bermondsey. The

students show us that any discourse on Britishness will inevitably highlight the complex relationship between family/home and identity/belonging. Lastly, the students are extremely articulate in voicing the ever evolving nature of Britishness, as well as its intricate mingling with multiculturalism.

I am writing about Britishness in a particular place – which is always changing – in a particular cultural context – forever changing – a particular socio-political context – again changing; students' personalities and perspectives are changing as life goes on minute by minute, day by day, week by week and so on.

I am not claiming that this is the one way we should define Britishness – as again these perspectives offered to me by students in this one school are ever changing. However it is fascinating to understand some aspects of identity in our time by attempting to grasp some of the themes and patterns that are emerging in the students' discourse; perhaps this can be compared with policymakers' political discourse; whilst the government have this anti-terror rhetoric high on the agenda – such fears were not evident in what the students revealed in their personal discourse on Britishness.

Definitions of Britishness are fleeting and evolving as experiences mould us, as we encounter new events, ideas and people. There has been work in the past on what Britishness means to second-generation Pakistanis, this will soon be superseded by work on what Britishness mean to second-generation Polish youth. The second-generations will become third, fourth and fifth generations – and new research will cover these new identities in a new Britain.

End Notes

[1] The student is making reference to the Channel Four reality show *Big Brother* which made famous Jade Goody who was from Bermondsey.

Book Reviews

Jo Manby

Reviews

ARTS, LITERATURE AND SPORT

ADVANCING THE BALL: RACE, REFORMATION, AND THE QUEST FOR EQUAL COACHING OPPORTUNITY IN THE NFL

N. Jeremi Duru

Publisher: Oxford University Press, New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-19-973600-3 (hardback)
Pagination: pp.204
Price: £15.99

Achieving equal opportunities for Black and minority ethnic coaches at National Football League (NFL) level in the United States has been an uphill struggle. Duru's volume tells the story of this particular period in civil rights history for the first time - a time when of a few committed individuals propelled the issue into 'a sea change in America's most popular and profitable sports league' (p.7). These individuals, two attorneys, Cyrus Mehri and Johnnie Cochran, joined with John Wooten, former a Cleveland Browns team offensive lineman, to organize for change. Duru, as an attorney in Mehri's law office, and later as 'an activist academic'(p.7), was able to witness their pledge to challenge the NFL's employment practices.

Tony Dungy, the first African American coach to team lead a Super Bowl victory, contributed the foreword. In the first chapter of the book, Baltimore Love, Duru examines his promotion to Head Coach of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, 'the League's most hapless team' (p.11) until he made them 'a consistent play-off contender' (p.12) and turned their fortunes around. He was sacked, however, for no apparent reason, and it was suggested that a White head coach would not have been so summarily dismissed.

Chapter 2, 'An Idea's Origin', describes Mehri and Cochran's backgrounds and career histories. The author argues that Mehri sought 'to prove racial discrimination by way of statistical analysis' (p.20), since the unfair hiring and firing of head coaches of recent times was definitely more than a set of coincidences. Together Mehri and Cochran planned their strategy, employing an economics professor, Janice Madden, with whom Mehri had worked previously, to 'compare the coaching performances of African American head coaches and white head coaches over the preceding 15 years' (p.31).

The following chapter begins with Mehri's conclusion that 'black coaches are performing better' (p.33). It also tracks the successful legal action taken by Tommy Harper, a major league basketball player between 1962 and 1976, against the Red Sox and their Winter Haven Elks Club with its Whites only admittance, for discriminatory treatment. The pros and cons of a 'full-blown suit against the NFL' (p.41) were weighed up by Mehri and Cochran and they began their campaign at a considered pace with a press conference. Cochran happened to have just launched a book tour for his recently published memoir, A Lawyer's Life, and spoke publically about the NFL injustices. The news spread and the hate communications began; but undaunted, NFL veteran Wooten joined the Mehri and Cochran's campaign.

Wooten's history is outlined in 'Enter the Godfather'. Together with Paul 'Tank' Younger, who played for NFL from 1949 to 1958, and Frank Gilliam who played five exhibition games for NFL but also spent six years in the Canadian Football League, he was committed to challenging the unspoken colour bar on African Americans. They pushed forward new ideas such as mentoring of African American college coaches at pro team's training camps and made many other constructive suggestions.

Chapter 5 explores the introduction of 'The Rooney Rule', which 'requires NFL teams to

interview at least one minority candidate for head coaching and upper-level front office positions' (p.xii). Although this was a breakthrough, it did not immediately run smoothly. Chapter 6 looks at 'The Coaching Carousel', detailing the victories and low points of teams such as the Dallas Cowboys, the Houston Texans and the New England Patriots, and elucidating such setbacks as the NFL's refusal to condemn the Cowboys attempts to circumvent the Rooney Rule.

The Cincinnati Bengals, 'the "poster child" for everything the Rooney Rule stood against' (p.96) had never in 35 years employed a 'head coach, offensive coordinator, or defensive coordinator of color' (p.97). The owner, Mike Brown, however, interviewed two African Americans and three Whites for the position of head coach and chose an African American, Marvin Lewis. Cincinnati had long been racially discordant - several years during which police officers there had killed fourteen African American men culminated with street riots in 2001. The Rooney Rule and the reform of the NFL were seen as a way of healing such 'racial wounds' (p.101).

The remaining chapters are entitled 'Millen, Mooch and the Great Detroit Hiring Debate'; 'Birth of an Alliance [Fritz Pollard Alliance]'; 'A Season of Dreams'; 'Digging New Wells'; and 'The Road to Super Bowl, XLI'. Duru concludes this positive, inspirational chronicle with the summary, 'for better or for worse, depending on the perspective, the League had become a major player in the racial politics of the new Millennium' (p.174).

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

END OF EMPIRE AND THE ENGLISH NOVEL SINCE 1945

Edited by Rachael Gilmour and Bill Schwarz

Publisher: Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-07190-8578-9 (hardback)
Pagination: pp.243
Price: £65.00

Bill Schwartz's admirable introduction establishes the way this edited collection, though in the main presenting postcolonial scholarship, extends its 'remit to those works which at first glance do not seem to fall within the postcolonial field of vision' (p.17). Instead, literary responses to the end of empire arising in the metropole are assessed 'to discover what was happening inside the "parochial" literary imagination of the mainstream English' (p.18). Schwarz continues, explaining the guidelines he and co-editor Rachael Gilmour set: 'the decisive issue is not the – assumed – racial or ethnic identity of any single individual, as such, but rather their determinate historical experience of England' (p.18). Englishness, in fact England, is shown to be chimerical in essence, a 'hermetic, empirically verifiable English identity' (p.20) elusive in the extreme.

The book opens with Patrick Parrinder discussing Anglo-American attitudes in mid-twentieth century English fiction, a time when the country was exhibiting 'cultural exhaustion' (p.38). Several literary journals closed down, austerity was firmly in place and George Orwell had died aged 47. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), while envisaging a terrifying future, is 'full of echoes of postwar London' (p.38), for example the novel's 'geopolitics' (p.38) wherein Britain is renamed as Airstrip One, when in reality US Strategic Air Command bomber squadrons had returned to Europe in 1947, and the North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington in 1949. Parrinder contrasts the Anglocentricity of the novel, which only directly refers to America in the chosen currency of the dollar, with other oeuvres, such as that of Graham Greene, which have a more international scope. However he acknowledges that while Orwell and Greene's works have been associated with a vision of imperial decline conflated with national decline, 'representations of national decline at mid-century are [.....] intricate, and [.....] ambiguous' (p.41).

Cora Kaplan then explores the subject of 'conservative modernity and the female crime novel' in regard to Josephine Tey and her (literary) descendants. *The Franchise Affair* (1948) references the effects of empire surreptitiously as a teenage English girl accuses a mother and daughter of kidnapping

and imprisoning her as a 'captive servant' (p.54) and *Simisola* (1994) by Ruth Rendell reworks Tey's plot to include the disappearance of the daughter of a West African immigrant GP who is a longstanding British citizen.

Richard Steadman-Jones then tells of the transformation of John Masters who prior to 1947 was an officer in the Indian army, 4th Gurkas, and later emigrated to America and became a writer. Steadman-Jones traces the reception and themes of the Savage family saga spread over seven novels set during various periods of British Indian history which arguably can be read from a liberal standpoint. In 'The entropy of Englishness: reading empire's absence in the novels of William Golding' Rachael Gilmour examines the 'communicative entropy [.....] the malaise of the novel's white characters' (p.103) in *Darkness Visible* (1979), and the sense of 'post-imperial Englishness' (p.100) inscribed into *The Inheritors* (1955) which ends with 'the perspective of Tuami, one of the leaders of the New People, as they sail away from the scene of genocide through the dawn light' (p.99).

Huw Marsh, in 'Unlearning Empire: Penelope Lively's Moon Tiger', aligns Lively's tying together of her protagonists – in *Moon Tiger* (1987) and *Cleopatra's Sister* (1993), among others – and the history of [their] times' (p.152) with that employed by Salman Rushdie in *Midnight's Children* (1981) where Saleem Sinai 'famously describes himself as "mysteriously handcuffed to history"' (p.152). In another chapter, Suzanne Hobson surveys 'travel fiction and travelling fiction from D H Lawrence to Tim Parks', showing how 'for Parks, Lawrence offers a model of ambivalent attachment to Englishness' situated in an uncertainty post-Empire about 'how the novel can move beyond the various kinds of reductivism associated with parochialism and its close shadows, imperial nostalgia and writing back' (p.167).

There are eleven chapters in total authored by a range of widely published academics and scholars. Each contribution is thoroughly engaging, often with quite brief but close and erudite textual analysis, combined with expert contextualization. David Alderson, Senior Lecturer in English and American Studies at the University of Manchester, and Visiting Professor at Shanghai Jiao Tong University, submits the concluding chapter, 'Saturday's Enlightenment', which examines Ian McEwan's novel *Saturday* against the backdrop of 'larger debates on the British left [.....] about the US and British-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and more generally about the continuing imperatives of empire' (p.218). As he maintains, 'it is time – way past time – for other narratives of progress: not new forms of idealism, but other ways of making history' (p.235).

Also relates to:
History
Politics and Government
Social Theory

COLERIDGE-TAYLOR: A CENTENARY CELEBRATION

Jeffrey Green

Publisher: History and Social Action Publications
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-9548943-8-2
Pagination: pp.32
Price: £4.00

This brief but comprehensive summary of the life and work of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912) draws upon research published in Jeffrey Green's biography, *Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, A Musical Life* (2011). A composer whose *Hiawatha's Wedding Feas*t generated a rapturous success with English-speaking audiences, together with its sequels *The Death of Minnehaha* and *Hiawatha's Departure*, Coleridge-Taylor had a complex family background. He had a White English mother and a Black African father. The book details this heritage with information gleaned from censuses and from an earlier biography, charting the young Coleridge-Taylor's career as he progressed from formal tuition with a violinist to a place at the then newly formed Royal College of Music. Green points out that 'the relationship between Coleridge-Taylor and the Royal College of Music needs a detailed study, for his successes as a composer reflected on the College and on Professor Stanford' (p.8).

Stanford was influential and in 1897 Coleridge-Taylor graduated as an Associate of the Royal

College of Music (ARCM) and the following year, spurred on by the success of his compositions, he completed a short cantata, *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, which premiered at the Royal College of Music 11 November 1898. It had a relatively 'poor premiere' (p.9) in contrast to its later success, but Coleridge-Taylor was already 'known as a young composer to be watched' (p.9). Between 1897 and 1898 he published music for solo piano, cello and piano, violin and piano, for voice and for orchestra. Some of his output acknowledged his African descent, such as the *Danse Negre* from the *African Suite* and seven songs in his *African Romances*. He was still only 23 years old.

The success of *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* led to requests for new work, *The Death of Minnehaha* premiered in Hanley, Staffordshire in October 1899. In addition, the publisher of *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, Novello and Co 'agreed to pay £100 every year for the first right of refusal on any new works by Coleridge-Taylor; and they paid a further £250 for *Minnehaha*. This financial success allowed Coleridge-Taylor settle down and marry, with his wife able to manage the home as opposed to having to also work.

Green includes a section on *Other African Britons*, emphasising that 'People of African birth and descent were far more common in Britain than has been realised' (p13). He references that after the 1870s, choirs singing Spirituals were to be found across Britain and the continent. Also that Coleridge-Taylor had many Black friends and acquaintances, and was involved, as 'probably the youngest participant' (p.21) in the *London Pan-African Conference*, July 1900. He remained in the Croydon area with his wife Jessie Walmisley and their son Hiawatha (b.1900) and daughter Gwendolyn (later Avril, b.1903) until he died of pneumonia in September 1912.

Green's study of the composer concludes with chapters on 'Death and Legacy', 'Assessment of his Music', and 'What if he had lived longer?' He quotes the conductor Sir Malcolm Sargent, who conducted *Hiawatha* at the Albert Hall in the 1920s and 1930s ; who, in his biography states '"He's a first-class composer, completely equipped technically, with a remarkable and individual chain of melodic invention"' (p.30). The book contains monochrome photographs and reproductions of documents, such as the programme for *Hiawatha* from Washington, 1904, and ends with Further Reading' and other resources.

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

AFRICAN THEATRE 9: HISTORIES 1850-1950

Editor Yvette Hutchison

Publisher: James Currey, Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, New York
Year: 2010
ISBN: 978-1-84701-014-8 (James Currey paper)
Pagination: pp.183
Price: £17.99

This is the ninth in an annual series which constitutes a forum for research and critical discussion in the active arena of African theatre and performance. The editors invited submissions that related to issues of the documentation and oral history of indigenous and colonial productions; how performances have developed in terms of negotiating transactions between colonial and indigenous peoples, between '"collaboration"' and '"resistance"' (pxii); and how new conceptions of culture grew out of this and changed the nature of performance.

James Gibbs, in 'Seeking the Founding Father: The Story of Kobina Sekyi's The Blinkards' (1916), and Christina Matzke in 'Looking for 'Eritrea's Past Property' (1947): Archives and memories in Eritrean theatre historiography', both write about the physical and political problems with conserving performance material, and the contingency of people's accounts of performances.

Gibbs uses Gold Coast newspapers and other documents, such as a PhD thesis by Kofi Baku, to compile a detailed picture of the staging and reception of Sekyi's play, calling for 'effective arrangements for the cataloguing and preservation of vital documents' (p.35). Matzke's focus on Berhe Mesgun's play *Zehalefe Nebret Ertra (Eritrea's Past Property)* is based on first hand memories;

she met Mesgun in December 2006, some 60 years after he wrote the play. Matzke emphasises the dearth of written information on such performances and the expediency with which oral histories should be attended to.

The role of missionaries comes particularly to the fore in Owen S Seda's 'Medieval Morality and Liturgical Drama in Colonial Rhodesia: Early Christian Martyrs Dramatized', and in 'Contesting Constructions of Cultural Production in and Through Urban Theatre in Rhodesia, c.1890-1950' by Samuel Ravengai. Seda examines how 'church dramas were used in Christian proselytizing by the Catholic Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Anglican Church' (p.38), for example the translated version of Father Pedro Calderon de la Barca's *El Gran Teatro del Mundo*, a Spanish morality play. Ravengai explores three urban African performances, *Nyawo*, *The Tea Party*, and *Beni*, using a 'socio-historical analysis model' (p.53) to assess the relationship between cultural production and power.

A reappraisal of the accounts of African theatrical performances by missionaries and administrators is deemed timely by Sam Kasule in "Don't Talk Into My Talk": Oral Narratives, Cultural Identity and Popular Performance in Colonial Uganda', and Cristina Boscolo's 'The Leaf and the Soap: A story of Appropriation and Resistance'. Kasule's material includes 'ritual, folk songs, the travelling musician' (p.73), using the accounts of European travelers, for example, Lugard, the first representative to Uganda from the British Imperial Company, witnessing 'theatricality .....in the greetings between King Mwanga and Prince Mbogo's entourage' (p.73) and Peter Cooke's glossing of Ssekinoomu's 1945 recording of *Wayalesi (Wireless)*, a song referring to the introduction of the new technology to Uganda. Boscolo concentrates on a little explored period in Yorùbá theatre history - 1860-1920. Her title comes from a Yorùbá proverb, '"when the leaf stays with the soap, it becomes soap"' (p.91), which she uses as a motif in her paper about 'the transformation and appropriation of the new stage' that emerged at this time in places such as Lagos, Abeokuta and Ìbàdàn.

The idea of reassessing the traditional dichotomy of history as empirical on the one hand and myth being conceptual on the other, as Hayden White discusses in *Metahistory* (1987) (cited p.xiv), and of this dichotomy being shifted to reveal the part memory plays in the construction of history, becomes apparent in Marisa Keuris' chapter. She shows how race relations in early twentieth century South Africa were not as clearly defined as then contemporary histories suggest, exploring how Khoisan characters, known as 'Hottentots' or 'Boesman', and other indigenous South African peoples are portrayed in certain early Dutch-Afrikaans dramas.

'Images of Africa in Early Twentieth Century British Theatre' opens with a quote from the title page of *Leopard Men*, 'an action-packed melodrama set in Northern Nigeria' (p.122) in 1924. Steve Nicholson examines this and other plays that 'appear to have been written by European playwrights, most of whom had probably never visited the countries.....they wrote about' (p.123). Jane Plastow, the Reviews Editor of the series, presents an article on the new translation of *Fabula: Yawreoch Commedia (Fable: The Comedy of Animals)*, an Ethiopian drama, the dates of the first publication and performance of which have been in debate. A glance at Plastow's notes, typically of all the papers presented here, testifies to the rich, varied and in-depth research undertaken, contributors uncovering new texts, accounts and unpublished documents and gathering oral records, to build up an engaging and comprehensive survey.

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

PAVING THE EMPIRE ROAD: BBC TELEVISION AND BLACK BRITONS

Darrell M. Newton

Publisher: Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN 978-0-7190-8167-5
Pagination: pp.267
Price: £50

Analysing material such as archived viewer research reports, BBC television programmes from the 1950s into the twenty-first century, and written documents of policy and practice, Darrell M. Newton, Associate Professor of Mass Media Studies at Salisbury University in the United States, presents here a case study of the BBC as one institution responsible for addressing the impact of Black Britons in the UK. Together with informing the White British population, the BBC's encompassing of the Black perspective is taken into account, 'hybrid identities and postcolonial theory [...] essential in addressing notions of diasporic formations and resistance within the imperial centre' (p.10).

Following the historical background given in the introduction, the book opens with a chapter on the influence of radio on television, policymaking and programming at the BBC, which examines the potential created for acknowledging African-Caribbean voices. The chapter begins with discussion of *The BBC Empire Service* and West Indies Broadcasting and the significance of the 'early version of the BBC World Service' (p.17) launched in 1932, which by the mid-1930s extended to Australia, Canada, India, South Africa and West Africa. The way radio – the BBC Caribbean Service in particular – acted as a recruitment method for the British Army in World War II is also covered, as are the efforts made to iron out racialism, along with a look at Miss Una Marson's poetry programme, *Voice*, edited by George Orwell, which led to the 1943-1958 *World Service* series, *Caribbean Voices*.

Chapter 2 examines the attempts of the BBC to 'gauge reactions to various shows' (p.54) with surveys and feedback together with more specifically reactions to race related programming with multiple choice answer statements such as '"It's a mistake to try to educate Black people"' (cited p.55). Programmes considered included producer R D Smith on the *Talks Programme* in October 1952, with the title *'Race and Recognition: Growing Colour Problem in Britain*, stemming from reactions to the arrival of the Windrush to the UK, which was shown on early broadcasts, and *Race and Colour* from November of the same year. The latter was criticized for not discussing 'the real issues of the racial problem or any viable solutions' (p.61). An attempt at redressing this was formulated by BBC producer Anthony de Lotbinière who sent researcher Peter Stone to talk to Birmingham people about racial issues. Responses ranged from that of Mr Davies, a local council liaison officer who dealt with enquiries from 'coloured immigrants' (p.62) but complained of 'West Indians being individualists and therefore not accepting of trade unionism' (p.62), to a West Indian, Mr Jacobs, who 'told Stone personally of two instances of a colour bar operating against him' (p.63). The research led to the episode *Has Britain a Colour Bar?*, part of *Special Enquiry* news magazine on race relations (BBC, 1953-65).

The 1960s are explored next, in 'Voices of Contention and BBC Programming', including the disruptions caused by the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots. Here Newton critically analyses racially-themed BBC outputs of the 1960s and 1970s, including *Til Death Do Us Part* (BBC, 1965-68, 1972-75) and *Empire Road* (BBC, 1978-79). It examines the growing awareness of the potential for incitement to racial violence, expressed by Philip Mason of the Institute for Race Relations with reference to the BBC's 'highlighting of difference' (p.125); the idea of programming for a mixed community rather than targeting output at one or other racial group; and the 'Black affairs' programming of the 1980s.

In 'For a Black Eye', interviews were undertaken by Newton with seven media professionals, and material from six of them was used here. They date from between 1993 and 2010 and in the main confirm the BBC's 'inability to provide balanced representation of African-Caribbeans' (p.184), with 'opportunities for Black Britons to produce, write and direct [remaining] limited' (p.185). Black actor Cathy Tyson discussed how too often Black women on TV were '"prostitutes or princesses from Africa"' (cited p.192) and was unsure whether this stereotyping would change.

The concluding chapter reviews efforts made by the BBC to involve Black and Asian people

in television production as evidenced by reports and research findings of the 1990s into the new millennium, covering such milestones as Greg Dyke's new BBC structure, the BBC in '21st century Britain, a multi-channel, multi-cultural Britain' (p.221). Race relations, as a report put it, should (as paraphrased by Newton) 'reflect a / social education for a positive acceptance of cultural diversity' (p.240). The report notes how the BBC had not adequately risen to this challenge, but that the relevance of the observation prompts future meaningful change.

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

REAL FOLKS: RACE AND GENRE IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Sonnet Retman

Publisher: Duke University Press, Durham and London
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8223-4944-0 (pbk. Alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.322
Price: £16.99

The search for an authenticity on which to reconstruct American identity during the Great Depression of 1929-1941 is the key focus of this revisionist study, which tells of the writers, ethnographers, documentarists, filmmakers and reformers who discovered a reality in the concept of 'folk', embodying 'a purportedly precapitalist way of life, an enduring stoicism [.....]' (p1) and 'a pastoral resource integral to the nation's healing and crucial to the brokering of new deals' (p.2). The book, divided into 3 parts, aims to uncover the means and the media through which this populist idea of folk was disseminated to buttress citizenship and a sense of 'belonging'.

'Part I: The Folklore of Racial Capitalism' deals with the 'distinct formation of burlesque' (p.20), modified by modernism, that characterises two novels of the period. The first chapter is entitled '"A Combination Madhouse, Burlesque Show, and Coney Island": The Color Question in George Schuyler's Black No More' - the quote referring to Schuyler's perception of the spectacle of racism. Schuyler was a successful journalist and editor who with his White Texan wife Josephine Cogdell, raised a 'child prodigy' (p.35) whose 'exceptional intelligence and achievements served as proof of the couple's theory of "race mixing" as [.....] the biological trump card that would dismantle the canard of white supremacy at the core of the nation's racist structure' (p.35). 'Black No More: Being an Account of the Strange and Wonderful Workings of Science in the Land of the Free, A.D. 1933 – 1940 (1931)' tells of a Black scientist who invents a machine that can turn Black people White. When the Black protagonist Max Disher arrives at the position of White masculinity, 'he markets his skills as a public speaker to corporations and white-supremacist organizations, who hire him to advance racist propaganda among white workers' (p.26).

Three years after *Black No More*, Nathanael West's *A Cool Million* similarly presented a 'scathing burlesque of the myth of class mobility and its populist appeal, the underpinning of a pernicious thirties' folklore of racial capitalism' (p.72). West was also a progressive and a 'self-identified leftist' (p.73). Like Schuyler, his fictional representation of the folk rejected the sentimentalism of other Depression-era media such as the documentary fiction of social realists such as Steinbeck, in favour of brutal satire, or 'modernist burlesque' (p.77). In *A Cool Million*, the protagonist's efforts to achieve this financial goal lead, literally, to the loss of body parts until he is finally 'torn to pieces' (p.83).

'Part II: Performing the Folk', opens with the chapter '"The Last American Frontier": Mapping the Folk in The Federal Writers' Project's Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State'. The guide is chosen as an example of an edited collection of pieces from a range of contributors, including Zora Neale Hurston, that 'provided its readers with a layperson's ethnography of the country's folk types' (p.113). At the time there was a state-sanctioned 'wanderlust' (p.114) being promulgated by such nostalgic tourism, supported by the development of the passenger car and its use in leisure travel. Retman's exploration of the guide is allied with her extrapolations of Hurston's *Mules and Men* (1935) in the following chapter, also referring ethnographically to Florida. Hurston collected 'seventy southern

African American folktales [....], hoodoo rites, folksongs, and other folkways' (p.153) which together deconstruct 'the pastoral, preindustrial portrait of the folk so / popular in the 1930s' (pp.156/157).

'Part III: Populist Masquerade' consists of the final chapter, '"Am I Laughing?": Burlesque Incongruities of Genre, Gender, and Audience in Preston Sturges's Sullivan's Travels'. Sturges used the real life story of filmmakers Willie Wyler and John Huston's research 'traveling as hobos through the train yards of Los Angeles and the skid rows of Fresno and Bakersfield' (p.191) as a conceit, asking, 'just who it was who wanted to see the folk in the form of the tramp and why?' (p.192). The reasons for – and diversity and hybridity of – the cinematic genres of the period become clear when one considers the range on offer: 'did the average moviegoer want to watch romantic comedy, cartoons, Keystone chasers, melodrama, or social realism?' (p.192) *Sullivan's Travels* uses a modernist burlesque form to explore 'the central populist concerns and dominant folk iconographies of the cultural front and the New Deal' (p.195). Retman suggests that a new-millennial perspective on the 1930s could be better focused on the period's 'deft critique' of the constructs of folk and authenticity 'as they operate within the public sphere of politics, culture, and the marketplace' (p.250).

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

ARAB-AMERICAN WOMEN'S WRITING AND PERFORMANCE: ORIENTALISM, RACE AND THE IDEA OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

Somaya Sami Sabry

Publisher: I.B. Tauris, London and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84885-568-7
Pagination: pp.208
Price: £51.50

Somaya Sami Sabry's fascinating book, according to her Preface, 'defines itself as an interventionist attempt at reconsidering simplistic identity politics through an exploration of diasporic identities'. The book uses the orality of Sheherazade, narrator and storyteller of *Arabian Nights*, or, as Sabry accords it, *The Thousand and One Nights*, resisting attempts to portray the tales as 'an ethnographical account through which the West can construct all Eastern people'. Sabry pictures Sheherazade crossing the Atlantic, pointing out in her opening chapter that through a revival of this 'intellectual seductress' (p.11), Arab-American women writers and performers 'weave the "Sheherazadian narrative" in the multi-textured threads of diaspora' (p.12), overturning Orientalist stereotyping of these women as 'silent, oppressed, or exotic sexual objects of desire' (p.12).

The book focuses on the work of two writers and two performers: Diana Abu-Jaber, second generation Arab-American born to an immigrant Jordanian father; Mohja Kahf, first generation Arab-American born in Damascus, Syria, coming to the United States as a child; Laila Farah, first generation Arab-American living between Lebanon and the US; and Maysoon Zayid, a Palestinian Arab-American whose parents emigrated from Palestine to New Jersey. After surveying Arab women writers' constant return to the inspiration of Sheherazade, from Nawal Al-Sa'dawi's *The Fall of the Imam* (1988) to Suzanne Gauch's *Liberating Shahrazad* (2007), Sabry moves on to analyses of Sheherazade in Hollywood and Disney films; diasporic Sheherazadian narrative; global feminism and the 'multiple affiliations, feminisms, cultural representations and the permeable boundaries between textuality and orality within diasporic women's writings and performances' (p.21).

In Chapter 2, Orientalist and racialised representations of Arab- and Muslim-American women are analysed - opening with an example of Arab-American stand-up comedy, where an importune cashier demands to know what Arab country the comedian customer (Dean Obeidallah) and his family are from, to which the punchline is '"the same Arab country that... Aladdin is from"' (The Arab-American Comedy Tour 2006, cited p.29). Although Orientalism was a 'credible discipline' (p.30) during the nineteenth century when it originated, there is a more recent Orientalist American

discourse, and Arab-American women writers and performers have undertaken to deconstruct 'these monolithic images' (p.36) of fetishised, eroticized, frozen beauty. The chapter also investigates 'The racial politics of being Arab and American post-9/11', showing how 9/11 further binarised the two identities, emphasising the notion of 'supposedly clashing civilisations' (p.43).

The following chapters ask, among other questions, 'to what extent can an exploration of race invigorate discussion of the tenuous, multiple and sometimes contradictory ways that Arab-Americans and Arab-American women in particular negotiate their posititioned identities and their various affiliations?' (p.51). First of all, Diana Abu-Jaber's novel, *Crescent*, is examined, notably her use of the motif of culinary practices. The protagonist, Sirine, uses "cuisine" to negotiate her 'identity positions' (p.54). From an interest in Italian and French cuisine to the Arabic recipes of her childhood she develops a hybridising amalgamation of food culture from different times and places. The increasing complexity of influences runs in parallel with her self-redefinition and empowerment and her 'experimentation with seemingly discordant flavours [acts] as a metaphor for diasporic existence' (p.62). This chapter also covers the concept of Tehrangeles, 'challenging attempts to claim a fixed spatial sovereignty and foregrounding the inchoate nature of nationalisms' (p.69); diasporic writing as a site of 'cultural translation' (p.75); and the 'deterritorialised nation' (p.83).

In chapter four, the authour explores the work of poet Mohja Kahf and the ways in which she 'weaves her discussion of the headscarf into her adaptation of "Sheherazadian narrative", refashioning in the process conceptions of national belonging' (p.88), for example the envisioning of Sheherazade as a divorced Creative Writing professor in E-mail from Sheherazade. Chapter 5 looks at the peformers Maysoon Zayid and Laila Farah, in whose productions 'we are able to physically witness how Sheherazadian orality becomes a space for negotiating affiliations' (p.164), as the stand-up comedian and performance artist undermine entrenched stereotypes about their race and culture, negating the idea of a 'silent, oppressed Arab and Muslim woman' (p.165). They also overturn the binary that situates 'the oral at the margins and the textual at the centre' (p.176).

In her final chapter, Sabry summarises the attempt made by her richly detailed and profoundly interesting study to explore 'the "racing" of Arab-American women and their attempts at resistance' (p.167). Sabry's book is innovative and timely and would be of interest to scholars in the fields of Arabic studies, Arab cultures, Diaspora studies, world literature and race relations together with the more general reader.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

THE FREEDOM TO BE RACIST? HOW THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE FREEDOM AND COMBAT RACISM

Erik Bleich

Publisher: OUP, Oxford and New York
Year: 2011
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Pagination: pp.205
Price: £15.99

Given the ubiquity and volume of policy and legislation mediating between liberty and combating racism, Erik Bleich was obliged to focus for this book on major developments in three main related areas – 'freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of opinion when used as a motive to action' (p.ix) in the United States and other liberal democracies since the interwar period. At the heart of his study is the principle that '[m]ost of us cherish freedom and deplore racism. Happily, these are not usually incompatible values. But when they do conflict, liberal democracies face the difficult dilemma of balancing these two goals' (p.7).

The book is divided into two parts. The first, 'Freedom of Expression', is comprised of chapters two-four. 'European Restrictionism and Its Variations' opens with Brigitte Bardot's 2006 letter to

Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy deploring the Muslim ritual of slaughtering a sheep at the conclusion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Her comment that France was '"tired of being led by the nose by this population that is destroying us, destroying our country by imposing its acts"' (p.17), which could be taken as 'one individual's opinion' (p.17), led to her fifth conviction for inciting racial hatred. Contemporary debates are then contextualised by charting 'The European Trajectory from the 1920s to the 1990s: The Slow Creep toward Restricting Racial Hatred', covering the development of the Weimar Republic as a fascist state, the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the expansion of 'racist speech restrictions' (p.21) since the 1960s. This concise survey is updated with 'Developments since 1990: Legislation and Enforcement against Racist Expression' (p.22), 'Britain's 2006 Religious Hatred Act' and 'The Danish Cartoons and the Limits of Restricting Racist Speech in Europe'.

The section 'Holocaust Denial and Its Extremes' asks, 'what is the harm in saying the Holocaust never happened?' (p.44) or rather, why not simply ignore the statement in the light of such evidence to the contrary. *Genocide Watch* holds that denial 'constitutes the final stage in the process of every genocide, and one which paves the way for future killings' (p.44), and yet, 'there remains a deep concern about punishing contested statements of fact' (p.45). The chapter then examines Holocaust-based racism, 'a subset of anti-Semitism that uses the Holocaust itself as a tool to harass, discredit, or demonize Jews' (p.45), and explores 'The Timing and Varieties of Holocaust Denial Laws', and 'Enforcing Holocaust Denial: Dialing Up the Pressure', the latter discussing in detail the case of British historian David Irving's 13 months in an Austrian prison for statements that doubted the Holocaust. It concludes by 'How Have We Come This Far, and Where Should We Go From Here?' which questions the value of broader legislation against denial of other genocides and assesses under which circumstances the application of 'generic incitement statutes' (p.61) is called for.

The contested nature of Holocaust denial laws is dealt with in depth in Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, which also returns to the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*'s 2005 cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad that were discussed in the introduction, as an epitome of the 'liberal democratic struggle to maximize freedom while fighting specific forms of racism' (p.133). What is notable is the fact that although the Holocaust led to a raising of awareness of racism by liberal democracies, it had a contrastingly 'mild effect on concrete policies' (p.134).There has been a gradual change, with a trend that has tended to increase restrictions, although latterly these have sometimes been slowed, stopped or even reversed, to paraphrase Bleich. There is the problem that outlawing racism can drive it underground, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that restricting a racist can give freedom to a minority.

The debates will continue, and necessarily so. There is the opinion that a greater level of racism should be tolerated in the name of greater liberty; on the other hand, the opinion that some freedom should be sacrificed in exchange for less racism. The values discussed in terms of 'freedom of speech, association, and opinion-as-motive' (p.144) are shown to 'protect individual autonomy, foster pluralism, bolster a commitment to democracy, and lead us to fundamental truths' (p.144), which is why those strongly in favour of freedom can be willing to tolerate certain types of racism. The 'ultimate answer', Bleich concludes, is 'look at history, pay attention to context and effects, work out your principles, convince your friends, lobby your representatives, and walk away with a balance of values that you can live with' (p.155).

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

CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS

WORKING WITH FAMILIES OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN ORIGIN: UNDERSTANDING ISSUES AROUND IMMIGRATION AND ATTACHMENT

Elaine Arnold

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Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-84310-992-1
Pagination: pp.160
Price: £19.99

Elaine Arnold's book researches the 'legacies of broken attachments, separation, loss and reunion' (p.15) among African Caribbean families. Arnold first gained an insight into this familial relationship issue after working in a Trinidadian orphanage which looked after children who had been left with parents in Trinidad for various reasons, including parental emigration. At the time Arnold was teaching, but was inspired to study psychiatric social work, completing a course at the University of Manchester specialising in Child Guidance. Two major studies from her followed this: the first concerning women who experienced separation from their children and families due to emigration (1975); the second, that of children who were separated from their mothers as adults (2001). This book brings together the two projects and locates them in a broader historical context.

Arnold begins by elucidating the history of African Caribbean populations, and their origins in empire and slavery, in chapter one. The historical examination begins at the naming of the Caribbean islands as the West Indies by Columbus in 1492, and the granting of the right of possession of the archipelago to Spain by the Pope in the same year; after which, Arnold follows with an analysis of the development of family structures under slavery, which were complicated by plantation owners' practice of fathering illegitimate children. Arnold discusses the need to 'move on from attributing blame' for every failure 'to the person's history of being a descendant of slaves' (p.37), instead to 'recognize when racism is being used to block their progress, and to challenge this' (p37).

The subsequent chapter focuses on the 'Immigration of African Caribbean People to Britain, highlighting that many such migrants moved to escape poverty and find employment. Here, Arnold, also presents statistics and demographical information on Black migration in the UK since the 18th century. She also looks at the choice by many of these emigrating parents to leave their children in the care of relations, friends or neighbours, and describes the level provision of services for migrants, the return of migrants to the Caribbean and health issues of migrants, among other subjects.

In Chapter 3, Arnold gives 'A Brief Account of Attachment Theory', focusing on its founder, John Bowlby, outlining his work, together with that of his colleague Mary Ainsworth. Bowlby defined attachment as '"a strong disposition of a child or older person to seek contact with and to be near someone perceived to be reliable, especially under conditions of discomfort, illness or fear"' (cited p.66). He described attachment behaviour as 'a biological function'. The relevance of his work to the Arnold's own study is considered, given that it was during the 1950s when Bowlby's theories were being hotly debated, particularly those on maternal deprivation, that Caribbean mothers were leaving their children to join the British labour force in great numbers.

'Narratives of African Caribbean Mothers Separated from and Reunited with their Children' draws on interviews with 66 mothers between the ages of 32 and 50, selected randomly from attendance registers at two secondary schools in south-east and north-west London. The factors involved in making reunifications satisfactory or unsatisfactory are explored, including length of separation, level of care by caretakers, and the mothers' interaction prior to separation. There were difficulties experienced, particularly if the separation took place during the first three years of the child's life.

Chapter 5 looks into the subject of 'Fathers in the Reconstituted Families'. It has often been contended that the legacy of slavery, where fathers had to accede influence over their children to the slave masters, led to the ubiquity of female-headed households, but there are other reasons, for example, unemployment. Arnold argues that recently, young African Caribbean fathers have been

'trying to eradicate the image of black fathers as being unreliable, immature, irresponsible and absent from their families' (p.96), and their contributions have often been ignored.

The penultimate chapter examines 'African Caribbean Women Reflecting on Separation in their Early Years and Reunion with their Mothers', and is comprised of the results of the 2001 survey, and interviews with 20 African Caribbean women who were separated from their mothers when they were children. The Separation Reunion Interview Schedule that was used can be found in Appendix 2 of the book. Group A included ten women in receipt of therapy at the Inter-Cultural Therapy Centre, London, and Group B, the control, had not received therapy. The problems that amplify the negative psychological outcomes of separation become clear in Arnold's work, and these issues are highlighted in the final chapter, 'Implications for Work with African Caribbean Families'.

This book offers great insight into Caribbean culture and child-rearing and makes important recommendations for those involved in social work, psychotherapy, psychology and teaching. Arnold also introduces new areas for future research, such as 'Older African Caribbean residents in institutional care in Britain' and 'Single mature women of African Caribbean origin and their willingness to adopt' (p140).

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

TACIT SUBJECTS: BELONGING AND SAME-SEX DESIRE AMONG DOMINICAN IMMIGRANT MEN

Carlos Ulises Decena

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Pagination: 310pp
Price: £15.99

Carlos Ulises Decena, Assistant Professor of Women's and Gender Studies, and Latino and Hispanic Caribbean Studies at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, presents an innovative study of gay Latino migrants to Washington Heights, a Dominican sector of New York, and the ways in which they negotiate race, sexuality and masculinity on a day-to-day basis. The introduction begins with an account of the reception of *Biel, El Marino*, the short, homoerotic novel by poet and essayist Pedro René Contín Aybar, a first for Dominican literature, published in 1943. Constituting a very small edition, many people who praised it or claimed to know it had not actually read it. It is with this in mind, that *Biel, El Marino*, is a book that 'describes and performs connections that cannot be said.....also about the way words produce circuitries of sociality' (p.2) that Decena opens his autoethnographic survey, in which he appears 'as narrator, social analyst, translator, and participant' (p.3).

Following the introduction the book is structured around three insights. Part I deals with the migration to New York, or 'another part of a Dominican world' (p.3) leading to the informants rethinking their identities; Part II, that in their past and present social negotiations, it is 'the body and the regulation of its significations [that] functioned to communicate, demand legitimacy, and create boundaries with others' (p.3); and in Part III, that these men were able to reconfigure their values, traditional Dominican identity and 'erotic investments in masculinity and power' (p.3).

In the first part, Chapter 2 emphasises unspoken acknowledgement of sexuality within the informants' relationships with their families and communities and the networks and commonalities that are intuited rather than spelt out. Self-identified gay and bisexual men are quoted as being known to be gay without any declaration or statement. There is an exploration of the title, tacit subjects, tacit 'neither secret or silent' (p.19). The third chapter explores the complexity of cohabitation of 'past and present visions of modernity, culture, and progress expressed by the informants' (p.14) in relation to the progression of the Dominican nation where the 'language of race' (p.14) is key to facilitating

the men's critique of the racism, sexism and homophobia integral to Dominican society.

Part II, Body Language, opens with an autobiographical memory of being taught 'how to be a man' (p.109) and learning about perceptions of the impropriety of 'physical proximity between men' (p109). Chapter 4 elaborates these childhood testimonies to show how these men perform negotiations of their bodies, 'figuring masculinity as a straightjacket' (p.15) and ideas around recalibrating an effeminate figure to fit the masculine norm. Chapter 5 uses the term 'code-swishing' for 'communicative practices the informants deployed to engage the worlds and the others who surrounded them.....the ability of speakers to mobilize and circulate specific and recognizable signs to communicate with interlocutors who possessed the requisite literacy to interact as speakers' (p.142). The need of these men to engage with male privilege and patriarchal systems of respect is raised here, to be explored in further detail in Part III.

Colonial Zones, the final part of the book examines in the concept and practice of democratic same-sex relations made problematic by Dominican male attachment to the macho persona, irrespective of their own sexuality. As the informant Rogelio Noguera puts it, '"with some Dominicans..... they claim they / are monogamous but even though they are faggots, I am a macho, and nobody can cheat on me. But , on the other hand, I can cheat on someone else, you understand?' (p.183/184). In the chapter 'To Be Someone, To Be Somewhere: Erotic Returns to US-Caribbean Circuits of Desire', Decena considers the recurrent concern of returning to the homeland of Dominican culture, society and daily life, 'these men's continuing engagement with dominicanidad after migration' and the 'gendering of return' (p.208).

Tacit Subjects is an engaging and successful study of the nuances of gay Latino men's juggling of their social and sexual circumstances. It develops its own conceptual frameworks to interweave disparate histories and experiences within the context of Lesbian Bisexual Gay Transgender and Queer scholarship.

Also relates to:
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Social Theory

BRITISH UNTOUCHABLES: A STUDY OF DALIT IDENTITY AND EDUCATION

Paul Ghuman

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Pagination: pp.142
Price: £50

Extensive fieldwork, including interviews with 104 students, teachers, school governors and community and religious leaders, samples of which included both high- and low-caste people, form the basis for this significant and revealing study. The volume employs qualitative research methodology to interpret three key strands. These are 'the reproduction of caste and its awareness among Indian immigrants in the UK; the role of religious institutions and other agencies in perpetuating caste consciousness; and the role of education and Dalit-led initiatives in countering the negative affects [sic] of caste prejudice and discrimination' (p.6). The focus is on the communities of Birmingham and the English West Midlands, while an additional, smaller survey was made in the Punjab to widen the research base.

A history of the caste system is outlined in Chapter 2, from the time of Manu, around first century BCE, showing how Indian society is permeated with its effects. Exploitation of the lower orders by the three high castes, Brahmins, Kshatriya and Vaishya, in the distant past, led to labouring classes, responsible for tanning leather and removing human and animal wastes, being considered "unclean" and excluded from mainstream society. Even up until the 1930s in south India, Dalits 'were not allowed to enter villages without prior warning, so that high-caste people could get out of their way' (p.5). This chapter also looks at 'The Challenge of Buddhism'; 'The Bhakti Movement'; 'Mahatma Gandhi and the Untouchables'; and 'British Raj and the Caste System', among other subjects.

Chapter 3 establishes the empirical project of the book, exploring the socio-economic background of a Dalit community in an Indian village in the Punjab, and aims to 'assist the reader in appreciating the challenges that Dalits face in the UK' (p.7). It emphasises the social and religious situation for Dalits, particularly Dalit women, since the 1950s. There is evidence of differentiation, for example separate gurdwaras for the Jat Sikhs and the Ad Dharmis of the village, and a separate bhavan for Valmikis; also, different cemeteries and the minimum of social interaction. However the chapter concludes by adding that, in contrast to the situation in the 1950s, Dalits form the majority now and also lead village politics through the council or Panchayat, and 'ritual untouchability – a common practice in 1950 – has completely disappeared' (p.49).

In Family, Social and Religious Organization of Dalits, Ghuman analyses studies of five families over three years, and interviews with ten men and eight women of different castes. The families are introduced in turn with brief descriptions, followed by discussions of patterns of migration to the UK, chain migration, the values of Dalit immigrants towards kinship, family and child-rearing. The subject of places of worship is introduced, the author having visited bhavans, viharas and gurdwaras established in the UK by Dalits, and having interviewed priests and others involved in these. One former president of a bhavan told of caste discrimination: '"I would say that we all contributed to build new gurdwaras in the 1960s in good faith but were disappointed that we were treated as second class citizens..."' (p.59).

Chapter 5, 'Voices of Young People', deals with the 'educational progress of Dalit students and their views on caste-related issues' (p.74). Thirty boys and ten girls were interviewed, and a table gives further information on the sample. Three key themes emerged, 'identity issues relating to caste consciousness and inter-caste relationship; emerging individualism; and scholastic achievement as interpreted by teachers' (p.76). There was also a general discussion with sixth formers on caste which revealed that the students were 'of the opinion that the great leveler of caste differences / is the financial situation of the family' (pp.80/81).

Subsequently, 'Teachers' and Parents' Views on Caste and Educational Matters' refers to interviews with teachers from the same two schools from which the sample of students for the previous chapter were taken. Most parents interviewed 'would prefer their young people to marry within their own caste and religion' (p.95), although due to increasing failure of arranged marriages, this attitude is beginning to change. Dalit parents are shown to have high aspirations for their children, with girls in particular 'outperforming boys in school examinations and obtaining good jobs' (p.95).

In conclusion, in Chapter 7, 'Reflections and Application' Ghuman summarises findings on inter-caste marriages, family and kinship networking, schooling and educational matters, 'Individualism vis-à-vis Collectivism'; reservation for Dalits and OBCs [Other Backward Castes] and anticipates future research, such as an investigation of the 'extent of formal and informal rituals and practices at religious places which tend to encourage caste exclusivity or in some cases caste unity' (p.106).

Also relates to:
History
Politics
Social Theory

HISTORIES OF RACE AND RACISM: THE ANDES AND MESOAMERICA FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT

Editor: Laura Gotkowitz

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The Andes and Mesoamerica constitute the two parts of Latin America where state policy and contestations over 'assimilation, segregation, citizenship, and nationhood' (p.3) have focused around the status of 'Indians' or indigenous peoples, 90% of whom live in Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru

and Guatemala. The essays in this thought-provoking and timely collection were chosen for their illumination of race and racism in Latin American through the perspective of historic race-making and within 'particular empirical contexts' (p.2). The volume emerged from a conference held at the University of Iowa in 2002 where historians and anthropologists presented papers, many of which are published here, on 'racial meanings, mestizaje, indigenous social movements, and new nation-building paradigms' (p.ix).

The concept of '"racialization"' (p.11), or 'the construction of racial stereotypes via political discourse, cultural performance, social policy, censuses, physical or verbal violence, and other acts of marking', divides into four main 'moments' (p.11) from which the background to the essays is formed. Firstly, Kathryn Burns and Sinclair Thomson consider the era of Spanish colonialism (c1500-1820s) in Part I. In 'Unfixing Race', Burns examines the instability of the term 'race' and, like Thomson in 'Was There Race in Colonial Latin America? Identifying Selves and Others in the Insurgent Andes', warns of the dangers of imposing the present on the past and vice versa, and unfolding the history of Spanish-American racism through local and imperial lenses and contextualising ideas about lineage and blood, and the 'politics of Christian evangelization' (p.65).

The late eighteenth to the early twentieth century in Latin America is the site for the second key moment of racialisation, according to Gotkowitz; a period 'associated with liberal ideology and policy, with free trade, anticlericalism, and the privatization of corporate institutions and landholding' (p.13). However, alongside expansion of power and bureaucracy came land seizure and 'coercive labor drafts' (p.14). The essays 'From Assimilation to Segregation: Guatemala, 1800-1944' and 'The Census and Making of a Social "Order" in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia' explore the context within which 'liberal statemakers' (p.14/15) in Bolivia and Guatemala at this time retained, rather than quashed, the legislative and demographic category 'Indian' – it was race that marked Indians out as agricultural workers, not class; and there remained a racialised labour system at the heart of Guatemala's 'dominant ethnic ideology' (p.15) until recently. Brooke Larson looks at the metaphor of '"the lettered city"' (Angel Rama, cited p.134), and the question of literacy for the masses; 'because writing.....furnished a powerful cultural symbol and tool of legitimacy in a racially divided, radically unequal society, its surrender to the greater cause of universal schooling was inevitably going to produce controversy' (p.135).

The 1920s to the 1960s, the third chronological era under examination, was a 'critical time for nationmaking' (p.19), associated with the terms "mestizaje" and "indigenismo". Seemin Qayum looks at 'Indian Ruins, National Origins: Tiwanaku and Indigenismo in La Paz, 1897-1933'; Deborah Poole at 'Mestizaje, Distinction, and Cultural Presence: The View from Oaxaca'; and Claudio Lomnitz presents 'On the Origin of the "Mexican Race"', chapters which range in reference from the indigenous movements such as the Zárate Willka mobilization during the 1899 Federal War and the cacique-apoderado movement for indigenous territorial and cultural restoration, 1910s – 1930s, to the life of Teresa Urrea, or the Saint of Cabora, a curandera or faith healer who 'became the emblem of several millenarian revolts among the Maya and Yaqui Indians and the mestizo settlers of the Tarahumara mountain ranges in Chihuahua' (p.211).

Part IV of the book deals with the fourth moment of racialisation, 'Antiracist Movements and Racism Today', and consists of five chapters which show the range of social movements and the involvement of intellectuals in the battle against racism. Armed conflicts and economic hardship have led to increased migration recently, particularly within Latin America, which in turn has led to an intensification of racism. Andrés Calla and Khantuta Muruchi contribute the penultimate chapter, to which Pamela Calla and the Research Group of the Observatorio Del Racismo provide the epilogue. These focus on the 'racialized discourses and confrontations that erupted in Sucre from September to November of 2007, as Bolivia's Constituent Assembly entered a phase of profound crisis' (p.34) and the violence in May 2008. These final essays encourage a thoughtful reflection on the 'relationship between racism and political mobilization' (p.37) and the need to assess when violence becomes political and 'why it becomes racialized' (p.37). Powerful memories of these indigenous people dating back to anticolonial insurrection lie close to the surface.

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

YOUNG BRITISH MUSLIMS: IDENTITY, CULTURE, POLITICS AND THE MEDIA

Nahid Afrose Kabir

Publisher: Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh
Year: First published 2010, this edition 2012
ISBN: (PB): 978-0-7486-4653-1
Pagination: pp.240
Price: £22.99

This timely study is the result of extensive research undertaken on the identity of young Muslims in both Australia and the UK. Kabir's style and approach are refreshingly clear and informative as she guides the reader through a considered analysis of her own ethnographic fieldwork, drawing upon interviews with over 200 Muslims in five British cities: London; Leicester; Bradford; Leeds; and Cardiff, - with a focus on biculturalism and multiple identities.

The first chapter examines five aspects of 'The Identity Debate' - (1) identity theory as applied to Muslims; (2) the potential impact on Muslim identity of 'Britishness'; (3) the Scottish identity issue; (4) Channel 4's debate on Muslim identity; and (5) potential geopolitical factors that could impinge upon British Muslims' identity. A sixth section to the chapter covers the research methodology. The feelings of one respondent, Faiza, a 17-year-old British-born Muslim girl of Pakistani origin anticipates the detailed discussion of the debate over the niqab sparked by former Labour Foreign Minister Jack Straw's comments in 2006 in Chapter 6. Faiza felt that Britain was her home, not Pakistan;: '"You're going to visit people; you could never settle anywhere else [than Britain]"' (p.13). However, outside the home, Faiza wears a full veil of jilbab (long coat), hijab (head scarf) and niqab (face veil) which could be considered by some to be a 'barrier to communication' (p.13).

In the following chapter, Kabir gives an overview of the history and experiences ofMuslims in Britain, from a brief history of migration to the Muslim settlement in the five cities mentioned above. Then the chapter considers 'the socioeconomic status of the respondents' (p.29).Kabir highlights how Yemenis and Somalis have settled in Cardiff since the late nineteenth century, with mosques established in Tiger Bay, Cardiff in 1860 and in the 1890s in Liverpool. In 1940, Churchill allocated funding for the Regent's Park Central Mosque in London, but post-World War II, immigrant people met with greater resistance. A 1960s Gallup poll showed that 75% of the British population were 'broadly sympathetic' (p.30) to Enoch Powell's views on the sanctity of English national identity; and a few decades later, Kabir argues that Bradford 'received a negative national and international image' when Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses was publicly burned in 1989, and again following riots in 1995 and 2001, the latter involving Pakistani and Bangladeshi men against the right wing British National Party (BNP). Kabir also elucidates how, since the 7/7 London bombings, 'some Muslims became the 'Other' because the home-grown terrorists (three of them British-born) were of the Islamic faith' (p.56). However, a percentage of the British population has remained sympathetic to the Muslim community; and Kabir concludes the chapter by suggesting that the Muslim community needs to 'prioritise their children's education and integration with the wider community' while the rest of society needs to 'recognise and encourage the minority's achievements' (p.56).

'The Religious and Cultural Dilemma' begins with discussion of the broad context of Islam for young British Muslims. The religious affiliation of the interviewees is given, followed by descriptions of different types of islamic faith, for example, between Sunnism and Shi 'ism. Next, the impact of Mosque restrictions against Muslim women and the constrictions of patriarchal structures for Muslim women, such as arranged marriage, within or outside kinship, are explored. Lastly, youth issues around literacy, numeracy, cultural issues and drugs, and music in Islam are investigated.

Kabir next turns to her attention to the concept of 'Britishness' in 'To Be or Not To Be British',

where readers can find data tables on plurality of identity as defined by the respondents. Subsquently, the author examines the putative media bias against Muslims; after which, she then reviews the niqab debate. The penultimate chapter, 'Indignation About the Proposal to Include Shariah Law in Britain', centres around the four schools of law, or fiqh [jurisprudence] that are the basis of Shariah, or Islamic law, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's suggestion that it be introduced into Britain in some form as a means of addressing the problem of 'alienated Muslims' (p.171).

In the furore his comments caused, mainly due to the severity of Shariah codes elsewhere, it may have been overlooked that in Britain Muslims already have the benefits of Shariah law in daily life, able to slaughter halal fashion, build mosques, and set up Islamic banks. In such an instance, Kabir's study sheds light on the fluidity of identity of the young British Muslim: some argued that Shariah law was 'inappropriate in an English-Christian setting [....] their British identity [taking] precedence' (p.188). Her study raises important aspects of the way young British Muslims are actively demystifying and dismantling misconceptions on the part of both Muslims and non-Muslims and that they have 'the potential to be a tremendous asset to their home nation' (p.218).

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

POSTWAR BRITISH LITERATURE AND POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

Graham MacPhee

Publisher: Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-7486-3901-4 (paperback)
Pagination: 180pp
Price: £19.99

This title is from the series *Postcolonial Literary Studies*, which contextualises major works of literature historically, geographically, and within neo-colonialism and global inequality. MacPhee's study focuses on poetry, drama, the novel, cultural criticism, theory, and political discourse by a range of postwar writers, redefining how they are read. A timeline of dates, historical events and literary and other publications is set out at the beginning of the book, from 1921 and the end of the Irish War of Independence to 2010 with the official end of US combat operations in Iraq and the publication of Andrea Levy's *The Long Song*. The nature of the three chapters of the book are the result of the fact that the selection of texts is not exhaustive but needs to be placed within larger socio-political and economic frameworks.

'Rethinking the Empire', Chapter 1, 'seeks to reassess the structural significance of decolonisation' (p3) from the way it has been viewed as a neatly defined periods - such as Britain's withdrawal from India (1947) or the 1956 Suez Crisis - to show that it is in fact 'a more dispersed, multidirectional and contradictory process' (p3) that lasts until the early 1970s. Subheadings within the chapter include 'Beyond Bloomsbury', placing the writing of Mulk Raj Anand alongside a broad range of modernists – T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley; 'Little England and Global Englishes' which looks at 'pluralisation of English' (p17) with, for example, 1940s Britain as a 'key centre for non-European anglophone intellectuals... the Fifth Pan-African Congress being held in Manchester in 1945... attended by George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah and W.E.B. Du Bois among others' (p15/16) and 'From British to US Hegemony: Greene's The Quiet American'.

Continuing with the survey provided in Chapter 1, since the key theoretical movements of post-Imperial Britain mainly originated pre-1970, the subsequent chapter, 'Decolonising the Discipline' explores the articulation of postcolonial subjects and issues - 'migrancy, diaspora, subjectivity, race, agency, political orientation and global capitalism' (p4) - in a British context, questioning the pertinence of '"national literature" and "postcolonial studies" as analytical paradigms' (p4). In 'Postcolonial Studies as Insurgent Field and Contested Concept', Salman Rushdie's 1983 essay, *"Commonwealth Literature Does Not Exist"* is discussed - in particular his characterisation of Commonwealth literature as a 'double

exclusion' and a 'kind of literary "ghetto"' (p76). 'Dislocating Identity: Fanon and Hall' begins with an exploration of the theoretical text *Black Skin, White Masks* by Franz Fanon, followed by an analysis of Stuart Hall's late 1980s/1990s semiotic approach to Fanon's text. 'The Politics of Migrancy: Bhabha' puts forward Homi Bhabha's reading of it, which shifts attention from the 'experience of the colonial subject' (p101) to the 'role its appearance plays / in the narration of the imperial nation' (p101/102). The chapter shows that '"national literature"...cannot be regarded as purely "national", but must also be understood as taking place at the same time in other contexts beyond the nation' (p114).

Chapter 3, 'Rewriting the Nation', examines the concept that a history 'is national only because it is global' (p114) by looking at a range of texts that have received varying levels of critical attention and which have been selected here in a rejection of the recent construction that deems 9/11 as a 'break between the contemporary moment and the earlier period' (p116). Contextualised in a time where Thatcherism was a crucial influence and where 'within dominant political and media discourse, Islam and all Muslims became identified as an alien presence intolerant of secular liberal freedoms' (p118) are Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) which deals with Commonwealth migrants in London, like V.S. Naipaul's later *The Mimic Men* (1967) and Buchi Emecheta's *In The Ditch* (1972); John Arden's play, *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance*, first performed in 1959 and inspired by British atrocities in Cyprus; and Linton Kwesi Johnson's *Dread Beat and Blood*, his second volume of poetry from 1975, reflecting shifts in the social and political consciousness of Black British communities of the 1970s and taking the innovations of Aimé Césaire, Louise Bennett and Kamau Brathwaite in 'a markedly new direction' (p133), the voice of a generation born in England.

In conclusion, within the final part of Chapter 3, 'Histories of the Present: Ian McEwan's Saturday and Andrea Levy's Small Island', the two afore mentioned novels are explored as representative of different responses to the history considered in Postwar British Literature and Postcolonial Studies. MacPhee's book shows that works of literature from earlier periods can have a 'critical edge on the present' (p163) and illuminates the strength of colonial impact on modern and contemporary writings.

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

SOJOURNING FOR FREEDOM: BLACK WOMEN, AMERICAN COMMUNISM, AND THE MAKING OF BLACK LEFT FEMINISM

Erik S. McDuffie

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8223-5050-7 (pbk. : alk. Paper)
Pagination: pp.312
Price: £15.99

Assistant Professor of African American Studies, and Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Erik S. McDuffie, presents here a complex survey of how a pioneering community of Black women activists and intellectuals paved the way for the Black feminist activism of the 1970s. The book covers the radicalization of women from a range of backgrounds and locales under the influence of the US Communist Party (CPUSA) and their fight for civil rights, women's rights, economic justice, decolonization and peace. In addition to archives and surviving documents, McDuffie draws on over forty oral histories gathered from veteran Black women activists and radicals and their families to show how they negotiated the exploitation of race, gender, class, sexuality and politics, moving Black women 'from the margins to the center of narratives about black radicalism, diasporic social movements, US and transnational women's movements, and American Communism during the early and mid-twentieth century' (p6).

The book is divided into six chapters, preceeded by an introduction. The first, 'Black Communist Women Pioneers, 1919-1930', opens with Grace P. Campbell, the '"first colored woman to be named for public office on a regular party ticket"' (*The Messenger*, cited p25), speaking at a rally in Harlem in

1920. She was also the first Black woman to officially join the Workers (Communist) Party (WP); others included Williana Burroughs, Maude White and Hermina Dumont Huiswoud – all 'well-respected community leaders' (p26). Their lives are traced in this chapter, as they began to formulate Black left feminism and at the same time struggled with the Party's 'neglect of black women's issues' (p26), articulating the '"triple / oppression" paradigm' (p26/27) of race, class and gender.

Chapter 2, 'Searching for the Soviet Promise, Fighting for Scottsboro and Harlem's Survival, 1930-1935', explores the joining with the Communist left of a second generation of Black women in the early 1930s, including Louise Thompson, Audley Moore, Thyra Edwards, Bonita Williams amongst others. These women formed a community of radicals, rejecting 'the prevailing organizational and sexual politics of women's clubs, the church, and civil rights and nationalist groups' (p59). They believed that 'women of color... constituted the revolutionary vanguard in global struggles for black self-determination and socialism' (p59). Trips to the Soviet Union nurtured the leftist politics of Thompson and Edwards, while Williams and Moore led mass campaigns around survival issues in Harlem.

In 'Towards a Brighter Dawn: Black Women Forge the Popular Front, 1935-1940, McDuffie illustrates how Black women radicals such as Claudia Jones 'advanced their own variant of Popular Front feminism, a left-wing politics emerging out of Popular Front movements of the 1930s and 1940s' (p92), visualizing anti-fascism as a means of struggling against 'racial inequalities and social injustice' (p92), Spain being critical to the construction of the 'cultural front' (p92). 'Racing Against Jim Crow, Fascism, Colonialism, and the Communist Party, 1940-1946', posits Black left feminists 'at the forefront of radical social change in the United States during the war... building the wartime black Popular Front, championing black women's rights, expanding ties with mainstream African American political leaders and clubwomen' (p127), as well as making international connections.

Chapter 5, '"We Are Sojourners for Our Rights": The Cold War, 1946-1956', depicts the breaching of the Department of Justice in Washington in 1951 by sixty members of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, a Black left feminist organization led by Beulah Richardson, demanding attention for their grievances over the treatment of Black men, with social injustices and a Jim Crow army forcing them to go to war with '"other colored peoples"' (Angie Dickerson, cited p160). The chapter uses the Sojourners as a way of analyzing broader trends in Black left feminism at a time when the Cold War and McCarthyism were skewing it to reveal 'the personal and political costs of anti-Communism on black left feminists' (p162).

The final chapter of this fascinating and richly detailed book, 'Ruptures and Continuities, 1956 Onward', opens with the 69-year-old Louise Thompson Patterson speaking on behalf of 'the black Communist, professor, and political prisoner' (p193) Angela T. Davis and concludes with the reassurance that 'whatever paths twenty-first-century black women, feminists of color, and their allies, choose to follow, the activism and complex live of black Communist women certainly provide immeasurable guidance for fighting for a more just, democratic, peaceful world for us all' (p220).

Also relates to:
History
Politics
Social Theory

A WHITE SIDE OF BLACK BRITAIN: INTERRACIAL INTIMACY AND RACIAL LITERACY
FRANCE WINDDANCE TWINE

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London
Year: 2010
ISBN: 978-0-8223-4900-6 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISSN: 978-0-8223-4876-4 (pbk. : alk. paper
Pagination: pp.305
Price: £16.99

This important volume is illustrated throughout by Michael Smith, an Irish photographer and digital filmmaker who accompanied France Winddance Twine on research trips in order to document visually her decade-long ethnographic research project with multiracial families and the African Caribbean

community of Leicester. Twine interviewed and observed over 40 family members from White birth mothers to their children, partners, spouses and friends, investigating racial consciousness of White women who had started families and had children with Black men from African Caribbean heritage – women previously remaining 'in the footnotes and endnotes of black British racial and cultural studies' (p.3).

In the first two chapters, the lives of three White women who established relationships with Black immigrant men between 1960 and 1975, and the narratives of eight White transracial mothers, are traced. 'A Class Analysis of Interracial Intimacy' compares the different forms of capital, as in Pierre Bourdieu's 1994 classification – economic, cultural, social and symbolic – of the three White women to unfold the ways in which they 'negotiated race, racism, and respectability' (p.28). The chapter begins by contextualising the study in the post-WWII period when, at the end of the war, there were nearly 130,000 Black American GI's in Britain and transracial relationships were seen as problematic, contributing to the 1958 Nottingham and Notting Hill Race Riots.

'Chloe Talbot Kelly: Portrait of an Artist with Cultural Capital' is the first of these studies. Kelly 'belongs to the last generation of English colonial elites to grow up during the age of empire' (p.40) and married a middle class Black Jamaican man. Her forms of capital, social, economic, 'enabled her to avoid and minimize the rebound racism that less privileged white women reported encountering as wives of black men' (p.43). Contrastingly, 'Sonya Smith: A Portrait of Downward Mobility', tells of the daughter of a Blackpool pub owner and homemaker who faced more acute problems, living in a deprived community 'where drugs, prostitution, and gang activity pose[d] daily challenges' (p.48) and racism, 'both as a woman of Irish parentage (her father) and as the domestic partner of a black man' (p.49).

In 'Disciplining Racial Dissidents: Transgressive Women, Transracial Mothers' Twine applies 'the theoretical insights of black feminist race scholars...../ [to] illuminate the ways white women who are defined as transgressive can be temporarily "unwhitened" and disciplined in ways similar to the way women of color are disciplined' (p.58/59). Aspects of social, economic and medical treatment of these women are explored under headings such as 'Sites of Surveillance: Hospitals and Unwed Mothers' Homes'; 'Disappearing Acts: Tales of Abortion and Expulsion at the Racial Borders'; 'Irrationality and Hypersexuality' and 'Racial Abuse on Housing Estates'.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the 'Concept of Racial Literacy' and 'Racial Literacy in Practice', the former setting forth the types of 'conceptual tools and analytical skills' (p.88) that constitute 'racial literacy' (p.88), or the way 'white transracial parents.....identify, translate, negotiate, and counter everyday racism and forms of discrimination that may have been previously invisible to them' (p.88). The second focuses more on the means with which these parents train their children to identify with the Black community, subverting 'racial hierarchies that privilege whiteness' (p.118).

Twine uses the chapter 'Written on the Body: Ethnic Capital and Black Cultural Production' to expand Bourdieu's 'theoretical arsenal' (p.147) to include 'ethnic capital', which can embrace comprehension of cultural heritage and history; language, such as knowledge of patois; music, hairstyling and cookery skills. Here, the sub-sections of 'Braids as an Ethnic Body Project' and 'Heritage Cooking: Culinary Skills as Ethnic Capital' show how ingrained these modes of culture are in the system of acceptance and respectability within African Caribbean culture. Subsequent to this, the author then considers 'How do members of transracial families employ photographs, particularly family albums, to manage the social stigma that may attach to these unions?' (p.171), and 'How are white women raising children of multiracial heritage perceived by their black partners and sisters-in-law?' (p.195).

The final chapter identifies the 'empirical and theoretical gap' (p.223) whereby White men in relationships with Black women have been generally 'absent from analyses of whiteness and interracial intimacy' (p.223), presenting portraits of 'Stephen Hawkes: A Racially Literate Rastafarian'; 'Derek Inham: An Honorary Black in the Music Scene'; 'Kevin Hudson: From Color-Blindness to Racism Awareness' and 'Brian Piper: A Professional Antiracist'. In conclusion, Twine writes that 'acquiring racial literacy involved ongoing labor and was not an automatic consequence of being a member

of a transracial family. It was a demanding process that required transracial parents to shift their perspective and to learn a number of significant new skills' (p.259).

Also relates to:
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Social Theory

ECONOMICS AND GLOBALISATION

THE NEW SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

Pádraig Carmody

Publisher: Polity Press: Cambridge, England and Malden, MA
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-7456-4784-5
ISBN: 978-0-7456-4785-2 (pb)
Pagination: pp.244
Price: £15.99

This fascinating study comes at a time when Africa, often perceived as having been marginalised by globalization, has become crucial to emerging powers. While Africa's economic and developmental structure is being reconfigured, however, it is also experiencing a 'new scramble' for raw materials that re-emphasises the economic and political patterns of rule from abroad. The book examines both the historic and contemporary power relations at work in the development and exploitation of Africa's resources.

The opening chapter surveys the factors that led to the development of 'resource-based, extractive economies' (p9) before analyzing the current increase of attention paid to Africa by old and new economic powers. China is one of the rising powers, with its 'voracious demand' (p14), also the other 'so-called "Asian Driver" economies such as India and other regional middle powers such as Brazil' (p14). The globalization of Africa and what that means for its people is considered, together with subjects such as 'The Construction of Markets and Commodity "Chains"', and 'The Political Economy of Inequality, Poverty and Conflict in Africa'.

'Old Economic Power Interests and Strategies in Africa' examines the legacies of historic power interests and how they are impacting in Africa now, for example describing the 'US resource strategy in Africa and...relations with selected key states' (p9) such as support of Joseph Mobutu in Zaire during the Cold War and of Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) - the latter driven by 'guilt over the failure to prevent the Rwandan genocide of 1994, a desire to stabilize Central Africa and strategic economic considerations' (p35). This chapter also looks at Britain in Africa, France's policy of 'FrançAfrique' and Japan's doubling of its aid to Africa in 2008 for the ensuing 5 years and its concomitant 'paucity / of domestic industrial resources' (pp55/56). Chapter 3, co-authored with Ian Taylor, explores the impact of Chinese resource interests and strategies on governance in Sudan and Zambia, while Chapter 4 focuses on India as part of a new 'economic power engagement' (p10) consisting of Brazil, Russia, India and China along with other strong economic powers (the "BRICs").

The remaining chapters provide case studies of specific commodities. In chapter 5, 'Driving the Global Economy: West Africa and Sahelian Oil' Carmody unpacks the sobriquet "oil curse" – how oil can be 'like taking speed' if you are healthy; 'it will raise your rate of economic growth without immediately adverse consequences... if you are unhealthy it has been likened to heroin: it can kill – or nearly kill – you' (p112). He refereces Equatorial Guinea, whose oil production is 86% of its GDP, and Angola, 'a paradox in that it is characterized by both huge wealth and poverty' (p121). Angola's president, Dos Santos of Angola, said to be the sixth richest person in Brazil due to foreign assets while 'half of all children in Angola are malnourished' (p121), are discussed.

Carmody also highlights the role of Coltan, an abbreviation of colombite-tantalite, from which columbium and tantalum are extracted - the latter of which is used in capacitors for gadgets such as mobile phones. 80% of global tantalite reserves are found in the Democratic Republic of Congo

(DRC). Thus highlighting that the new scramble for Africa was predated by the regional scramble for coltan, which was partly the cause of five years of civil war in DRC. This, together with the widespread prospecting, competition for and conflict over uranium in Africa, is explored in the next chapter.

'Furnishing and Feeding the World? Timber, Biofuels, Plants, Food and Fisherie' covers phenomena related to the resource of land, such as the deforestation of Mozambique, referred to locally as the 'Chinese takeaway' (p12); the wave of Somalian piracy, originating in the safeguarding of the country's fish stocks; and Africa's coastal '"fish rush"' (p12). 'The Asian Scramble for Investment and Markets: Evidence and Impacts in Zambia' is co-authored with Godfrey Hampwaye, and examines impacts of Chinese and Indian investment in Zambia, highlight Zambia's role as a major copper producer.

Chapter 9 asks 'Can Africans Unscramble the Continent?' The old and new scrambles are analysed in terms of 'global power politics' (p13), anticipating likely effects on economic development and potential cooperative arrangements that could ensure mutually beneficial outcomes, or '"win-win" games' (p13) for Africa's countries. In conclusion, 'The New Scramble in Perspective' points out that the new scramble, unlike the old colonial version, 'can be likened to a three-legged race in which outside powers are tied to African state elites – but they are not necessarily tied to them permanently, given the greater diversity of potential partners' (p191). This book is essential reading for academics and students in the fields of international relations, resource politics, and African studies.

Also relates to:
History
Politics
Social Theory

HISTORY

FREEDOM RIDERS: 1961 AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE (ABRIDGED EDITION)

Raymond Arsenault

Publisher: OUP: Oxford and New York
Year: 2006, 2011
ISBN: 978-0-19-975431-1
Pagination: pp.306
Price: £10.99

Raymond Arsenault begins this complex, chronological narrative of the civil rights events of Spring and Summer 1961 with the story of Irene Morgan, who, in 1944, boarded a Greyhound bus and refused to give up her seat to a White passenger, in much the same spirit as Rosa Parks did eleven years later. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) took up her cause, part of their challenge of the legitimacy of Jim Crow. Even this, 'the nation's largest civil rights organization had no real answer to the white South's refusal to take Morgan seriously' (p.19), but as the NAACP 'fell by the wayside' (p.19), avenues opened up for a group of radical activists who were committed to taking the anti-segregation struggle onto the streets. This led to the pioneering concept of the freedom riders.

By 1946 the activists in question were affiliated to two interconnected organisations, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). CORE initiated the 1947 project known as the Journey of Reconciliation, which formed a blueprint for the 1961 Freedom Rides. These began in May with thirteen riders trained by CORE, expanding to encompass 450 activists. With a mandate for nonviolent protest, they boarded buses for a tour of the South, sitting, at random, in racially integrated pairs, in defiance of local law and custom, putting their personal safety and indeed their lives at risk.

This volume is an abridged version of Arsenault's earlier study, yet it retains an encyclopedic quality. Chapter 1 traces the influences of three key FOR/CORE figures: Bayard Rustin; James Peck; and James Farmer. Rustin's work as FOR youth secretary included 'immersing himself in the writings

and teachings of Gandhi and pledging his loyalty to non-violence' (p.22), and his refusal to move to the back of a bus on a journey from Louisville, Kentucky to Nashville, Tennessee in 1942. It also details the progress and achievements of the Journey of Reconciliation.

In 'Beside the Weary Road', Arsenault tells of the 'steady decline' (p.43) of CORE and the nonviolent movement during the first part of the 1950s, following the heightened sensitivity of the post-McCarthy era, and of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 'an important connecting link between the nonviolent movement of the 1940s and the freedom struggle of the 1960s' (p.45). James Farmer's new position as director of CORE dominates the opening of Chapter 3, with members Gordon Carey and Tom Gaither putting forward the idea of a second Journey of Reconciliation, a project approved of and named Freedom Ride at a meeting. The group of activists was split between Greyhound and Trailways buses and was to travel from Washington on 4 May to Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, arriving at New Orleans on the 17 May, the seventh anniversary of the Brown v. Board of Education decision. The chapter gives brief biographies of the activists and summarises the plotting of White supremacist elements including the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

'Alabama Bound' details James Peck's role in charge of the Freedom Rides after James Farmer's unexpected departure due to family reasons, and the period when Freedom Riders set off towards Anniston, Alabama - with the threatening remarks of Klansmen and anticipating violent trouble ahead reverberating through the minds of those involved. Arsenault then, in 'Get on Board, Little Children', narrates the 'late-night rendezvous in New Orleans' (p.124) of the Freedom Riders and their comrades; the next leg of the journey incorporating new members, mainly Black students; the jail sentences and hunger striking; and the political quandary faced by the Kennedys over the situation.

Chapter 6, '*If You Miss Me from the Back of the Bus*', a title taken from a 1960s freedom song, gives a detailed account of the Freedom Riders' departure from Birmingham and arrival in Montgomery, where they were ferociously attacked by an angry mob, and themselves became classed as outlaws in Alabama, the police nowhere in sight. '"I saw whites and negroes beaten unmercifully while law officers calmly directed traffic"' (p.154), said Tom Lankford's report in the Birmingham News.

The remaining chapters – of a total of ten – contain equally vivid, elaborate chronicles of the progress of the Freedom Riders. At times the book reads like a written version of an action film or documentary; and indeed the dramatic story was made into an American Experience film on PBS. The book and the film stand as testament to the enduring bravery and resilience of the Freedom Riders, for whom 'participation in the Rides has been a continuing source of identity, pride, and fellowship' (p.300).

Also relates to:
Politics

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON REDISCOVERED

Edited by Michael Scott Bieze and Marybeth Gasman

Publisher: The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-4214-0471-4 (pbk.: acid-free paper)
ISBN: 1-4214-0471-0 (pbk.: acid-free paper)
Pagination: pp.265
Price: £18.00

In the opening 'Note to Reader' of this innovative collection of newly discovered material, contextual tracts and documents reproduced in their original form that pertain to the writings and thought of Booker T. Washington, the editors point out that for conceptual and practical reasons the book 'extends into a digital component at a website (www.press.jhu.edu/BTW)'. While research will always require contact with original archival documents, this meant that many more could be accessed than purely in print form. A further reason relates to the form of Washington's publications: '[m]ost of the works were created with visual support, most often photographs by artists Washington hired' (p.5).

Some scholars have 'missed the rebus nature of the writings' (p.5) by studying documents that did not include these supplementary elements.

The volume divides into nine thematic chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. The website has nine divisions and additional lesson plans. These chapters allow Washington's intentions to 'be properly examined', since he 'is often miscast as a far-right conservative' (p.6). A further historiographic element concerns 'the vast private holdings within Black families and among collectors of African American ephemera' (p.6). Washington wrote at least three autobiographies, using the form to promote himself and his ideas. For the opening chapter, 'Autobiography', chapter 1 of his autobiography *Up From Slavery*, as it originally appeared in *The Outlook*, and *"A Joshua in the camp," or, The life of Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, Alabama from 1895* are presented in the book along with online documents.

'Speeches' illustrates Washington's passionate involvement in debate and public speaking; he 'mastered the art of shifting his speaking voice from crisp New England diction to Black vernacular' (p.53). His *Address of Booker T. Washington, Principal Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.*, delivered at the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition, acted as a summation of his views on religion, politics, civil rights and aesthetics. It 'launched Washington into the national spotlight and solidified his role as the leader of the majority of his people' (p.56). Online are speeches including *Knoxville College Speech*, from the Collection of Michael and Laura Bieze, Atlanta, Georgia, and *Notes from Address Delivered at the Black Belt Fair, Demopolis, Alabama, September 27, 1912*, from the Collection of Gerald Norwood of Wichita, Kansas.

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute provided many forms of education from training students in agricultural and trade skills to night schooling, adult education and a laboratory grade school. Work study programmes were developed with students attending college and learning about a trade at the same time. Chapter 3, Education, reproduces "Twenty-Five Years of Tuskegee" from *The World's Work*, 1906, and online various documents including the *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1899*, and 'Among Negro Students' from *The Youth's Companion*, 1902.

In 'Work', the phrase 'dignity of labor' (p.93) is unraveled to show 'how carefully Washington's ideas on education, racial uplift, and social advancement were woven together' (p.93). It also covers the shift in direction undertaken by Washington as he felt, post 1900, mounting pressure from Black intellectuals to promote career paths among the professions, and following his formation of the National Negro Business League in 1900, Washington wrote 'several essays on the need to develop a Black middle class, particularly a network of Black businessmen' (p.95).

'Philanthropy' includes a reproduction of 'Chickens, Pigs and People' from *The Outlook, 68, No.5, 1901* and 'The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute' from *The World To-day,* 1902; snd subsequently, 'Aesthetics' features an extended contextual essay and two articles entitled 'Negro Homes', one from *The Colored American Magazine*, 1902 and one from *The Century Magazine*, 1908. In chapter 7, 'Race', White tracks Washington's shifts in perspective from his cautious 'first writings on the heroic accomplishments by Black individuals' (p.167) to his 'move toward Black pride' (p.168), and latterly, his framing of the Black struggle within the global context.

The last two chapters deal with 'Religion' and 'Politics', the latter introduced as tending 'outside of political theory and into literary allusions as a means of understanding Washington's politics because he was a thinker rooted in the Bible and in Shakespeare, a lover of epigrams, a teller of folksy tales, a prodigious writer, and theatrical in his method of inspiring crowds' (p.209). The conclusion to Bieze and Gasman's impressive work celebrates the memory of Washington as the person who 'laid the foundation in our society for the success of another unique and enigmatic figure, Barack Obama' (p.244).

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

THE COLORS OF ZION: BLACKS, JEWS, AND IRISH FROM 1845 TO 1945

George Bornstein

Publisher: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-674-05701-2
Pagination: 254pp
Price: £20.95

A reappraisal of group relations among Blacks, Jews and Irish during the period between the Irish Famine and the end of World War II, this study establishes far greater cooperation and empathy between the three groups than is usually appreciated as each suffered prejudice and suppression. It realigns contemporary constructions of ethnic relations to overturn their emphasis on conflict and suggests that there is a whole other history of hybridity, of a common search for "home", and of a wealth of connections between these groups, while simultaneously acknowledging the existence of division.

George Bornstein is C A Patrides Professor of Literature, Emeritus, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He sets out in his preface his intention of breathing life into 'strong voices from the past of all three groups [allowing them to] speak for themselves and their age rather than ventriloquizing them in terms of our own. They have more to teach us than we have to teach them' (pxii). He explains his expansion of the concept of the Righteous Gentile, commemorated at the Israeli Holocaust Memorial, which has a section devoted to the memory of non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust, which he uses here to include Irish, Jewish and African-American people who blurred the boundaries of their categorization for a wider vision of humanity.

Frederick Douglass' tour of famine in Ireland is typical of one of the main sources of reference for the book which adopts a 'resolutely hybrid approach to cultural materials'. Douglass' close linking of Irish and Black causes is examined, not only in his mid-nineteenth century *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglas, an American Slave* but also of 'parallels between Black and Jewish diaspora and enslavement (p4), in his speech *The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro* (1852): '"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! We wept when we remembered Zion"' (cited p4). This linking anticipates that made by W E B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey in the twentieth century.

The first chapter, 'Races', as well as the final chapter on the 1930s and war, uses the 'triangle' (p13) of leading anti-racist anthropologist Franz Boas; Du Bois, whom Boas first introduced to African history; and Zora Neale Hurston, whom Boas mentored, among others. These figures constituted an 'ideological nemesis' (p13) for racists and their theorists. The ensuing perspectives can assist with reassessing recent condemnations of cultural productions such as the film The Jazz Singer, in which Al Jolson briefly 'Blacks up'. As Bornstein points out, the fact that Jolson was friends with 'numerous African-American musicians and singers... and [that] he wrote an article distinguishing the modern, more sophisticated use of blackface from its earlier derogatory stereotypes' (p13) suggest his enactment 'might mirror aspects of, say, Paul Robeson's singing "Kaddish" and other Jewish cantorial works along with African-American songs and Irish ballads like "Danny Boy" in his own concerts' (p13).

In 'Diasporas and Nationalisms' Bornstein illustrates how diaspora as a concept engenders connections between the three groups, leading to ideas about nationalism as 'possible solutions' (p14). Hr argues that nationalism tended to be a reaction to oppression, sometimes bordering on separatism; yet in the common experience of dispersion and exile the groups have often sought each other's empathy and support. 'Melting Pots' explores 'the opposite of nationalism and separatism' (p16) implying assimilation. The phrase was coined by English Zionist Israel Zangwill in his play "The Melting Pot" (1908), opening with a dispute between an immigrant Jewish grandmother and an Irish maid, and ending with their becoming firm friends. He saw 'melting pot' as comprising '"an all-round give-and-take"' (cited p16) rather than a single assimilated product. The chapter 'Popular and Institutional Cultures' explores the permeation of popular culture by the melting pot spirit leading to interconnectedness of ideas and hybridity.

Finally, 'The Gathering Storm: The 1930s and World War II' includes such signs of impending crisis as the example of a then contemporary American high school poll in which Blacks, Jews and

Catholics were respectively identified as those whom students would choose last as roommates. While Black and Jewish causes were closely allied during the period, Irish links tended towards neutrality, exceptions including *The Bell* by Sean Ó Faolain. This captivatingly expansive, detailed and human study concludes by reflecting on the Righteous Gentiles and the enlarged scope of righteous 'with a small "r", whether they risked their lives or just their reputations' (p210): Boas, Douglass, J F Taylor, George Eliot, James Joyce, Arthur Miller, Zora Neale Hurston, to name but a few.

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

ESTHER BRUCE: A BLACK LONDON SEAMSTRESS – HER STORY

Stephen Bourne and Esther Bruce

Publisher: History and Social Action Publications
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-954894375
Pagination: pp.32
Price: £4.00

The co-author of this engaging memoir, Esther Bruce, was born into a working class Fulham family, one of whom was his adopted Aunt Esther, a Black Londoner born in Dieppe Street, near North End Road, Fulham, before WWI. Aunt Esther's father, Joseph Bruce, emigrated from Guyana (then known as British Guiana) during the Edwardian period, as a seaman who lodged in 'the dockland area of London's East End' (p.1). Esther's mother, Edith, who had been a servant when she met Joseph, died in 1918, leaving him to raise Esther and her half brother, Edith's son William or Billy. Joseph was tragically killed in an accident during the London Blitz of 1941 and Esther was adopted by Stephen Bourne's great grandmother, Hannah 'Granny' Johnson, 'a mother figure and tower of strength in their close-knit Dieppe Street community' (p.2). In the late 1980s Bourne began to record interviews with Aunt Esther on audio cassettes. In 1991 they published her autobiography, *Aunt Esther's Story*, shortlisted for the Arts Council's Raymond Williams Prize for Community Publishing.

Following Bourne's introduction and a timeline of Esther Bruce's life and legacy, the memoir begins, entitled 'Esther Bruce Tells Her Story'. She talks about her father working as a painter for the General Bus Company, taking Esther to Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, and teaching her to stand up for herself. For example, when a misguided teacher at her school said to Esther's class, '"Now children, when you meet coloured people, you do not talk to them. Don't lower yourself,"' (p.10) she went home and explained to her father that this was the reason why she was not speaking to him. He went to the school the next day and 'raised the roof! Afterwards Mrs.Carson was sacked' (p.10).

Esther discusses her many fond memories of growing up in Dieppe Street - the community spirit and helpful attitudes of the neighbours; visits to the Granville in Fulham Broadway; being taught to sew by Jennie, who was married to Joseph in 1928 and was also from British Guiana; Joseph singing Sankey songs (by Ira D. Sankey 1840-1908, American gospel singer) to Jennie when she was ill with tuberculosis (which she sadly died of in 1933 aged 40). Esther met some famous Black figures – Marcus Garvey walking along North End Road one day asked her round to his house for a chat; she worked as a dressmaker for a Miss Mary Taylor in Chelsea and met Elisabeth Welch (1904-2003), at the time one of the most well-known Black women in Britain; a sophisticated, stylish interpreter of popular songs' (p.15).

Bruce tells of how she moved in with Granny Johnson after Joseph died, and of life in the air raid shelter; rationing; working as a cleaner on the wards of Fulham Hospital for nearly 14 years; her memories of a visit from her cousin Claude and the doodlebug raids of 1944. She remembers sing-songs with Granny Johnson and outings to Eastbourne and Southend. Particularly moving is the manner in which the communities of places like Dieppe Street were dismantled and dispersed post-war. After Granny Johnson died, Esther Bruce decided to stay in the house until she was moved out in 1960 and it was pulled down. She moved to Fulham Court then Wandsworth Bridge Road. In her retirement she made curtains at a business in Battersea Park Road until she was 74; 'I didn't want to

stop working and if I could go back there tomorrow I would' (p.27). Only her failing eyesight held her back.

In Bourne's 'Afterword' (p.29) he describes becoming Esther Bruce's main carer after her stroke in 1992. At her funeral in July 1994 when she had died in her sleep following heart failure, Bourne and his mother sang *Jesus Bids Us Shine* which Bruce used to sing with Granny Johnson. The final part of this touching memorial to a fascinating and stalwart woman is 'The Search for Billy', which sets out Bourne's research into what happened to Esther's brother William. It transpired that he married and had children and that while he kept the facts of his illegitimacy and his mixed race half sister secret, he took the surname Bruce 'out of respect to the British Guianese labourer who had partly raised him' (p.32).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

IRA ALDRIDGE: THE EARLY YEARS, 1807-1833

Bernth Lindfors

Publisher: University of Rochester Press: Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-58046-381-2
Pagination: pp.387
Price: £30

This fascinating biography of a 'masquerader with a purpose' (p.1) who 'dressed in borrowed robes to prove a point about human equality' (p.1), is the first of a two-volume study. Bernth Lindfors explains his growing recognition of the significance of Ira Aldridge in his introduction, and his marshalling of reports from eyewitnesses who had seen him on stage through research at the British Library's Newspaper Library and other holdings of 'reviews, playbills, letters, memoirs, prints, and photographs' (p.2) to form a substantial mass of new documentation.

The book opens with 'The Lives of Ira Aldridge', a chapter detailing his 'unusual life and [ ] remarkable career' (p.4) and their various written versions. Born to a straw vendor and lay preacher father, Daniel, in Lower Manhattan, 1807, he received several years of education at a Manumission Society African Free School. He made his debut as Othello in 1825 at a small London theatre. He began to fabricate a background for himself as the son of a Christian Fulah (Fulani) Prince from Senegal, billing himself as the 'African Roscius', referring to eminent Roman actor Quintus Roscius Gallus. He became world famous and amassed a considerable fortune. Key questions arise: 'Why was he so popular in the provinces and so pilloried by critics in London? What did his audiences expect of him? [.....] Did their conception of him as an "African" condition their reactions to him as a performer?' (p.5).

'Family Matters' sets forth details of Aldridge's parents, stepmother, siblings, nephews and nieces. Next, in 'Life in New York City', Lindfors explores Aldridge's education, together with the opportunity that arose for him in the first Black theatre in the United States - which was opened 17 September 1821 by William Alexander Brown, 'an ex-ship steward from the West Indies' (p.26). It changed site several times to become the American Theatre in mid-July 1822, where Ira 'allegedly "took to the stage"' (p.27). This chapter includes a timeline of events key to the shaping of Aldridge's future.

Two actors who 'indirectly helped Aldridge launch his theatrical career' (p.47) are discussed in Chapter 4, Charles Mathews and James Hewlett, the former England's most popular comedian, the latter the leading actor at the African Theatre, New York City. Subsequent chapters deal with Aldridge's early successes on the British stage, and ability to perform several roles within the same week; and Chapter 7, entitled 'The African Roscius on Tour', details provincial performances around the country. Lindfors uses 'A Fresh Start' to cover the way that Aldridge's playing of a comedic part (Mungo in The Padlock) after becoming known for his Othello, gave him the opportunity to 'show the world that blacks [.....] were capable beings endowed with the same range of abilities, the same mental and emotional resources [.....] as people of any other race' (p.117). 'A New Venture' quotes

extensively from reports of the time such as the *Birmingham Journal* and *General Advertiser*'s critic's review of *The Slave*, hailing the African Roscius as '"a first rate actor"' (p.131).

The years 1829-1831 are dealt with in the ensuing three chapters: 'Expanding the Repertoire', 'London Again' and 'Playing New Roles'. Aldridge tested himself in new roles, some of which were not African, African American or Black West Indian. In London he undertook a contract for a two-week run at Sadler's Wells. In 'Pale Experiments', Lindfors traces his repertoire through trials such as Hassarac in *The Forty Thieves*; or, *The Robbers of the Forest* and Bertram in *Bertram*; or, *The Castle of Aldobrand*, examining Aldridge's '"genius in his profession"' (p.207). Playing Othello in Dublin, Aldridge received the 'singular honor' (p.210) of a curtain call.

Chapter 15 explores 'Racial Compliments and Abuse'. While Aldridge, 'through the sheer virtuosity of his performance, [ ] was again making a case for racial equality' (p.222), at the same time, 'a black actor in those days couldn't please everyone' (p.229). Overtly racist criticism by À Beckett in the satirical paper *Figaro* in London is cited. This young editor's effect on Aldridge, together with other examples of 'less benign form[s] of humor' (p.252) are explored in Chapter 18.

The remaining chapters – there are twenty-one in all – describe Aldridge's engagements at Covent Garden and other theatres in London, set against the backdrop of the 'storm over his professional competence raging in the press' (p.274). Post-1833, Aldridge's life is to be told in the second volume, but this admirable, richly detailed study concludes by celebrating his legacy, one of 'deepened racial understanding [...that] still lingers today among those who remember his remarkable achievements' (p.289).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

RACE: ANTIQUITY AND ITS LEGACY

Denise Eileen McCoskey

Publisher: I B Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-1-84885-158-0
Pagination: pp.250
Price: £12.99

This volume offers an examination of both the role of race in the classical world, and of the ways 'Greek and Roman racial ideologies continue to resonate in modern life' (p.1). Questions range from how scholars in antiquity approached the subject of race, prior to the later 'scientific' theorizing of race that was consolidated during the nineteenth century, and the associated assumptions of which lasted until into the twentieth century, to the tracing of links between 'the designation of a group as fundamentally / different – as racially "other" – and a desire to dominate it' (pp.31/32).

The introduction explores ancient and contemporary representations of Cleopatra and the contested nature of her 'race'. Terminology used in the book is explained, 'race' being preferred over 'ethnicity' because it 'forces us to confront our all too-frequent idealization of classical antiquity, and to view more critically a variety of Greek and Roman ideologies and practices, violent facets of the ancient world that can seem too sanitized when called something else' (p.31). In addition, the introduction surveys the relevant academic literature on the subject, such as *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome* (1967, A N Sherwin-White) and *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (2004, Benjamin Isaac).

The book consists of four parts: 'Racial Theory', 'Race as Social Practice', 'Racial Representations', and 'Whose History?' respectively. Chapter 1 takes an ethnographic view of how the Greeks and Romans developed theories and ideas about themselves and those they perceived as "other", and of their methods of 'elucidat[ing] human difference' (p.35). Beginning with a mapping of the extent of the Greek and Roman knowledge of the world, the chapter proceeds to the ancient environmental theory, whereby ancient thinkers divided the world into latitudinal bands, extrapolating that the 'relative exposure of the sun's heat and its purported effects on the human body' (p.46) defined racial group. The shifting self-identification of Greeks, the Hellenistic Period, Alexander's world, and the

formation of Roman identity are also explored here, tracking the concept of the "barbarian".

Part two examines 'the daily negotiations that take place between institutional strategies and individual tactics, between the hegemonic procedures set down in space by those in power and the ephemeral acts that "the weak" use to affirm or destabilize such structures at any one moment' (p.82), focusing on Ptolemaic Egypt and the Roman Empire. While literary works are dealt with in the next chapter, here the impact of the nineteenth century discoveries of hoards of papyri is explored, together with accounts of land and tax structures, the 'racial governmentality' (p.96) of the census, and the intriguing use of 'double names' (p.103) in Ptolemaic Egypt – a Greek name in one situation and an Egyptian name in another. The chapter ends with a section entitled 'The multicultural city boils over, discussing the violence in Alexandria from 38 BC, 'events that challenged the tenuous balance of the city's diverse groups' (p.124) as Greeks urged the Roman governor of Egypt to 'curtail Jewish rights' (p.124). This led to the emperor Claudius' *Letter to the Alexandrians*, outlining the rights of each group.

Racial Representations' unfolds the involvement of literature and art in ancient racial formation, beginning with reference to the way Toni Morrison's commitment to seeking out the meaning in 'omissions and suppressions' (p.133) in American literature can inspire similar readings of classical texts. For example, 'the invisibility of Egypt and Egyptians in many forms of literature from Hellenistic Alexandria is striking' (p.133). Susan Stephens has suggested that 'Alexandrian literature incorporates many Egyptian ideas and motifs through "optical illusion", making its "Egyptianness" visible only at specific angles – although, even then, it re-enacts its own domination by presenting the Egyptian element as emphatically "contained within or domesticated by its imposing framework of Greekness"' (p.134). Works such as Ovid's Tristia, Euripides' Trojan Women and Iphigenia at Tauris are examined for evidence of formulations of identity and the "barbarian" character.

Whose History? opens with Virginia Woolf enumerating 'the pretensions of six Englishmen on a visit to Greece' (p.167) in *A Dialogue Upon Mount Pentelicus*, as they attempt to place some rough-looking young boys, or 'modern Greek "imposters"' (p.167), while they 'align themselves with the ancient Greeks' (p.167). This is followed by a discussion of Martin Bernal's controversial *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* and concludes with the striking image of 'the pride and the burden wrought by the classical past' in poet George Seferis' description of 'waking "with a marble head in his hands", one he "did not know where to put down"' (p.198).

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

WAR AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA

Paul D. Williams

Publisher: Polity Press: Cambridge, England and Malden, MA
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-7456-4544-5
ISBN: 978-0-7456-4545-2 (pb)
Pagination: pp.306
Price: £17.99

Associate Professor in the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, Paul D. Williams presents here an incisive and comprehensive framework for an understanding of over 300 armed conflicts taking place in Africa between 1990 and 2009, dividing this broad subject into 3 main parts. 'Contexts' gives an overview and a socio-political outline of root causes. 'Ingredients' identifies five main features of Africa's wars – 'governance, resources, sovereignty, ethnicity, and religion' (p11). 'Responses' sets forth the international reactions to Africa's wars, including peacemaking and security structures together with humanitarian relief and development assistance.

The first chapter, 'Counting Africa's Conflicts (and their Casualties)', notes the imprecision of data on wars in Africa, and the marked tendency of what data is collected to be 'state-centric' (p15). 'Shifting our collective gaze from states to social forces, specifically to take account of armed non-

state actors, could be the single most important factor in rethinking and recalculating the statistics of war and conflict in Africa' (p15). Chapter 2, 'The Terrain of Struggle', recognizes the need for 'a conceptual framework that can tell us which phenomena to focus on and how they interrelate' (p36), referring to the inextricable link between specific wars and their politico-geographic contexts, for example, the influence of mining rights for minerals used to produce hi-tech gadgets on the war in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Such a framework would begin with four levels, local, national, regional and global; however there are many other layers and these occupy the next five chapters, under Part II of the book.

Part II opens with a defence of the concept of neopatrimonialism as a means of explaining 'the forms of political domination apparent within African states' (p55), suggesting that instead of being ambiguous in use, it is a vital concept for comprehending many African conflicts. As a system of governance it tends to lead to factionalism, and thereby to instability. The chapter, 'Neopatrimonialism', outlines such forms of governance, then discusses 'two pathways through which neopatrimonial / regimes were linked to armed conflicts in post-Cold War Africa: periods of economic and political crisis and the challenges thrown up by democratization' (p55/56); finally, the chapter explores the way 'neopatrimonial structures in Sierra Leone eventually collapsed under a variety of political and economic crises, resulting in a decade-long and bloody civil war' (p56).

In chapter 4, Williams establishes that resources 'are not phenomena that exist apart from society which somehow exert a gravitational force over human behavior…resources enable but they do not cause' (p73). Human, financial and military resources are prerequisites of war in any case. The examples of oil and diamonds as two commodities seen as being at the core of debates about Africa's conflicts are discussed here together with issues of environmental and demographic change. Chapter 5 sets forth contemporary meanings of 'sovereignty, secession and self-determination' (p 95) before exploring four key conflicts related to 'the unfinished business of decolonialization and the struggle to build new states, namely, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Somaliland/Somalia, Western Sahara/Morocco, and Cabinda/Angola' (p95). Ethnicity and the concept of 'ethnic conflict' are surveyed in Chapter 6, while Chapter 7 shows how religion 'can become an officially endorsed "script" for violence' (p129).

Part III begins with 'Organization-Building', one of four types of 'international effort to immunize the continent from the devastating effects of… wars' (p149), the other three examined in Chapters 9-11. There is an analysis of conflict management via peace and security structures such as the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Peace and Security Council, the Continental Early Warning System, the African Standby Force and the Panel of the Wise, arguing that these institutions were overwhelmed by the challenges of prioritised 'regime survival strategies' (p150) of weaker states.

'Peacemaking', or 'engineering a negotiated settlement' (p168) is then examined, followed by Peacekeeping, which includes analysis of 'seven of the most serious challenges that confronted peacekeepers on the African subcontinent' (p184) post-Cold War. Chapter 11, 'Aid', covers both humanitarian and developmental aid, and such challenges as the requirement of consent of the host government. The conclusion to this thought-provoking study includes a summary of the uses its analyses could have for students, for example, 'interested in understanding why Africa's wars break out', and for analysts who 'should be more sceptical about viewing so-called natural resources and religion as principal ingredients in the outbreak of Africa's wars' (p225). The book presents a 'hugely daunting agenda' (p225), requiring time, money and political effort in equal measure.

Also relates to:
Politics
Social Theory

MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

CIVIC ENGAGEMENTS: THE CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES OF INDIAN AND VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANTS

Caroline B. Brettell and Deborah Reed-Danahay

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7528-1 (cloth: alk. paper)
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7529-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.275
Price: £15.59

This co-authored volume stems from ethnographic research undertaken in the Dallas-Arlington-Fort Worth (DFW) metropolitan district in Texas, a relatively little-researched area where the two main Asian immigrant populations are Indian and Vietnamese. Brettell focused on Indian immigrants to DFW, a continuation of her existing work, and Reed-Danahay on Vietnamese immigrants due to her studies in French colonialism. Central to their present thesis is the way in which '"new" immigrants participate in the public sphere and hence become citizens, not only in the legal sense but also socially and culturally, through various forms of civic engagement' (p.2), and the concept of 'emplacement' or 'a sense of belonging' (p.7).

The chapters weave together research on both immigrant communities, rather than separating the Indian and Vietnamese immigrant experience, in an attempt to seek out commonalities. This becomes clear from the first chapter with the stories of Mai P., born in Vietnam, and Salim K., born in India, both arriving in DFW in the 1980s, opening a discussion of feelings of isolation and "otherness", and the creation of 'ethnic commercial centers, cultural institutions, and the virtual and imagined spaces of ethnic media' (p.21) – in other words, 'cultural landscape'. The DFW context and the immigrant demographic of DFW are also established.

Chapter 2, 'Immigrant Identities and the Meanings of Citizenship', references interviews with people from different generations to examine the '"situated nature" of ethnic identity and belonging' (p.48) and its implications for an understanding of 'the social and cultural dimensions of participatory citizenship' (p.48). Significant differences were found within the generations in terms of response to questions such as what it means to be American, Asian, Indian or Vietnamese. Whereas one 55 year old Indian male immigrant who had revisited India from America felt he had become '"a stranger in my own land....I had become American"' (p.52), one female Indian said '"I still commonly identify myself as Indian because we believe in our culture and believe it is the best. I was born in India and not America"' (p.53). Overall, it was found that despite cultural ambivalences towards the idea of being American, Indian and Vietnamese immigrants become 'civically engaged' (p.76) through the 'prism of ethnic identity, through a pan-Asian identity, and as naturalized American citizens' (p76).

The ensuing chapters deal with the ways Indian and Vietnamese populations develop their own emplacement via social engagement, looking at different forms of participation. Chapter 3, Temples, Mosques, and Churches, focuses on civic engagement and religion, a form of communal activity requiring collective effort, to build a church, and constituting a visible use of 'urban space' (p.78). Questions such as the potential of 'ethnic religious assemblies' (p.79) to inhibit assimilation or to promote adaptation into American society arise, and specific groups such as Vietnamese Catholic Churches, Vietnamese Buddhist Temples, Vietnamese Syncretism and Civic Engagement, and Hinduism, Seva, and Civic Engagement, the Mar Thoma Church and Indian Muslims are explored.

Following is a chapter devoted to 'Ethnic Associations', tracing pathways towards civic leadership. Indian and Vietnamese immigrants have typically produced a range of organisations; around 100 Indian and 100 Vietnamese organisations in the DFW area. In the case of the Indian population these are either religious or related to the culture of the original Indian region of its members, in addition to professional / business associations, charities, alumni and cultural associations. The Vietnamese organisations include three mainstays: the Vietnamese American Community of Dallas,

the Vietnamese American Community of Tarrant County and the Vietnamese Culture and Science Association. This chapter examines the transition of Cao H. and Vishal P. 'from newcomer to insider' (p.126) rising up through leadership in ethnic organisations towards political careers.

Chapter 5 explores the role of festivals and banquets in networking, commonality and solidarity, as 'spaces of cultural citizenship' (p.146), beginning with the Tet Festival organised by the Vietnamese American Community of Tarrant County and Dallas, and India Nite by the India Association of North Texas. The final chapter examines 'deliberate forms of leadership training' (p.167) of young professionals and highlights the stories of four people whose participation has taken them beyond their immigrant group. Rather than imposing a 'unitary model of outcomes on individuals' (p.208) with policies centered around concepts of assimilation, incorporation and integration, the authors conclude that Americans would be better served by recognizing the potential of the 'spaces and places' (p.208) within immigrant communities as 'viable arenas for "becoming American" and being a responsible American citizen' (p.208).

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

THE DISPERSAL AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS: BETWEEN LIMINALITY AND BELONGING

Patricia Hynes

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Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84742-326-9 (hardcover)
Pagination: pp.226
Price: £61.75

Central to this empirical, multidimensional study is the impact of policy on the social exclusion of asylum seekers and the ways in which they themselves endeavour to redress this exclusion and create a sense of "belonging". The effectively compulsory dispersal of asylum seekers under the 1999 *Immigration and Asylum Act* is the main focus. Despite having legal status in the UK, these people are compelled to constantly prove their legality, and exist "in limbo", or what anthropologists term "liminality" (cited p.2), 'a particular state experienced by people as they pass over the threshold of one phase of their life to another' (p.2).

Hynes's first chapter introduces the policy context and legislative and historical framework, and outlines the import and meaning of social exclusion of refugees both on a European and a global level. A table gives an annotated chronology of British legislation relating to immigration and asylum, and the development of deterrence policy is traced. The chapter also examines past examples of dispersal of refugees in the UK - for example the assimilation goals with which Hungarian refugees fleeing communism post-1956 were dealt, and the dispersal of Ugandan Asian, Chilean and Vietnamese "quota refugees" under resettlement schemes between 1967 and 1989. These are contrasted with contemporary dispersals which are on the one hand 'overtly hostile' (p.19) politically, and on the other, 'firmly established in law' (p.20).

In the next chapter, Hynes the key terms and concepts in contemporary asylum debates in the UK are outlined, together with a survey of perceptions of asylum seekers and refugees. The concepts of '"integration", "resettlement", "belonging", "social inclusion", "social cohesion" and "community cohesion"' (p.25) are used in different ways by different parties and are certainly contested: here the way they are deployed in the book is explained. In addition, Hynes contextualises the terms '"burden-sharing"' (p.28) or spreading the responsibility of assistance for refugees, and liminality, as mentioned above, showing how asylum seekers are viewed as '"outside" society' (p.42).

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 concern the notion that 'structure, geography and processes of dispersal' (p.42) are key to the social exclusion of asylum seekers. Firstly, dispersal policy from the late 1990s is examined, and found to have been speedily designed and implemented without due consultation, leading to a flawed system that excludes asylum seekers from mainstream services. Next the design

and evolution of dispersal policy is explored with reference to the geographical aspect of dispersal to certain cities, which reflects a pattern of aligning resettlement with deprived areas. Policies such as the "cluster area", proposed to disperse asylum seekers into groups with a common language, were abandoned, as was the idea of a 1:200 ratio of asylum seekers per capita. In Chapter 5, 'The Process and Experience of Dispersal', the 'lived experiences of asylum seekers and processes of social exclusion resulting from their dispersal and claims for asylum' (p93) are analysed using testimonies from numerous individuals.

'Access to Services' is the subject of Chapter 6, from an outline of 'changing entitlements and tangible barriers' (p.127) covering lack of appropriate translation for those of an oral or visual learning heritage and the difficulty of registering with a GP, to 'Accommodation: a policing role for landlords', whereby 'accommodation during dispersal became, over time, an exercise in cost control' (p.137) and the intangible barriers that prevent access in subtle and insidious ways, such as 'reducing the self-esteem of individuals, forcing a retreat into communities where social trust could be accessed' (p.153).

Chapter 7, 'Social Networks and Belonging', examines the creation and maintenance of networks, and in addition what happens when they are disrupted. 'Recourse to social networks was the most important way in which policy-imposed liminality was resisted' (p.180). These networks are shown to be 'based on dynamic and fluid relationships.....which interconnected people globally, nationally and locally' (p.180). Recommendations are made for the engendering of a sense of belonging: the image of asylum seekers needs to be made more positive and institutional and political trust should be fostered, not just social trust.

The last chapter comprises conclusions drawn by Hynes - for example, while this book focuses on the UK, other European countries have policies on so-called 'burden-sharing' that may be facing the same issues – namely that dispersal may work in principle but not necessarily in practice. Asylum seekers are socially excluded as a 'key outcome of dispersal policy' (p.184). A pessimistic outlook for asylum policy is projected, with increasing development of liminality, and for the foreseeable future at least the asylum seeker remains an "other" on the margins of society.

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

ANGEL ISLAND: IMMIGRANT GATEWAY TO AMERICA

Erika Lee and Judy Yung

Publisher: Oxford University Press: New York
Year: 2010
ISBN: 978-0-19-973408-5 (hbk)
Pagination: pp.394
Price: £17.99

The acknowledgements at the opening of this comprehensive and definitive study of the immigrant gateway to America, Angel Island, extend to over four pages. This alone is testament to the vast cooperative effort that has made the book possible, from data entry volunteers and library and archive staff, to the people who translated documents from a range of Asian languages into English, and those who contributed details of their Angel Island family histories. The subtitles to seven of the nine chapters of the book enumerate the different immigrant origins within its scope; Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russian, Jewish, Mexican and Filipino. A double preface by the authors explains their academic and personal backgrounds. Erika Lee is the fifth daughter of immigrant parents from China, and is Associate Professor of History and Asian American Studies at the University of Minnesota. Judy Yung is Professor Emerita of American Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and is granddaughter of a Chinese 'paper son', an orphan whom a merchant claimed as his own to ease the young man's entry to America.

The book asks the central question 'Is the United States a "nation of immigrants" that welcomes newcomers and helps them to achieve their dreams? Or is it a "gate-keeping nation" that builds fences

and detention centers to keep out certain groups of immigrants who are perceived as undesirable and dangerous aliens?" (p21). It shows that for thousands of immigrants it became the former: Mexicans, Koreans and Russians found safety from persecution and political turmoil at home. Thousands of others found Angel Island a bridge to a better life, eventually owning their own businesses or farms, and establishing opportunity and fortune for their descendents if not for themselves.

However, border controls and immigration law in America have often been harsh and exclusionary. In this way Angel Island 'directly helped to maintain two Americas' (p22). This dichotomy can be symbolically defined by the contrasting nature of Angel Island and Ellis Island, the latter 'synonymous not only with America's immigrant heritage but also with its national identity in general' (p23) – in other words, the desirable face of immigration. For all immigrants, race, class and gender were written into legislation that either allowed or refused entry. However, race was the predominant factor.

Organised along a chronological history of the immigration station on Angel Island, the book begins with an exploration of the day to day business of immigration procedure. The succeeding chapters each examine different immigrant groups. Chinese were the largest group to pass through Angel Island and the experiences of 100,000 Chinese detainees are told in Chapter 2, which opens with a quote from one of hundreds of Chinese poems inscribed by anonymous detainees onto the wall of the detention barracks, the final line of which is '"with a hundred kinds of oppressive laws, they mistreat us Chinese"' (cited p69). Next, 'Agony, Anguish, and Anxiety' shows how Japanese immigrants, arriving in San Francisco from 1910 to 1940, were the second largest group after the Chinese; due to Japan's victory over a European power in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, the country had acquired the United States' diplomatic respect and to a degree Japanese had an 'easier time' (p113) than Chinese arrivals and their confinements were shorter.

'"Obstacles This Way, Blockades That Way": South Asian Immigrants, U.S. Exclusion, and the Gadar Movement' are examined in Chapter 4, while Chapters 5 and 6 deal with 'Korean Refugee Students and Picture Brides', and 'Russian Jews in the Promised Land', respectively. Mexican immigrants are the focus of Chapter 7, 'El Norte', and Filipino migration and repatriation of Chapter 8, 'From "U.S. Nationals" to "Aliens"'. Chapter 9 tells of the way a large fire led to the closing of the immigration station and the Angel Island site's reversion to the US Army in February 1941. Over the next forty years the history of the place was recovered by activists and descendants of detainees, Angel Island gained National Historic Landmark status in 1997, and Barack Obama proclaimed 21 January 2010 as National Angel Island Day.

The book's epilogue notes the many changes in immigration legislation and procedure, including post 9/11 immigrant policies and Angel Island and the immigration debate in the twenty-first century. The authors conclude that remembering this history aids recognition of what is great about the United States but also 'what remains to be done to fulfill America's promise as a nation of immigrants' (p325).

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
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MAKING THE CHINESE MEXICAN: GLOBAL MIGRATION, LOCALISM, AND EXCLUSION IN THE U.S.-MEXICAN BORDERLANDS

Grace Peña Delgado

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2012
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7814-5 (cloth : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.304
Price: £40.50

Grace Peña Delgado's impressive volume breaks new ground as the first study to explore Chinese diaspora in the US-Mexican borderlands, setting Chinese fronterizos (borderlanders) against a background of exclusionary immigration policy, Sinophobia and both trans-Pacific and global

interconnections. The book covers the period of the 1870s to the mid-1930s, concurrent with the rise of nationalism in Mexico and the US, but multiple layers of historic empires and notions of nationhood are at play here: 'old world patterns from Britain, Spain, and dynastic China were not easily toppled by new political and cultural configurations in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands' (p.7).

Delgado's first chapter focuses on the local and diasporic networks that linked Chinese migrants 'from imperial worlds to national worlds' (p.8), opening with an account of how the diplomat Matías Romero initiated Chinese immigration to Mexico, hoping to solving the country's labour shortage. The development of opium cartels and of "Coolieism" is examined, together with the establishment, by 1900, of the largest Chinese population in Mexico, in Sonora, with over 850 settlers.

In 1882, the *Chinese Exclusion Act* was passed, prohibiting both skilled and unskilled workers from entering the US, with additional amendments, one in 1884 to protect West Coast states from '"surreptitious arrivals"' (p.42), and one in 1888 with further injunctions. Chapter 2 tells of how the fronterizos dealt with the impact of these restrictions, fostering and maintaining links with kith and kin, and importantly between Chinese and Mexican borderlanders, although this often 'occurred in the midst of struggle with harsh immigration laws' (p.63). Chinese migrants could be deported 'solely on the basis of the eyewitness testimony of one or two individuals' (p.62).

'Traversing the Line: Border Crossers and Alien Smugglers' shows how inconsistent border enforcement was between Arizona and Sonora. Around 1890, illegal trafficking at the Southern US border culminated in a 'brilliant scheme', helped by 'trans-Pacific migration networks' (p.75) and the rise of trailblazing smuggling rings. Border security at the time was powerless in the face of this illicit invasion. From 1888 to 1890, 3,274 Chinese crossed from Mexico to San Francisco. Delgado focuses on the individual history of a particular family, here, the story of Lai Ngan and her daughters Carmen and Aurelia searching for her husband Lee Kwong and their son Percy – 'a poignant example of the durability and complexity of the transnational migration networks' (p.81).

The terror inspired in the Chinese by the Mexican Revolution (1911-1917) is explored in Chapter 4. They literally feared for their lives. In Torreón, May 1911, 'followers of revolutionary leader Francisco Madero.....committed one of the most savage atrocities against the Chinese in Mexican history' (p.104). 303 Chinese and 5 Japanese were brutally murdered. Sadly, instead of 'provoking moral outrage', this 'sparked more anti-Chinese violence throughout Mexico' (p.105). The formation of the Commercial and Businessmen's Junta, which aimed to 'uplift the Mexican merchant from competition with Chinese businessmen' (p.106) is traced, one of many antagonistic moves against the Chinese, some of which were sanctioned in legislation.

In 'Myriad Pathways and Common Bonds', the lives and livelihoods of the Chinese fronterizos are examined, covering such issues as the possibility of legal entry to the US as a merchant; the importance of family and enterprise; and miscegenation and Chinese-Mexican marriage. In 1901, in Arizona, for example, all mixed marriages were declared "null and void" and in 1900 only two Mexican women married two Chinese men; ten years later, according to census data, three women, two Mexican and one Frenchwoman, were living with Chinese men. Lily Liu and Frank Valenzuela, however, avoided the Arizona prohibition by acquiring legal sanction in Lordsburg, New Mexico.

Delgado's final chapter, 'Por la Patria y por la Raza (For the Fatherland and for the Race): Sinophobia and the Rise of Postrevolutionary Mexican Nationalism', tells of the 'street warfare' (p.159) of Mexico's rival tongs (gangs), such as that between the Sociedad Masónica Chee Kung Tong (CKT) and the Kuomintang Partido Nacionalista China de la República Mexicana (KMT) in Sonora, and the readjustment it brought about in negotiating race and rights. It also looks at the motivations and impacts of the "antichinistas" who in Sonora wanted to be rid entirely of their Chinese population. Sonora was 'one of the earliest states in Mexico to politicize eugenics as a social movement' (p.180). In her epilogue, Delgado relates the theme of her introduction, 'Nations, Borders, and History', to that of family, from an autobiographical perspective, remembering her Sinophile grandmother and her distress at the way Sonoran Chinese were made to feel as outcasts.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
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TERRIFYING MUSLIMS: RACE AND LABOR IN THE SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORA

Junaid Rana

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8223-4888-7
Pagination: 229pp
Price: £15.99

Rana's groundbreaking study of the dramatisation, construction and representation of the Pakistani migrant uses ethnographic research to argue that their diaspora reconfigures the racial structures of the indentured labour system of colonial times. Rana compares the outlook of South Asian labour migrants within the contexts of pre- and post-9/11 Pakistan, the Middle East and the United States, showing how the racialised Muslim is swept up by globalisation only to be 'demonized' by Islamophobia. Rana asks 'how Pakistani labor migrants are made sense of and how they make sense of their world in the global economy' (p.8).

Part I examines race and migration, beginning with the question of whether 'Muslim' 'constitutes a racial category' (p.25), and the phenomenon of Islamophobia, a 'religiously based racism' (p.19) emerging in the 1970s and 80s. Exploring 'Race and Religion', Rana traces the history of the concept of race from the Spanish Catholic empire in relation to the Muslim Moor to 'The Syrian and the Hindu in America' (p.42), illuminating shifts and divergences in America's 'imagined threats' (p.43) and such developments as the emergence of the biopolitical – 'control over who lives and dies' (p.45).

The second chapter opens with a discussion of the rise of the concept of 'moral panic' (p.50) and the exponential increase in racial terror post 9/11 which has been most explicitly demonstrated by the treatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib. Rana offers 'a theoretical framework that connects moral panics to the concept of Islamic peril and the formation of a global racial system that incorporates the "dangerous Muslim" as a racial category' (p.50), investigating two prime 'Terror Events'. The first is the alert released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Homeland Security in 2002 identifying five people who were 'believed to have entered the United States illegally and to present a potential, and immediate, terrorist threat' (p.57). The second is the peril fabricated by the capture of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in 2003, regarded as Al Qaeda's third in command, but also someone who typified the conflation of the Muslim male with migration and alienation in the way that he was represented by the state: 'the real and imagined terror encompassed in the notion of Islamic peril envisions a network of sleeper cells connected by illicit transactions of money, goods, and people across borders' (p.69).

'Imperial Targets' begins by examining the terms 'Desi' - a 'crosscutting term used to refer to people of South Asian origin in the diaspora' (p.75); 'Arab' and 'Muslim' as a racial formation that merges Muslims in the American popular imagination, before interpreting the films *Sleeper Cell* (2005) and *Syriana* (2005), showing how 'the use of ethnographic cinema as imperial spectacle for the aims of US foreign policy derives from a history of geopolitical strategies of containment and economic control' (p.93).

Part II opens with a description of Rana getting lost driving to a meeting with the director of an overseas labour agency in Lahore and having to sit in a waiting area, leading to a conversation with the secretary and the director's assistant about the desirability of a life in the United States. '"People also go to the UK, Australia, Japan, but the dream is America"' (p.99). This and other discussions often reference the indentureship of Pakistani labourers during colonial times and Rana proceeds here to 'recount the historical trajectory' (p.100) linking those times to the present. Dubai is the initial focus of Chapter 5: 'In the world of hyper-capitalism, Dubai is the future' (p.134). Rana visited the labour camps in 2004 to discover the reality of Dubai for migrant workers, 'actively excluded from the elite spaces they build' (p.135). There had been an estimated 100 suicides among labourers in 2004, and work-related deaths of over 800.

The final chapter, 'The Muslim Body', recalls conversations with people who returned to Pakistan from the United States following 9/11, some of whom 'feared separation from their families, the humiliation of detention and deportation, and the danger of racial violence' (p.153). The Muslim body as 'a racial object is excluded from the US body politic' and Rana demonstrates the imperial state's racial controlling and boundary-making through racial violence and policing. This is an innovative, detailed and deeply analytical volume that deserves attention and would be of interest to scholars and students in the fields of Diaspora studies, politics and economics, as well as the more specific areas of Islamophobia and religious conflict.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
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POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

THE KURDS OF IRAQ: ETHNONATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Mahir A. Aziz

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Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84885-546-5
Pagination: pp.223
Price: £59.50

Mahir A. Aziz teaches at the University of Salahaddin, Erbil and the Kurdistan University-Hawler, and holds a PhD in Kurdish Studies from the University of Exeter. Gareth Stansfield, Professor of Middle East Politics, director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies and co-director of the Centre for Kurdish Studies, University of Exeter, summarises Aziz's key points of inquiry within the arena of Kurdistan and the borderlands of Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. He asks: 'how the political parties operate; how processes of democratization are or are not being implemented; how do young Kurds view their situation and their future; how do people in the Kurdistan Region envisage their own identities and, more importantly, how do they view the identities of those / around them' (pp.xxvii/xxviii).

Part One of the book splits into six chapters beginning with 'The Construction of Kurdish National Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan', which covers nation versus national identity, the national identity of young urban kurds, and religion in Kurdistan, among other subjects, while setting out background information to the study and to Kurdistan and its demography. Included is a description of the development of higher education in Kurdistan, or Northern Iraq, relevant here since Aziz's sample respondents was comprised of 450 students at three universities, those of Salahaddin, Suleimani and Dohuk.

The second and third chapters deal with terms and concepts, such as '"nation", "nation state", "nation-building", "nationhood", "national identity", "ethnicity"' (p.21) among others; and 'Approaches to the Study of Nationalism and National Identity', respectively. The latter is centred on Anthony Smith's conceptualization of 'ethnicity, nation, nationalism, national identity and political culture' (p.27), and his six dimensions of ethnic community are applied to Kurdistan. The chapter ends with an examination of 'Language, Imagination and Imagined Communities', drawing on the 'cognitive, anthropological and spiritual' (p.39) aspects of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, whereby nations are imagined as whole entities by their individual members, but do not rely on '"a continuous act of imagination"' (p.40) for their existence.

Chapter 4, 'Making Sense of Kurdish History: Territory, Language and Proto-Nationalism' assesses the layers underlying Kurdish national identity. As yet revealed histories are referenced, such as the many 'Kurdish kingdoms' and city states in the pre-Medes period (pre c.1100 BC), known mainly by their Mesopotamian names – Kummuhu, Melidi, Gurgum, Kasku – their native names 'still

waiting to be discovered' (p.46). The formative role of language in national identity is also explored.

In 'The Historical and Socio-Political Conditions for the Development of Kurdish Nationalism 1921-91', the development of a mass movement towards Kurdish independence is traced, the dawn of the twentieth century taken as the beginning of modern Kurdish political history. The British encouraged Kurdish nationalism but not independence between 1918 and 1929. After World War I the Kurds were promised 'the opportunity to form a Kurdish national state' (p.60) by the Allied Powers but due to fears of Soviet interest and the lack of an 'obvious choice of a Kurdish leader' (p.61), autonomy was never attained. Shifting ideologies and political currents are traced through the Republican Era 1958-68, the Ba'th Era 1968-90, the Kurdish Revolution 1974-75 and the militant Kurdish nationalism of 1976-90. Reconstructing and Consolidating National Identity: 1991-2008 records the transformation in Kurdish political culture post-1991 Rapareen (uprising) and 1992 elections, whereby young educated Kurds considered themselves Kurdistani rather than Iraqi and there began an era of nation building with the power sharing system and the self-governance of the Kurds. Kurdistan witnessed an economic boom post-2003 with property development, roads, supermarkets and urban planning flourishing.

Part Two is comprised of three chapters presenting the findings of the study; firstly, the methodology and the design of the questionnaire used; secondly, the student's attitudes towards identity in a range of aspects: 'tribal, local, territorial, religious and national' (p.xxxii), and the concept of Kurdistanism (Kurdistaniyeti); and lastly, Chapter 9 sets forth the study's findings and makes recommendations for further study. There are seven appendices, among them such items as The Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, Articles 62-4, pertaining to the issue of Kurdish independence; the Unification Agreement between the KDP [Kurdish Democratic Party] and the PUK [Patriotic Union of Kurdistan], 21 January 2006; and the questionnaire for the study, in English.

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

THE URBAN RACIAL STATE: MANAGING RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICAN CITIES
NOEL A. CAZENAVE

Publisher: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. : Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth UK
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From the series Perspectives on a Multicultural America, this scholarly volume introduces the concept of the urban racial state (URS), which refers to the city's structure and the processes by which it manipulates race relations in such a way that its own political interests and the status quo of White supremacy are maintained, and as an analytical construct, bridging urban theory, racism theory and state theory. The book takes as its core theme 'the nature, organization, and operation of the executive branch governmental component of the urban racial state in the two northeastern cities of New Haven, Connecticut, and Syracuse, New York' (p.2) during the upheaval of the 1960s civil rights movement.

The post-world war migration of African Americans to northern cities in search of better opportunities and as a means of escaping the Jim Crow South only led them into a situation whereby 'aversive-racism' (p.4) involved strictly segregated housing. Combined with White flight to suburbia and the loss of manufacturing jobs this brought about ghettoisation. Community action programmes were one way of dealing with this, the mobilisation of African Americans in turn provoked a White backlash with, in the latter decades of the 1960s, urban racial state crackdowns on Black activism. Cazenave's first chapter surveys the relevant literature concerning the concept of the urban racial state, and introduces other key concepts such as Joe Feagin's ideas of 'systemic racism perspective' and 'racial framing and counter-framing' (p.19).

From an analysis of the URS administrations' use of community action programmes to regulate race relations in New Haven and Syracuse, Chapter 2 then explores the 'shift from a racially oblivious to a racially ameliorative urban racial state the URS administrations of New Haven and Syracuse were not inclined to acknowledge the significance of 'race', much less systemic white racism' (p.12). Community action programmes are revealed to be as much 'a stealth form of racially targeted population control' (p.) that maintained racial segregation, as a move towards solving problems of ghettoisation.

Chapter 3 looks at how, with the momentum of the civil rights movement, New Haven's Community Progress, Inc., and Syracuse Action for Youth, plus other community action programmes (CAPs), became the site of 'sometimes intense racial struggles' (p.55) for control. The chapter unpacks the way CAPs were used as 'racial forces', firstly 'as a tool for racial control by the URS administration', secondly 'as a co-opted resource for African American insurgency' and thirdly 'as a subversive facade of mediation between black struggle and white resistance' (p.58). There is a close analysis of source material, such as the section on The Cahn's Essay on the War on Poverty and the 'Report of the Community Development Task Force' that relates to Syracuse Action for Youth.

In Maximum Feasible Participation Meets 'Black Power' and the White Backlash: The Struggle over Community Action in Syracuse, the chapter is divided into 3 'acts' – Changing Race Relations, The Federal Racial State, and Maximum Feasible Participation of the Poor; African Americans Capture Crusade for Opportunity; and the Federal and Urban Racial State Strike Back. The 'rise and fall of CFO [Crusade for Opportunity] as an agent of African American insurgency in Syracuse' (p.86) is examined, and the way federal and urban racial states shifted to become more controlling and oppressive.

Chapter 5 opens with a letter dated 20 August 1967 to the Mayor of New Haven from an 'Irate citizen' (p.103). Mayor Lee's liberal administration as an urban racial state mechanism was unsuccessful in deploying 'its community action program and police department to respectively co-opt and suppress African American leadership' (p.104), resulting in reform. The time had come for the URS to reconfigure once again; civil disorder broke out in New Haven on 19 August 1967 with three nights of looting, ransacking and fire-starting, again leading to White backlash.

Chapter 6 examines Recent Examples of the Urban Racial State, such as the Mayor Giuliani administration in New York City and the Mayor Nagin administration in New Orleans, viewing 'police misconduct against young men of color' and the disaster following Hurricane Katrina through the perspective of 'highly racialized urban politics' (p.134). The concluding chapter brings together Summaries of Findings, Lessons Learned for Understanding Today's Urban Racial State, and What We Still Need to Know, and ends with suggestions for further study, 'in keeping with the aspiration that social science knowledge should be cumulative, and its related expectation that the end of one study

Also relates to:
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THE MIGRATION APPARATUS: SECURITY, LABOR, AND POLICYMAKING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Gregory Feldman

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Price: £19.95

This incisive volume tackles the problematic analysis of the amorphous mass that is the European Union's migration management system. Like globalisation, it does not lend itself easily to traditional anthropological techniques of field study and participant-observation, since it is made up of the

innumerable actions, mainly conducted in cyberspace, that mould policy and maintain both border security and varying degrees of fair treatment of migrants. Gregory Feldman sets out in his preface his aim to examine how 'the apparatus's various parts articulate without a central authority, and how a normative policy subject is conjured up in its whirlwind of disparate policy processes' (p.xi) using '"nonlocal ethnography"' (p.xii) as an analytical tool.

Feldman's opening chapter, 'Unconnected in the Acephalous World of Migration Policymaking', begins with an account of his visit to a holding centre for illegal immigrants along with around sixty immigration officials from Europe and North Africa, a field trip that aimed 'to establish common migration policy guidelines through the Mediterranean Managed Migration Project (3MP)' (p.1). Notably, the officials consistently refused to make eye contact with the people held there, a point underlining the "unconnected" nature of their policymaking. The key issue is less the immediacy of the holding centre however, and more the way in which 'a dynamic living person is converted into a static policy object and how we study the relevant policy processes ethnographically' (p.6). Three instrumental rationales are identified, firstly 'the isolation and securitization of the individual..... void of any inherent, direct, or organic social connection to any other individual' (p.10); secondly, the alternation of the state between 'an altruistic and a paranoid stance toward the individual, sometimes leading to bizarre policy results' (p.11) and thirdly, the territorialisation and collectivisation of 'policy subjects' (p.12).

Chapter 2, 'Right Versus Right: How Neoliberals and Neo-nationalists Dominate Migration Policy in Europe' visualises the triangulation formed by economic conservatives (neoliberals), nationalist conservatives (neo-nationalists) and the migrant, 'kept at a marked and convenient distance' (p.25). Here, Feldman argues that the 'liberal policy community' (p.26) gathering at a major migration policy conference, a 'network of networks' (p.29) called Metropolis International, 'socially and spatially [segregate themselves] from the migrants whom they study and regulate' (p.26). He also discusses contemporary neoliberalism as an ideology and as an 'analytical framework to make policy decisions in widely different contexts' (p.26) and examines cases from the Netherlands, Denmark and Italy that illustrate how a move from neoliberalism towards the right 'involves a continuous slide' (p.47).

The subdivisions of Chapter 3, 'Making Things Simple: Forms of Knowledge and Policy Coherence in the "Area of Justice, Freedom and Security"' include From Chaos to Order, looking at the desire to harmonise migration flows; Fusing Politics and Policy in the "Area of Justice, Freedom and Security", examining the after effects of the Schengen Agreement (1985) that led to the common market; and A Shared Glossary and a Shared Outlook, which details the European Migration Network's online *Asylum and Migration Glossary: A Tool for Better Comparabilit*y, among other subjects.

The chapter on 'Border Control: The New Meaning of Containment' explains the work of the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, known at Frontex, a diminutive of the French title Frontières extérieures. It also gives a detailed account of the voyages and experiences of Senegalese fishermen-turned-migrants to Spain and of the capacities of projects such as 'Land and Sea Integrated Monitoring for European Security' (LIMES) and the European Maritime Security Services (MARISS).

'Biometrics: Where Isn't the Security Threat?' traces the development of biometric information systems which work by 'isolating travelers and then dividing them into various categories of border crossers' (p.117). Again, the 'unconnectedness' emerges; 'reminiscent of a Kafka novel, the permeation of biometric systems into the body politic sits bizarrely with the fact that the experts who make it happen rarely, if ever, meet each other in person' (p.122). The body loses its corporeality and becomes digitised.

The final two chapters look at 'The Right Solution', or, the F'antasy of Circular Migration', and 'When There is no There There: Nonlocal Ethnography in a World of Apparatuses' respectively. In his epilogue Feldman expresses his hope that academics and policymakers will be able to extract the best of their capabilities in their discussions of fairer policy. 'For the academic.....the ability to articulate counterintuitive perspectives on the interface between social processes and public administration.

For the policymaker.....the skill and experience in manipulating that interface' (p.200).

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

STATE OF WHITE SUPREMACY: RACISM, GOVERNANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

Edited by Moon-Kie Jung, João H. Costa Vargas and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva

Publisher: Stanford University Press: Stanford, California
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7218-1 (cloth: alk. paper)
ISBN: 978-0-8047-7219-8 (pbk.: alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.340
Price: £21.95

Heralded as an important "blockbuster" critique, taking an 'empire-state' rather than a 'nation-state' approach to the sociopolitical structure of the United States, this volume presents a fascinating range of analyses from the arenas of public education and incarceration to studies of Florida's welfare-to-work programme and 'racial constructions of potential terrorists' (p.22).

Moon-Kie Jung's introduction outlines the development of the US empire state to create a framework over which to lay theory, conflating examinations of race, the state and empire such as state acquisition of territories. The racialization of peoples is looked into, including rulings such as the 1831 case of Cherokee Nation v. Georgia to determine whether the Cherokee constituted a state and if so what kind of state, and which found the Cherokee to have a relationship to the United States as '"that of a ward to his guardian"' (p.8).

Part One, 'Genealogies of Racial Rule', begins with Charles Mill's suggestion that the 'collapse of socialist ideological-political alternatives has made a liberal framework the cultural normative reference point for claims about the justice or injustice of the social order' (p.27), conceiving of liberalism through social contract theory and as producing 'racial opacity' (p.33), 'a principled anti-transparency on matters related to race' (p.33). Dylan Rodríguez then examines 'White Supremacy as a Substructure: Toward a Genealogy of a Racial Animus, from 'Reconstruction' to 'Pacification'', arguing that white supremacy is analytically conceived of as 'an internally complex, historically dynamic logic of social organization' (p.47) and exploring the Freedmen's Bureau of testimonies of racial violence in the Reconstruction South, among other archives.

'On (Not) Belonging: Why Citizenship Does Not Remedy Racial Inequality' is a chapter co-authored by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, one of the editors, and Sarah Mayorga, and begins with two personal anecdotes narrated by Bonilla-Silva, himself a Black Puerto Rican. One features 'an old, rich, and quite liberal Jewish female acquaintance' who uses racist language, and the other an incident in which Bonilla-Silva had suspected, correctly, it transpired, that he had been the victim of racial profiling by the police. 'So long as polities in the modern world are "racial states" (D. Goldberg 2002), juridicial-political categories such as "citizenship" will not confer full equality' (p.78).

Part Two opens with Chapter 4, 'The Best Education for Some: Race and Schooling in the United States Today'. Amanda E. Lewis and Michelle J. Manno examine the impact on the American school system of the 'color line' (p93), showing how White dominance is less obvious now but no less real. George Lipsitz's chapter, 'Separate And Unequal: Big Government Conservatism and the Racial State', looks at the influence of cases since Brown v. Board of Education to summarise, 'the US state is a racial state. The legal system zealously protects the privileges of whiteness' (p.128). In 'Neoliberal Paternalism: Race and the New Poverty Governance', Sanford F. Schram, Richard C. Fording and Joe Soss examine recent shifts in practices of social control as regards poverty governance, such as 'directive, supervisory, and punitive policy tools' (p.131) in 'an era of mass incarceration' (p.131), while Joy James covers The Case of Ben LaGuer and the 2006 Massachusetts Gubernatorial Election in Chapter 7, LaGuer the centre of national debate on the 'prosecution of rape and race in the media, courts, civil society, and electorial campaigns' (p.160).

'Territory and Terror' forms the concluding part of the book, with Mary Romero exploring a

'Case Study of an Immigration Raid'; 'Racial Profiling Tactics in Immigration Law Enforcement'; and 'Witness Accounts of Microaggressions', and Junaid Rana on 'The Language of Terror: Panic, Peril, Racism', whereby 'a number of scholars have used the concept of moral panic to analyze the growth of anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia' (p.211), rendering Muslims 'an object of fear and panic to the state' (p.212). Andrea Smith looks at the 'political effects of hate crime organizing' (p.229) in UnMasking the State: Racial/Gender Terror and Hate Crimes.

In the final chapter by the third editor, João H. Costa Vargas, 'The Black Diaspora as Genocide: Brazil and the United States – A Supranational Geography of Death and Its Alternatives,' aims to 'decenter the United States, to dislocate its/our seldom-conscious imperial gaze and self-understanding, by recentering it in the Black Diaspora in order to show how anti-Black processes, more easily associated with so-called third world locations, are not only prevalent but foundational in this imperial nation-state' (p.244). It is essential that we oppose the 'current geographies of death' (p270), Costa Vargas concludes, a US-decentered perspective at the core of what we must become.

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

RECOGNITION ODYSSEYS: INDIGENEITY, RACE, AND FEDERAL TRIBAL RECOGNITION POLICY IN THREE LOUISIANA INDIAN COMMUNITIES

Brian Klopotek

Publisher: Duke University Press: Durham and London
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8223-4984-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.391
Price: £16.99

This engaging and important volume explores the impact of federal government's tribal recognition policy on three small Indian tribes in central Louisiana: the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, federally recognised in 1981; the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians, federally recognised in 1995, and the Clifton-Choctaws, who are currently petitioning for federal recognition. This acknowledgment sets up a 'political and legal relationship' (p.2) between a tribe and the state; 'it affirms the status of a tribe as an indigenous nation with inherent rights to self-government in its homeland, but it simultaneously validates the colonial authority of the United States / over the nation' (p.2/3). Klopotek, Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Oregon, takes on the fact that federal recognition policy is 'an urgent site of scholarly enquiry' (p.1), showing to what extent it is a 'colonial racial project' (p.18) requiring new solutions and a break from old ideologies.

The first chapter surveys the Origins of Federal Acknowledgement Policy from the passage of the *Indian Reorganization Act (1934)*, which supported Indian tribalism unlike previous administrations. However, from the outset, the spurious science of racial anthropometry employed to determine who was to be considered sufficiently 'Indian' with measurements of the 'hair, teeth, skin, blood, skull, and other physical features' (p.20). Today, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)'s Office of Federal Acknowledgement (OFA) 'deploys many of the same misguided ideas about race and identity' (p.21) in its decision making.

The ensuing chapters deal with the histories of the three chosen tribes and their experiences of the federal recognition process. Chapters 2-5 concern the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe beginning with their request to the United States government for protection based on their 'status as a sovereign Indian nation' (p.41) in 1826. They were finally granted federal recognition in 1981, following decades of nonrecognition whereby the United States government ignored them, 'failing to uphold protectionist language in the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts and the Louisiana Purchase Treaty that would have preserved Tunica land and sovereignty' (p.42).

The chapter on 'Tunica Activism' opens with 'one of the first significant victories of the twentieth century' (p.61), integration of Tunica-Biloxi children into White schools, with Chief Horace

Pierite and his nephew, Subchief Joe Pierite Sr., renewing endeavours towards recognition for their tribe. Tribal leadership was key to their movement. During the period prior to federal recognition, tribal members with African American ancestry were excluded from Tunica-Biloxi and even though this was revoked after acknowledgement, 'Anglo racial expectations tied to recognition of indigeneity shaped the boundaries of tribal membership and created lingering memories of exclusion and betrayal' (p.79). The decision on the Tunica-Biloxi case, not including the period of activism leading up to the submission of their petition, took three years, 'a precedent that led directly to the quagmire in which the OFA now sits' (p.81).

Chapter 4 charts the accomplishments of the tribe post-recognition, including the details of 'The Tunica Treasure', the 'looted collection of grave goods from an eighteenth-century Tunica village' (p.89), which became a prime 'source of identity for the tribe' (p.95). Chapter 5 looks at Tribal Enterprise and Tribal Life, detailing developments such as the casino business dating back to 1991 which then funded such benefits as the Cultural Education and Resource Centre.

The Jena Choctaws are discussed in chapters 6-8, a 'small extended family with a dwindling number of Choctaw language speakers and a relatively high average blood quantum' (p.128), with around 250 members in 2010. The Jena Choctaws did not mobilise until much later than the Tunica-Biloxis because they lacked the same type of 'activist chiefs' (p.12). Their children were integrated into White schools during WWII and political activism on the part of the tribe only re-emerged during the early 1970s. Due to their high numbers of Choctaw speakers, they felt their identity was secure and so there was not the same expediency.

Chapter 9, On the Outside, Looking in: Clifton-Choctaws, Race, and Federal Acknowledgement examines the case of the Clifton-Choctaws, still far from achieving recognition after thirty years of petitioning. It is notable that a high number of Clifton-Choctaws have African ancestry, considered by some outsiders as Black rather than Indian. Although the BIA's official line is that blackness does not affect determinations of status, 'tribes with African ancestry face many obstacles that tribes without black ancestry do not face' (p.15). In his Conclusions and Implications, Klopotek writes of Policy Reform at OFA, of Federal Recognition and White Supremacy, and of the lessons learned along the various paths the tribes have negotiated towards recognition.

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

"AT THIS DEFINING MOMENT": BARACK OBAMA'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY AND THE NEW POLITICS OF RACE

Enid Logan

Publisher: New York University Press: New York and London
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-8147-5298-2 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.216
Price: £14.99

As 6 November 2012, the date of the 57th United States Presidential Election, draws near, Enid Logan offers a focused 'case study in U.S. race relations that takes the candidacy of Barack Obama as its object' (p.3). In her introductory chapter, Logan, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota, sets out seven key questions around race relations in America, covering 'persistent inequality' (p.5); Black identity; the crisis in White identity; the impact of immigration; colourblind individualism; and post racialism and the new politics of race. The book is based on her analysis of around 1500 articles collected from November 2006 onwards, such as Stanley Crouch's piece on 'What Obama Isn't: Black Like Me on Race', one of the first critiques on Obama's blackness.

The second chapter scrutinizes the 'predominant interpretation of the meaning of Obama's victory... "the triumphalist narrative of post-race America"' (p.9), a narrative that asserted that the nation was now officially colourblind and that thereby ignored important ways in which race did figure in the election outcome and also that patched over 'entrenched racial inequality while paradoxically

claiming to champion racial justice' (p.10). This chapter takes three linked myths: that post-race America is 'A Nation Redeemed' by Obama's victory; that it is 'Post-Civil Rights and Nearly Post-Race'; and that '"We've Done Our Part, Black America, Now It's Up to You"'; and traces the dubious logic behind these claims.

The title of Chapter 3 refers to Obama's statements about being 'rooted in the Black community' but 'not limited by it' in media interviews. This chapter explores the 'triumphal narrative' (p.31) that his 'ascendance signaled that the "old" politics of race, focusing on black grievance, victimhood, and protest, were vanquished, leaving in their place newer, more effective ways of getting things done' (p.31). It tackles some profound and controversial issues, asking for example, 'was Obama really helping to open up a / vibrant new dialogue about race in America [.....] or was he (unwittingly?) helping to shut down the voices of racial progressives, and to shift the terms of debate about race even further to the right?' (pp.33/34).

Chapter 4 investigates race and gender as agents in the democratic primary, using evidence from print and online media with data from an extensive set of interviews conducted with college students just before the election, looking at ways in which 'Senator Obama's matchup against Senator Hillary Clinton raised important questions about the contrasting ways that both race and gender function in the post-civil rights, post-feminist United States' (p.51). Not only did the election divide the sisterhood of predominantly White feminists but it also 'battered the tenuous alliance between mainstream feminists and progressive women of color' (p.55). For example, Logan writes, 'Black women complained in particularly bitter terms about the deafening silence of white feminists, who failed to rally to the defense of Michelle Obama during the months she faced widespread attacks from / the conservative media'(pp.56/57).

The Trope of Race in Obama's America is traced in Chapter 5, opening with a quote from the French philosopher Etienne Balibar: '"The discourses of race and nation are never very far apart"' (p.67). Logan explores Obama's 'vision of a multiracial, globally oriented nation' (p.77), marveling at the way he convinced Americans to celebrate their diversity and take their place within the global arena rather than 'retreat into nativism' (p.77) at a time when, post-9/11, culture was at war. She also puts forward opposing perspectives, such as that of Chicana activist Cherrie Moraga who has written that his was a '"multiculturalism that is not multicultural" in that it was designed largely by, and for the benefit of whites. Obama's narrative of nation deployed a kind of racial "happy talk" [.....]' (p.78).

The remaining chapters deal with racial politics: Asian and Latino Voters in the 2008 Election: The Politics of Color in the Racial Middle; In Defense of the White Nation: The Modern Conservative Movement and the Discourse of Exclusionary Nationalism; and Racial Politics under the First Black President. In conclusion, Logan summarises the positives of Obama's vision, his standing as, Black, biracial, middleclass son of an immigrant father, 'the face of the new America' (p.127) but counterbalances this with the fact that he has 'failed to forward policies that would directly address the persistent problems of racial inequality, leading prominent black critics to charge that he has no agenda for black America' (p.128). However, he helped broaden out a new version of racial politics that now needs to be pushed further forwards.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LIGHT FROM THE EAST: HOW THE SCIENCE OF MEDIEVAL ISLAM HELPED TO SHAPE THE WESTERN WORLD

John Freely

Publisher: I B Tauris: London and New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-1-84885-452-9 (hbk)
Pagination: 238pp
Price: £18.99

While the Western world was still shrouded in what has traditionally been known as the 'Dark

Ages', medieval Islamic science, beginning with the translation of Greek manuscripts into Arabic in Baghdad, flourished into a golden age of creative invention, with knowledge from Mesopotamia, India and China filtering through the minds of Muslim alchemists, astronomers, mathematicians, philosophers and physicians, to be conveyed through Samarkand to Cordoba and beyond. The author of this fascinating, encyclopaedic study is professor of physics at Bosphorus University, Istanbul, and has taught physics and the history of science there since 1960. In his Prologue his description of a visit to the scriptorium at the Süleymaniye mosque, Istanbul, built between 1550 and 1556 for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, testifies to the depth of his knowledge of the field the book is concerned with.

The scriptorium contains thousands of manuscripts, most of which are treatises, often illuminated with miniatures, from the golden age of Islamic science. A survey of extant manuscripts of Islamic science made by Boris A Rozenfeld and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu records 1,711 works of scientists and 1,376 works by unknown authors in 'Persian, Syriac, Sanskrit translated into Persian, Tajik, Turkik Urdu, Tatar, Uzbek and other Asiatic languages' (pxi). These are kept in the libraries of cities in fifty countries, sixteen of which are in Istanbul, and provide in the main unexplored texts, many of which are the basis for this study.

Key areas such as the factors leading the Islamic world to absorb Greek, Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian and Chinese science and philosophy are examined; also the extent of originality, in addition to preservation of others' knowledge, of Islamic scholarly thought; and reasons for the decline of the golden age of Arabic science while other disciplines 'such as philosophy, arithmetic and astrology continue[d] to flourish…' (pxi). From the initial chapter, Science Before Science, where a plethora of detail such as the invention of 'place-value notation in mathematics, where the value of a symbol depends on its place in the number' (p5) by the Babylonians, and the adjustments to calendar systems such as the development of the Christo-Judaic and two early Indian astronomical calendars out of the Metonic cycle, the book constitutes a 'cultural travelogue' (pxi) covering a broad historical and cultural topography.

The Land of the Greeks opens by referencing the founding of the Panionic League by the Ionian cities, part of the first flowering of Hellenism, recounted by Herodotus, and finishes with the destruction of the Library of Alexandria at the end of the Fourth Century. The progress of new Arabic science from Baghdad towards Central Asia is charted in Chapter 6 touching on the 146 works of Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, the earliest extant of which is the Chronology, in which al-Buruni makes reference to other works that do not survive but show he had already written five works on astronomy and astrology, two on history and one on mathematics. Chapter 7 deals with the Canon of Medicine of Ibn Sina which concerned among other topics the treatment of cancer and the need for psychotherapy. The Fatimid Dynasty in Cairo discussed in the next chapter includes reference to Ibn al-Hathayam's On the Configuration of the World, translated into Castilian, Hebrew and Latin, and post-Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Cairo in Chapter 9.

Arabic Science and the European Renaissance is explored in Chapter 16, where the work of Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1168-1253) that heralded the beginning of the period is shown to be concerned with the study of optics as key to his 'Neoplatonic "metaphysics of light"' (p164). Copernican theory and the Scientific Revolution of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo Galilei and Newton are unfolded in Chapters 17 and 18.

The author points out that Islamic scholars were still creating inventive and groundbreaking work up to the mid-Sixteenth Century, 'creating geometric models that fit the observed phenomena of planetary behaviour better than those designed by Ptolemy and which in turn influenced Copernicus' (px), for example, but that by the Seventeenth Century, Europe 'forgot its debt to Islam' (px). Newton acknowledged earlier Europeans and Greeks in stating that he had seen further than Descartes by '"standing on the shoulders of Giants"… But [he] makes no mention of any Islamic scientists' (p194) even though he must have been aware that they were the original source for European and Greek learning about science. At the same time Islamic scientists had become cut off from the revolutions in thought of the West. Only now are Arabic technology and science being reappraised.

RACE AND THE GENETIC REVOLUTION: SCIENCE, MYTH, AND CULTURE

Edited by Sheldon Krimsky and Kathleen Sloan

Publisher: Columbia University Press: New York
Year: 2011
ISBN: 978-0-231-15697-4 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Pagination: pp.296
Price: £24

A project of the Council for Responsible Genetics, which since 1983 has generated public debate about the social, ethical and environmental implications of genetic technologies, this innovative and important collection is edited by Sheldon Krimsky, professor of urban and environmental policy and planning and adjunct professor of public health and community medicine at Tufts University, and Kathleen Sloan, who has run nonprofit organisations for over twenty years and who organised a major conference on the impact of forensic DNA databanks on racial disparities in the criminal justice system. Broadly speaking, the book challenges 'the new racial genetics', beginning with an examination of the historic contextualising of 'race' in science, followed by an exploration of the ramifications of DNA databanks, and then the impact of recreational genetics such as for-profit genetic ancestry testing, and finally, the ubiquity of race as a factor in educational, health care and criminal justice policy.

Suffused with an intention to emphasise myths about 'race' and to raise awareness of the impacts 'such myths and scientific misunderstandings can have in the pursuit of social equality for all people regardless of the color of their skin, their ethnic identity, or the geographical origin and phenotype of their ancestry' (p.2), the book is divided into six parts, each comprising two chapters. Michael Yudell presents a historical overview of the appropriation of 'race' by science since the seventeenth century, underlining another key message, that there is a 'growing consensus among scientists that race is not, in fact, a useful classificatory tool' (p.13). The chapter culminates with a perspective on 'The Race Concept in the Twenty-First Century', concluding that while 'race is an historical, not a scientific , term' (p.27), 'that social and natural scientists have been rejecting, abandoning, and discrediting the race concept for over a century suggests that for now the race concept is here to stay' (p.27). Robert Pollack then presents Natural Selection, The Human Genome, and The Idea of Race, discussing 'the history of humanity as a single species, born of an ancestral species some hundreds of thousands of years ago in Africa' (p.31).

Part II explores Forensic DNA Databases, Race, and The Criminal Justice System. Michael T. Risher opens his chapter, Racial Disparities in Databanking of DNA Profiles with a deplorable statistic, that out of over 325,000 arrests on suspicion of felony in California in 2008, approximately 30 percent never led to a conviction and a disproportionate number of these 'innocent arrestees are people of color' (p.47). Since January 2009, these people have been obliged to allow the state to take, analyse and file a DNA sample from them. The consequence of keeping these tens of thousands of innocent people's profiles on the criminal databases will be 'a magnification of the current racial disparities' (p.47), increasing the likelihood of people of colour being viewed as suspects at a crime scene. Helen Wallace then discusses ways in which innocent people whose DNA profiles are on DNA databases may be open to stigmatization and prejudice, with reference to Britain's National DNA Database which contains the largest quantity of DNA samples per capita of the population of any DNA database in the world.

SOCIAL THEORY

TRANSCENDING RACIAL BARRIERS: TOWARD A MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS APPROACH

Michael O. Emerson and George Yancey

Publisher: Oxford University Press: Oxford
2011
ISBN: 978-0-19-974268-4 (hardback: alk. paper)
ISBN: 978-0-19-974269-1 (pbk.: alk. paper)
Pagination: 165pp
Price: £12.99

A groundbreaking critique centred around repackaging major contemporary theories on race and racism by Emerson, Allyn R. and Gladys M. Cline Professor of Sociology and Co-Director of the Institute for Urban Research at Rice University and George Yancey, Professor of Sociology at the University of North Texas, who state their aim as 'to propose a specific, workable solution to race division' (p.ix). The book is divided into Part One, Where We Are, examining the racial history of America and what has been tried and has failed, and Part Two, A Path Forward, setting forth how 'we can incorporate in-group selfishness' in order to overcome 'racial division, inequality and alienation' (p.16).

In the introductory chapter, three dimensions of Whiteness are outlined: 'White structural advantage' whereby Whites 'occupy the location of dominance – politically, economically, culturally, and numerically' (p.12); 'White normativity', facilitated by structural advantage and 'such that how whites do things, their understandings about life, society, and the world, and their dominant social location… are accepted as just how things are' (p.12); and 'White transparency', where Whites 'typically lack a racial consciousness' (p.12). Conversely, being Black in America is to be aware of racialisation and is also always in flux, although one certainty is that racially mixed people are not White.

The second chapter looks at the development of White supremacy in the United States, a phenomenon that may not have predated the emergence of the Atlantic Slave Trade. There follows an analysis of modern forms of racism, in a society where numerous individuals, 'generally majority group members' (p.21) feel that racism has been eradicated. Examples would be the use of social networks as a means of achieving higher socioeconomic status or the concept of "colourblind" racism which leads to the survival of racial inequality by refusing to acknowledge continued effects of racialisation.

In chapters 3 and 4 the authors explore solutions based on 'the obligations of racial minorities' (p.29) and on 'the obligations of majority-group members' (p.30) respectively. It was found that in looking at the myriad solutions there was a tendency to place most or all of the responsibility on one group or the other. The philosophy of colourblindness is surveyed, referencing Terry Eastland (1997), the 'political conservative' (p.35) who said that affirmative action was based on racial preference which is in itself discriminatory, leading to White resentment towards people of colour; and Ward Connerly (2000), an African American conservative activist who argues that to repair the damage done by racism, public institutions, for example, should be colourblind towards 'everyone they encounter' (p.36). Anglo-conformity, the idea that 'the way to build unity in a society is to compel minority groups to join the majority group's culture' (p.40) is also covered. Solutions Based on Majority Group Obligations details White Responsibility; Antiracism; Deconstruction of Whiteness; A Subset of White Responsibility – Reparations; Critical Race Theory; Multiculturalism; Marxism; and A Subset of Neo-Marxists: West's Race Matters.

Why We Have Failed shows how impossible it is to live in the US and not be influenced by racial stereotypes: 'they simply are ever-present, overtly and subtly' (p.66). Despite the fact that most white-collar crime is committed by Whites, Whites either do not know about it or do not notice it, and even though white-collar crime devastates the lives of thousands and costs millions per annum, it is the minorities who are 'to be feared and cannot be trusted, for it is minorities, the stereotype goes, who are more likely to be criminals and who do most of the stealing' (p.67). This brand of conditioning is exactly what makes it so difficult to iron out racial problems.

Part Two begins with Listening to Each Other, exploring the 'contact hypothesis to identify multiracial social institutions that allow us to learn how individuals of different races have confronted racial hostility and alienation' (p.73); the institutions that provide the potential model for a holistic solution. Chapters 7-9 examine the application of three main lessons to the nation as a whole: 1. Creating a common core – such as a shared goal – that unites those of different races; 2. Promoting multicultural freedom outside of this common core; and 3. Fostering the development of true respect for all racial groups. The concluding chapters show how common ground needs to be sought; how the critical core of freedom is common to all races in America and therefore is a vital part of developing solutions; the need to maintain and recognize cultural distinctions and to build a mutual-obligations approach into the education curriculum.

Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World:

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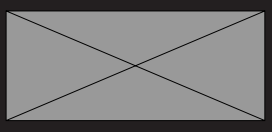

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