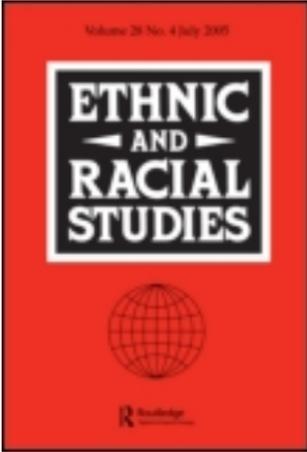


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Book reviews

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Book reviews

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Peter Rigby, **AFRICAN IMAGES: RACISM AND THE END OF ANTHROPOLOGY**, Oxford/Washington DC: Berg, 1996, X + 118 pp., £12.95 (paperback).

Peter Rigby's *Global Issues* tract for our time has three parts. First he outlines the racist climate of academic opinion in the United States, genetic explanations of social behaviour and its racial application, and the origins of these ideas in nineteenth-century bourgeois capitalism. In *Africa Unchained* he postulates two contemporary crises, one in which 'Western capitalist interests . . . are actively involved in counter-revolutionary efforts aimed at subverting a veritably African and socialist revolution', and the other where 'the image of Africa and Africans in the West has had to be disparaged even further . . . to justify the more subtle forms of neo-colonialism' (p. 43). Anthropologists, spokesmen of bourgeois positivism, with Americans most recently in East Africa, have maintained a perpetration grounded in the slave trade's establishment of Western/white prosperity at African/black expense. Racist myths and universalist expectations are as bogus as the notion of the nineteenth century as a civilizing era. Even the ethnography expresses the 'perverse knowledge' of 'white, Western, predominantly male intellectuals' (p. 85).

Finally, in a short 'theoretical coda', one finds the author's blueprint for the effective

praxis of Marxist anthropology . . . first, the "objective" contextualisation of the societies or communities in which anthropologists study, in the historical specificities of regional and political global political economy as a necessary condition for their understanding; second, the practice of fieldwork based upon a critical theory of the production of knowledge; and third, the political praxis which combines the first two with heightened awareness and political mobilization. This entails a radical critique of cultural imperialism, leading to an anti-hegemonic struggle (p. 97).

The immediate grounds for Rigby's 'indignation as part of my motive' (p. viii) are in the Appendix (pp. 98–103) – a series of unpublished letters to mainstream American newspapers on the US invasion of Somalia and press-reporting of events in Rwanda, which reduced the issue to one of barbaric tribalism while ignoring US oil interests in the political manipulation of Somalia, and the levels of rehabilitation achieved in Rwanda and Uganda. He was no doubt equally exasperated by Paul Spencer's (1984; 1991) misrepresentation of the Maasai as pastoral drop-outs from capitalist agriculture and owners of women, when available publications should have suggested the right questions and attention to his subject's own terminology and concepts directed his conclusions. But to Rigby they are symptomatic of intellectual collusion with the blatant project of merchant-capitalism, realized through slavery and imperialism, and inherent in the bourgeois positivism that moulds Western science and its anthropological derivatives. The racial myths of de Gobineau (1855), revived by Arthur Jensen (1969) and James Q. Wilson (1985; 1991) implanting dullard and criminal genes in Black Americans, are mirrored in the Hamitic myths of East African origins espoused by C. G. and Brenda Seligmann (1932) and still reiterated by anthropologists who ignore the economic nexus within which their subjects of study have historically subsisted and interacted, or do so now.

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Well, yes, but . . . it is over sixty years since Monica Hunter (Wilson) published *Reaction to Conquest* (1936) and Audrey Richards outlined the effects of labour migration on people who bought clothes with hunger in *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1938), forty years since Max Gluckman published *An Analysis of the Social Situation in Modern Zululand* (1958) and broadcast his attempt to explain the Mau Mau rebellion and rituals to a British audience as unwilling to comprehend them as Rigby's American press, and Philip Mayer's *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City* (1961). In Manchester it was not Seligmann's little book *Races of Africa* (1939) that was set for first year students but Clyde Kluckhorn's refutation of race as an intellectual or scientific concept. Even at the LSE in the 1960s, Raymond Firth repeatedly introduced 'unconventional' seminar papers that we gave on return from fieldwork in Africa and Latin America. Few of us set out with the notion of an 'untouched people' and we certainly never found any. We were interested in the opposite and anthropology cast no such thrall over us.

More fundamentally, however, can we still buy Rigby's idea of two sciences, bourgeois and socialist, with Darwin a product of his times but Marx and Engels somehow not – a dichotomous epistemology in which what 'they' do is ideology and what 'we' do is objective science? Surely social class is no less an 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson 1983) than nation, race, etc.? What some have done with race, Lysenko did with biology and agriculture with no less devastating effect on both the academy and the livelihood of ordinary people. The forced labour camps of the Russian waterways and Siberia are no less horrific than the Slave Trade's middle passage. A universal ethic permits the condemnation of both but an ideologically determined one does not. Where is this presumed 'other' to which this new anthropology will take us? Not Mengistu's Ethiopia I hope. The Eritreans and Somalis would have a tale to tell. How helpful are Marxist analyses of a peasantry in Africa? Even after seventy years refining these concepts, they seem to have had no salutary outcome in communist countries where bourgeois capitalism had simply died out. By all means adopt a critical analysis of American and other neo-colonialism. The state of Miami is indicative of what US supported Cuban exiles would do if they got their hands on Cuba again. And the same may be said of institutionalized racism, Western-blinkered ethnography, and that delight in victim blaming which has been roundly criticized in social policy since the 1960s. But can we really place such faith in a 'contextualized' alternative which in the past meant Marxist party line?

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P. T. W. Baxter, Jan Hultin and Alessandro Triulzi (eds), **BEING AND BECOMING OROMO: HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ENQUIRIES**, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996, 311 pp., npl.

Twelve Western and seven nationalistic scholars contributed to the volume on Oromo ethnic identity in the Horn of Africa. Despite their sympathy with Oromo nationalism, the Western scholars are not entirely unobjective and the fact that they addressed a rapidly politicizing identity is commendable. The book intended to examine how 'colonization' (p. 8) and competition for resources led to Oromo identity formation. Yet, the loaded term 'colonization' is not defined. How competition over resources enhanced the Oromo sense of identity is also not adequately addressed. Since nationalism is about élite politics, how competition with the dominant Amhara over limited resources disenchanting the Oromo élite would have shown how Oromo identity was politicized.

The claim that the Oromo contributors have 'all endured humiliating personal experiences of discrimination' (p. 9) is one of the sensational and fictitious components of the

book. A contributor who this writer knows, for instance, was/is a professor whose two siblings were high-ranking officials of the Mengistu regime. How nice it would have been had the humiliations experienced by the Mohammed Hassens and Tesema Ta'as been told! In nationalist movements, it is mostly the privileged élite, not those who carry the brunt of discriminatory policies, who act on behalf of 'their people'. The Oromo élite are no exception.

The editors believe 'print capitalism' will 'soon' (p. 12) standardize the Oromo language. They presuppose that the Oromo constitute a literate public and that there are enough market forces to transform Oromia into a modern society. Neither assumptions are true.

J. Hultin and T. Zitelman address the 'othering' of the Oromo in Ethiopian history as a process of ethnic boundary formation. However, Zitelman pushed beyond the limits when he decoded an elder's public blessing in a refugee camp during a political meeting positing it as a form of political dissent. A refugee camp and a political meeting are isolated incidents. Analytically, the expression of an elder is not necessarily representative of the Oromo. Methodologically, what an individual in a refugee camp said does not constitute enough data to derive such a generalization.

Drawing on Anthony Smith's thesis that 'nations did not arise *ex nihilo*' (*British Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxxv, no. 3, September 1984, p. 458), H. Lewis puts Oromo identity in a modern setting but contends that without the proper cultural stuff it could not have arisen '*ex nihilo*' (p. 39). However, as P. Tablino observed, forces of modernity did not give the Gabra a pan-Oromo identity: 'Gabra are still Gabra' (p. 114). Among the Borana Oromo, too, it is not what G. Megersa calls *Oromumma* (Oromoness) but what G. Oba calls *Boorantti* (Borananess) that 'encapsulates Boorana awareness of their identity' (p. 121).

H. Blackhurst and P. Bauxter argue that identities are contextualized ethnographically and historically. The search for heroes (as Jarso's poem in Shongolo's article illustrates) and unique cultural elements to be processed in the Oromo nationalist mill is therefore not surprising. The search borders on absurdity, however, when T. Ta'a claims obvious human features of enjoying 'working together' and disliking 'loneliness' characterize Oromo identity and are expected to generate moral norms (p. 202).

The boldness of the ideological history is shown by G. Megersa's claim that the Oromo did not adopt alien religions. Arguably, the Oromo have long naturalized Islam without completely abandoning their shrines, cults, sacrifices, etc., as M. Aguilar states. Islam has always been accommodationist. The Berbers in North Africa, the Malinke and Soninke in West Africa, and the Bantu in the Swahili coasts of East Africa have retained their traditional rituals in Islam.

M. Bulcha exhumed *gada*, the long-dead ritual and integrative institution. Romanticized as egalitarian and democratic, it is presented as the main identity symbol of the Oromo. However, not only did G. Dahl show that *gada* was hierarchical, containing the 'primus inter pares paradox' (p. 163), but the principal authority on the subject Asmerom Legesse argued that not all Oromo had *gada* as a political institution (A. Legesse, *Gada*, New York: Free Press, 1973, p. 12). Thus, J. Helland correctly doubts its relevance for twentieth-century politics.

Mohammed Hassen raises an important issue on why Oromo nationalism developed so slowly. Given the contagious nature of ethnic nationalism, it is indeed curious why the nationalist virus that was so potent among Eritreans and Tigrayans did not afflict the Oromo who had profound historical grievances against the Amhara. Instead of giving this crucial issue the appropriate attention, the editors patted Oromo nationalism by saying 'slow that is to an Oromo activist! To most outsiders the development seems to have been quite rapid' (p. 15). Unfortunately even Hassen himself loses focus on his own question, relapsing into empty rhetoric such as 'without the resources of Oromia, Ethiopia can not exist as a viable state' (p. 68).

Contrary to the claims by H. Debella, the century-old Amhara cultural, political and economic hegemony made the Oromo assimilationist *par excellence*. Since identity is fluid and, as O. E. Arnesen puts it, changes during cultural and political boundary alterations,

the regions of Addis Ababa and southern Tigray have long shed whatever Oromo past they had. Thus giving Addis Ababa the Oromo name of 'Finfine' and describing the Tigrayans of Raya and Azebo as Oromo is indefensible. Focusing on assimilation, particularly with regard to the Amhara, as a process that slowed Oromo nationalism, would have been more enlightening than discussing the early success of the Oromo in assimilating conquered peoples as A. Truilzi and M. Bulcha have done.

The recent conversion of the Oromo élite from assimilationists to ethnic nationalists is best illustrated by their failure to spell Oromo words uniformly in their adopted Latin alphabet, *Qubee Afaan Oromo* (pp. 10–11). Uniform spelling of Oromo words is the minimum one expects of ethnic nationalists. After all, does not cultural romanticism precede political nationalism? This is all the more puzzling when compounded with M. Bulcha's claim that the Latin alphabet 'had become a primary symbol of national Oromo identity' (p. 66). How could the Latin alphabet be an Oromo symbol of identity when the political élite (not to mention the illiterate peasantry) cannot even spell words uniformly? And what is so Oromo about Latin and so Latin about the Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic) Oromo language?

The conspicuous absence of discussion on the free ride given to Oromo nationalism by the current regime weakens the scholarly quality of the volume. Ethiopia's ethnic federal policy has let the Oromo freely politicize themselves. No longer an abstract concept, *Oromia* is given concrete territorial marks for the first time in history. Local autonomy has relieved its people from Amhara political, economic and cultural hegemony.

Even as a nationalist historiography, the book fails to make a case for an Oromo political roof. The historical grievances are not convincingly traced, nor is the cultural stuff properly identified. To disavow Islam as an alien religion, for example, is a recipe for political disaster, since some of the Oromo liberation groups are Islamic fundamentalists.

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Yen Le Espiritu, **ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN**, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997, xiv + 145 pp., \$16.95.

This book comprises an historical overview and synthesis of research on Asians in America as immigrants, and the emergence of their descendants as an internally diverse ethnic and 'racial' minority. The focus is on gender and family with emphasis on the social role and experience of women in the context of the double bind of racism and sexism. Concise in presentation and lively in prose, it is a handy and comprehensive resource for courses dealing with any of a wide range of Asian American issues – issues such as immigration, minority relations, gender relations, women and family.

Espiritu organizes the book in six chapters, the first of which explains her thesis that the system of oppression of women of colour has both material and ideological foundations. At its core are three bases for differentiation – gender, ethnicity and class – the intersection of which causes insurmountable obstacles for non-white, lower-class, foreign-born women. She asserts that the material oppression of Asian American women can best be understood in terms of three arenas of their experience, the converging effects of which have shaped their public and private lives. These arenas are: labour (work and the family), laws (the state and immigration policies), and love (gender relations). The three chapters which follow analyse the effects and outcomes of women's material oppression, described as comprising three historical periods demarcating major phases in Asian women's histories: 1840s–1930s, World War II through twenty post-war years, and the period following 1965.

In Espiritu's view, the system of oppression of Asian women in America cannot be fully understood without taking into account subjective subordination of the oppressed to the

predominant racial, class and gender ideologies in the United States. By portraying the sexuality of women and men of colour as 'excessive, animalistic, or exotic', in contrast to the 'civilized' sexuality of white women and men, the dominant group attempts to rationalize its racial and cultural superiority over people of colour and thus their economic exploitation. The fifth chapter is devoted to an analysis of ideological representations of Asian Americans in the popular media, particularly Hollywood movies, since the mid-nineteenth century. By carefully historicizing and contextualizing such 'controlling images' of Asian women as 'dragon ladies' and 'lotus flowers', Espiritu emphasizes the culturally hegemonic power exercised by white men whose sexuality they enhance by portraying Asian women as 'hypersexual' and Asian men as 'asexual'. Ultimately, according to the author, both stereotypes function to define the white man's sexual and racial superiority.

Throughout her analyses, Espiritu uses the 'gendered lens' in order to identify invisible forces generated at the intersection of racist and classist structures and processes. It is this interactive framework, accompanied by her interdisciplinary approach, that makes this book especially valuable in Asian American Studies. Past studies have repeatedly demonstrated the impact of ethnicity and class on the experiences of Asian immigrants in the United States. Few, however, have focused on gender as an integral force organizing the material and ideological lives of Asian American women and men, as well as emotional relationships between the sexes. I have included the book in a course on *Asian American Women: Theory and Practice*, as the primary source for introducing theoretical orientations. The students, thirty-six juniors and seniors, most of them women of Asian descent, found the book to be 'insightful', 'thorough' and 'substantial', thus confirming my own evaluation of the book. They appreciated most its gender perspective and its attention to both public and private spheres of Asians' lives in America and the racist ideologies which lead to the production of controlling images of Asian women and men.

Despite these major strengths, the book has its weaknesses, the chief of which is its analytic superficiality. This results from a heavy reliance on the rereading of a wide range of familiar works in diverse disciplines. While it is successful in its theoretical presentation, it lacks the empirical basis – the primary data – necessary to uphold its major arguments. Secondly, the emphasis on changing relationships between Asian women and men, has largely precluded analysis of relationships between Asians and other ethnic/'racial' groups, particularly white groups. As anyone who teaches courses on Asian Americans is aware, this topic constitutes a major, perhaps *the* major, personal and academic interest of students on these courses. The omission of this topic, as well as of homosexual relationships, is regrettable from both theoretical and pedagogical points of view. Finally, because of its historical emphasis, the book draws primarily upon materials from East Asian immigrant experiences. Given the rapid numerical increase of Southeast Asian refugees and South Asian immigrants since the 1980s, it is probable that new patterns in the interaction of ethnicity, class and gender may be emerging. Future study will have to include analyses of the dynamics now coming to light from the increasing complexity and heterogeneity to be found within and among contemporary Asian American populations.

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Alejandro Portes (ed.), **THE NEW SECOND GENERATION**, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996, x + 246 pp., npl.

Traditionally, the central element in the study of immigration has been immigrants themselves, that is, the first generation. This collection of studies shifts the focus on to the children of immigrants. Every chapter deals with a particular aspect of the adaptation of

the second generation, ranging from language usage and family arrangements to self-identity and the use of social capital.

An entire range of methodological approaches and levels of analysis are represented. Two of the articles are sweeping in focus, using large census-based data sets to describe the children of the newest immigrants to the United States. The authors acknowledge that analysing the second generation has been handicapped by the loss of the question on the nativity of parents in the 1980 and 1990 censuses, thus necessitating reliance on less than ideal methods to identify the children of immigrants. At the other end of the methodological and analytic scale, Mary Water's chapter on Haitian immigrants relies on a set of in-depth interviews. The remaining chapters report on small or medium-scale surveys conducted in a number of high-profile immigrant-receiving cities, like Miami and New York.

The collection is valuable in drawing attention to problems of the second generation and the need to adjust public policies accordingly. Of particular immediate import is Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler's contribution, which addresses the issue of language assimilation. They confirm once again that the alarms of the unilingualists in the United States are unfounded. Not only do the children of the most recent immigrants prefer English, but they possess competence in it, regardless of class or ethnicity.

The volume gives the concept of assimilation some new meaning, relevance and respectability, which it had seemed to lose in the past decade among analysts of immigration and ethnic relations. It is a newly-conceived model of assimilation, however, which the articles put forth: *segmented* assimilation. What is explained is that, unlike the linear, unidirectional notion applied to earlier immigrant waves, assimilation can take divergent paths, leading to negative as well as positive forms of adaptation. Thus, some among the second generation will attain economic and social success, while others may assimilate to low-status ethnic subcultures, constraining upward movement.

Two shortcomings make the collection less than completely fulfilling. One is the lack of a historical perspective. Portes, in his introductory essay, notes that the assimilation experiences of the second generation of the newest immigration, beginning in 1965, may not resemble those of earlier immigrant eras. Indeed, this is a common theme that underlies all of the research reported in the volume. Unfortunately, few of the essays respond to this cue. While most authors acknowledge that there are, in fact, important differences, they offer little in the way of historical comparisons that would demonstrate their claim.

Moreover, the focus of these research papers is confined to the major groups of the new American immigration, that is, those from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. While this is certainly reasonable, a more compelling case could be made for the argument that the new second generation is exhibiting qualitatively different forms and processes of assimilation, had a more comprehensive range of groups been examined. What is directly asserted or implied in each chapter is that the most critical characteristic of the current immigrant groups, which presumably makes their circumstances fundamentally unlike those of past immigrant waves, is their social identificational and phenotypical non-whiteness. In the end, then, it is 'race' that spawns an assimilation experience different from previous ones. But might the socio-economic context of contemporary American be rendering a comparable impact on immigrants from Europe (for example, Russian Jews) and the Middle East, those identified as part of the 'white' population? It is possible that what is described in these studies are the adaptation patterns of a subset, albeit the largest, of the new second generation, not its entirety.

A second feature that limits the utility of the collection is its exclusive American focus. The book's title would have been more accurately *The New American Second Generation*. Other major immigrant-receiving societies where, as in the United States, the most recent immigrant waves have been in large measure non-European offer bountiful comparative opportunities. Hopefully this volume will serve as an incentive to researchers to engage in cross-national studies of immigrant adaptation.

Despite its limitations, as a whole this is an important work that will be read carefully by

students of contemporary immigration. All the authors are able to place penetrating empirical analysis into a solid theoretical framework. The result is a set of essays that not only supplies cogent and informative reportage, but that may be used as a base from which to launch future research in the field.

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Silvia Pedraza and Rubén G. Rumbaut (eds), **ORIGINS AND DESTINIES: IMMIGRATION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY IN AMERICA**, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996, vii + 550 pp., npl.

The editors of *Origins and Destinies* have assembled an impressive group of contributors for this collection of thirty-six commissioned essays which survey various aspects of race and ethnicity in America, in both historical and contemporary perspectives. The net result is a sophisticated and accessible panoramic overview of the persistent salience of racial and ethnic groups in this most heterogeneous of settler nations. Intended as a reader for undergraduate students, the collection will work very well as a complement to standard race and ethnicity texts, but could also stand alone. Moreover, it should be of interest to scholars in the field as a useful synthesis of the current state of American race and ethnic relations research.

In the introductory section, Pedraza devotes a chapter to social history, while in his lead essay, Rumbaut surveys issues central to understanding the contemporary scene. Pedraza competently sets the stage for the chapters dealing with historical issues by reviewing four main migratory waves – the three trans-oceanic migrations and migration between World War I and World War II of blacks from the rural South to the urban North – and by identifying salient issues such as migratory selectivity, gender, timing and destinations. My only quibble with Pedraza concerns her claim that assimilation theory's major challenger was the internal colonialism model, and her resultant failure to examine the analytic impact of the real challenger, pluralist theory. Rumbaut does a nice job of describing the key economic and political factors contributing to the post-1965 immigration, and he outlines changes in American immigration policy, the geography of immigration, the importance of race and social class, and the topic of language.

The essays which follow are divided into five sections. The first, on 'Color and Caste', consists of seven chapters dealing with Native Americans, African Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese and Japanese. The two highlights of this section are Carole Marks's chapter on the black migration to the North, and the article on Issei women in the era before World War II by Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Rhacel Salazar Parre as.

The next section contains six articles on European immigration, equally divided between the 'old' immigrants from North West Europe and their 'new' immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Howard Schneiderman, building on the work of E. Digby Baltzell, offers a fine analysis of the history and potential future of the Protestant establishment. Walter D. Kamphoefner makes excellent use of the 'model minority' notion to examine contradictions in the German American experience. In their chapter on Eastern European Jews, Steven J. Gold and Bruce Phillips focus on social mobility. The remaining chapters in the section examine aspects of the immigrant experience of the Irish, Italians and Poles.

The third section looks at the impact of the Civil Rights movement, with brief chapters on the Red Power and Chicano movements, and a more sustained treatment by Aldon Morris and Cedric Herring of the black Civil Rights movement. These authors provide a useful survey of the mainstream movement through the mid-1960s, but unfortunately fail to discuss the more militant Black Power phase that took off near the end of this tumultuous period. On the other hand, they do a fine job of providing a nuanced and even-handed

assessment of the ongoing debate about the status of African Americans in the post-Civil Rights era.

The six chapters in the following section look at the recent immigration of a select number of Latin American and Asian groups: Mexicans, Cubans, Dominicans, Filipinos, Koreans and Southeast Asians. Within this group of articles, Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar's article on generational transition in the Dominican community and Pyong Gap Min's examination of Korean entrepreneurship are nicely focused and particularly incisive.

The final section, on contemporary issues, includes eleven articles divided among those concerned with urban impacts, race and class, and ethnic and racial identity. I applaud the editors for their decision to include metropolitan case-studies on New York, Los Angeles, Miami and Washington, DC. Taken together, they are useful for appreciating the differential impacts that recent immigration has had on various locales. In the identity subsection, the article by Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler on language retention and Mary C. Waters' further inquiries into 'optional ethnicities' are particularly original contributions.

While there are always topics one wishes had been included (for example, a cross-cultural comparative chapter), and while some articles appear to be carved out of earlier works and thus were not actually written specifically for the volume, this is an excellent reader that will serve its intended audience well.

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Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka (eds), **ETHNICITY AND GROUP RIGHTS** (Nomos XXXIX, Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy), New York: New York University Press, 1997, xiv + 627 pp., \$45.

The belief that a group's rights have been violated is perhaps the prime cause of ethnic conflicts (the *perhaps* in that phrase is needed because philosophers have shown how hazardous it can be to employ the concept of cause in such a context). But the association between ethnicity and group rights is so portentous that it should not have been difficult for the organizers of the 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy (acting in conjunction with the Association of American Law Schools) to assemble a team of speakers with important contributions to make. The potential field of discussion is so vast that they needed first of all to agree some criteria of selection (indigenous peoples, national minorities, and immigrant minorities, raise too many separate issues for them usefully to be considered together). The speakers could have been selected with the intention of showing how political philosophies influence the application of law to group rights claims and how, in turn, these cases can help refine philosophical analysis. They could have discussed the conflict of rights (such as the conflict between my group right to be protected from discrimination based on my ethnic origin and my neighbour's rights to freedom of expression and association). Since participants may be insufficiently informed about work in other disciplines, contributors might have been required to summarize relevant disciplinary basics before offering their own additions to knowledge.

When the members of the Society chose the topic for their meeting they failed to take such elementary precautions or to subject themselves to the requisite discipline. Papers were accepted which might have been appropriate for publication in other places but which fail to bear on any central theme. The outcome is a collection of seventeen essays of uneven quality and disparate content. They include a fascinating discussion of some cases about claims to church property, but the statement that its conclusions have implications for all the different kinds of minority groups existing within any culturally and religiously diverse society is far-fetched. It is followed by an equally admirable consideration of how US courts

dealt with the permission given to a Hasidic Jewish community in upstate New York to establish a religiously homogeneous public school district. The court's judgement is then compared with another instance in which a mixed but non-Jewish local community established a separate local government unit in order to prevent Hasidic in-comers from changing the zoning regulations that preserved the character of the existing neighbourhood. Interesting it may be, but the comparison yields nothing new about ethnicity and group rights.

Readers of this journal could benefit from studying an interesting classification by Jacob T. Levy of the cultural rights sometimes claimed on behalf of ethnic groups, and from Thomas W. Pogge's argument that claims based on ethnicity must be subsumed within the examination of other group-based claims (while noting that Pogge never asks whether the same group of individuals might not constitute both an ethnic group and a racial group, which is just the sort of point others of us expect a philosopher to notice). Students of ethnic politics might find some value in an account of the 1994 election in Malawi, in a description of how the residents of a Cape Town suburb reacted when in 1995 about 3,800 black pupils were bussed in to a school able to accommodate 500 pupils, or in an essay on how multiculturalism has been fashioned into an integrative ideal in Australian politics (even though the author excludes any discussion of the group rights of the indigenous peoples).

Any reader interested in the question of secession and the desire to make state boundaries coincide with ethnic boundaries cannot afford to overlook the sparkling discussion of 'Self-Determination: Politics, Philosophy and Law' by Donald L. Horowitz. He criticizes commentators who express sympathy for the claims to self-determination of oppressed ethnic groups without considering the likely knock-on effects for others of any secession, and concludes that much of this writing 'displays a thorough-going ignorance of the complexities of ethnic interactions'. Horowitz laments the 'great failure of imagination in adapting democratic institutions to the predicament of severely divided societies'. There is so much still to be done to promote this adaptation that the volume under review can only be seen as a sadly missed opportunity. One expects more from the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy.

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Carter A. Wilson, **RACISM: FROM SLAVERY TO ADVANCED CAPITALISM**, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996, vii + 271 pp., £39.95 and £19.95 (paper).

This book represents an attempt to combine divergent economic, political and psychocultural theories of racism into a model applicable to four historical periods in the United States. Wilson offers a model intended to resolve debates over racism and to 'demystify racism' (p. x) by examining its forms and explaining how racism was sustained throughout each period. Although Wilson draws on the work of many theorists, he relies most heavily on a Marxist historical materialist framework in his analysis.

Wilson begins with a summary of major theoretical perspectives in the study of racism, followed in Chapter Two by an outline of his model, and an overview of the origins of racism in Chapter Three. Beginning in Chapter Four, Wilson examines racism in four historical periods, first discussing the sadistic, 'dominative' racism of slavery. In Chapter Five, he explains how during the Jim Crow period, racism evolved into a 'dominative-aversive' form. This racism was characterized by an obsession with racial purity and segregation that developed out of the 'anal character type' (p. 115) of Southern white culture. Chapter Six, perhaps the strongest, describes the 'aversive' racism precipitated by the material conditions of industrial capitalism. Finally, Chapter Seven questions how aversive racism survived the Civil Rights movement. Wilson explains how old forms of racism were combined to form a new, more bureaucratized 'meta-racism' under advanced capitalism,

which is embedded in law and culture through a 'conservative paradigm' (p. 177) of racial discrimination.

Wilson describes adeptly how economic structure influences the cultural transformation of racism in US history. His analysis is remarkably inclusive and detailed, especially considering the scope of the book. Several discussions are particularly insightful. In Chapter Six, for example, citing the work of Roediger and DuBois, Wilson explains how the psychological wages paid to white workers by the corporate élite shaped a white identity reliant on the oppression of other groups. This discussion echoes his observation in Chapter Four that during slavery 'Black slavery made white liberty possible', and 'facilitated white unity' (p. 54). Throughout the work, Wilson reminds the reader that racism is a pathological yet 'useful' paradigm, created in response to historically-bounded rationality that arises from material conditions.

Emphasizing the economic underpinnings of racism, Wilson further criticizes the corporate élite for their manipulation of labour unions, their institutionalized discriminatory policies, and their support of conservative think tanks. Most importantly, he blames the corporate élite for lowering wages and weakening the power of labour. These practices, he argues, have disproportionately marginalized African-American workers and concentrated poverty in African-American communities.

Finally, Wilson offers a strong critique of current racist imagery and the ideology that supports racist cultural forms. He reveals the fallacies of eugenics-based studies, with especially powerful criticisms of the works of D'Souza, Herrnstein and Murray. Using as examples the O. J. Simpson trial and the Million Man March, Wilson demonstrates how current events are racialized in a way that allows whites to construct themselves as victims of racism.

Wilson covers much ground in this volume, both substantively and theoretically. The book serves as an introduction to various theories and studies of racism, and summarizes the laws and economic policies that have supported racism in the US since slavery. As such, it is a valuable resource for researchers interested in the history of racism. However, the reverse side of this strength is one of two shortcomings of the book. Wilson's model is somewhat obscured by the wealth of material and the vast array of theories on which he draws.

Second, although he purports to use a dialectical approach to the study of racism, by the end of the book, he leans more towards economic determinism. Undoubtedly, economic structures influence cultural forms that allow individuals with certain personality traits to gain power. However, to be consistent with a dialectical perspective, equal emphasis should be placed on how individual personalities mediate the transformation of economic structure and culture.

Overall, neither of these weaknesses seriously impairs the merit and value of Wilson's work. In its encompassing analysis of the way that material conditions shape white attitudes regarding race, his book offers a unique contribution to the historical study of racism.

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Alec G. Hargreaves, **IMMIGRATION, 'RACE' AND ETHNICITY IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE**, London and New York: Routledge, 1995, xix + 267 pp., £40.00 and £13.99 (paper).

This textbook presents a synthesis of the current interdisciplinary research on the highly politicized debate since the late 1960s around 'immigration' in France. In fact, as Hargreaves points out, 'immigration' as usually understood in France also covers the consequences of recent migration for immigrants, their descendants, and French society more generally. The book works to dispel many of the commonest assumptions voiced in political

and media discourse concerning ethnic minorities in France: the most prevalent of these assumptions – and one which has long informed immigration policy – is of the supposed ‘cultural distance’, and hence ‘unassimilability’, of the increasing numbers of non-European immigrants (notably from the Maghreb) who have settled in France since 1945, in relation to the Italian and Polish migrations of the inter-war period.

Rather than the polysemic and normative terms of ‘integration’, ‘assimilation’ and ‘insertion’ which have been used in recent sociological and political discourse, Hargreaves prefers ‘incorporation’ as the most neutral analytical tool to assess the different forms of interaction – economic, cultural, political – between recent immigrant groups, their children and the ‘majority population’ (p. 35). He is here adapting, perhaps without sufficient contextualization, the use of ‘differential incorporation’ (p. 34) as used by (among others) M. D. Smith and John Rex. The book’s central argument is that recent socio-economic and political factors within French society have governed levels of ethnic minority/immigrant group incorporation far more than the culture of these same groups. In the chapter on socio-economic structures, for example, Hargreaves argues that while the ‘social capital’ (p. 84) of immigrants undoubtedly influences their economic incorporation, levels of discrimination in employment and housing have also severely restricted social mobility for both primary immigrants from Africa (that is, the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa) and their children, compared to (for example) Portuguese and Spanish immigrants. This discrimination goes beyond the nationality criterion to affect all visible minority residents, many of whom are French nationals.

The discussion on the cultural syntheses fashioned by young people of immigrant parents in language, music and literature usefully shows how multiple borrowings are made from African-American as much as French popular culture, and certainly more than the cultural background of their parents (although these cultural references are not absent); these resulting hybrid urban cultures have developed in the increasingly segregated social spaces of the poor suburbs (*banlieues*). The ‘inter-generational erosion of Islam’ (p. 120) has resulted in low levels of religious observance by children of Muslim immigrants: these young people display a vaguer reference to Islam, one used in the construction of shifting, continually reworked personal and collective identities.

Following a discussion of the historical articulation between nationality and citizenship, and the restrictive legislation on nationality passed in 1993, a final chapter gives a detailed description of the continuities and innovations in post-war official immigration policy, with the main focus being on the late sixties onwards. The emergence of a relative left-right consensus on the need to limit ‘immigration’ and ensure the ‘integration’ of those immigrants settled in France bred hostility to ‘difference’, just as the economic problems changed the dominant perception of immigrants from workers to that of social problem. While there may be no official policy conceived explicitly in terms of ethnic relations, various social measures in deprived areas have had an ethnic component, as has cultural policy more generally, although only those immigrant and ethnic associations judged not to forward what are officially termed as ‘communitarian’ demands have received state funds. The author uses this last observation to suggest that ‘co-option’ (p. 203) best describes official policy on ethnic relations.

The book attempts to cover a huge amount of material. This leads inevitably to certain omissions. Firstly, the term ‘race’ in the title is given scant treatment (as opposed to the more clearly defined ‘ethnicity’), and a further discussion of the processes of racialization could have brought out the complex articulation between ‘race’, class and ethnicity in post-colonial France. Secondly, a social science readership may well be disappointed by the lack of detailed theoretical discussion of concepts such as ‘incorporation’ (cf. *supra*). Had ‘incorporation’ been centred around the political, economic and social *rights* of minority ethnic groups, then the author’s avowed intent of escaping the potentially ethnocentric outlook suggested by the terms ‘integration’/‘assimilation’/‘insertion’ might have been more successful. Finally, such an empirically-based book will inevitably be overtaken fairly rapidly by the ever-changing political and social context.

Notwithstanding these reservations, this is an accessible, clearly-written book which provides a summary of material mostly hitherto unavailable in English, making it a useful study and teaching aid.

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Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, **NATIONALISM, POLITICS, AND THE PRACTICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, xi + 329 pp., npl.

I picked up this book with considerable anticipation. Archaeologists have been slow to think critically about the way in which the past is used in the promulgation of national identities. More, the title made clear that this was not just a book about cultural perceptions of nationhood, but about perceptions grounded in politics and practice.

Alas, the title promised more than the book delivered. There was never any attempt to theorize the interconnections between perception, politics and practice. Instead, there was a lot of rather thin polemic against post-processual (read post-modern) archaeology and, in particular, its advocacy of hyper-relativism. Hyper-relativism leads to political paralysis, to the impossibility of saying: 'These nationalist perceptions are dangerous, they lead to, at best, intolerance and, at worst, genocide'. But, as far as I know, there are no post-processualist archaeologists who follow this extreme line of reasoning; they would all admit that there are events, developments and ideologies which have to be withstood. What they would say, and what perhaps some of the contributors to this book fail to acknowledge, is that we do not take a stand from outside of society, in the name of some abstract 'truth', but, rather, from inside society and in the name of our own cultural and political sense of what is tolerable and what is not.

There has been, in anthropology and archaeology, an enormously stimulating exchange of ideas between cultural or historical materialists, feminists, and post-processuals about the importance – in both interpretation and practice – of people's individual biographies, the highly specific political, economic, social conditions within which they live, and their fluid, tensioned, contradictory understandings of their world and their identities. Many of the papers touch on such concerns (Arnold and Hassman discussing the retention of Nazi archaeologists in post-war Germany and the subsequent paralysis of the discipline; von Falkenhausen tracing the tight correlation between changing socio-economic relations in China and archaeological practice and interpretation; several authors noting the importance of the political status of archaeologists in the push towards nationhood, and so on) but they are not wound into an analysis.

Perhaps there is no sustained analysis in this book because the contributors would have disagreed with each other, which is no bad thing in itself, but requires careful editorship. Although it is left to the reader to guess the intellectual persuasion of the different contributors, it is clear that there is a very wide spectrum: from historical materialism through processualism to culture history. But their different perspectives are not discussed, and, indeed, we are told nothing about the contributors other than their place of work. And yet, in a book of this sort, it seems particularly important to know the context out of which these individual papers are written. In the Introduction, Kohl and Fawcett regret the lack of worldwide coverage: they sent out requests for papers but nothing came back from most of the obviously critical contemporary arenas: Israel/Palestine, Turkey, Cyprus, Ireland . . . Do we not need to ponder why they did not come back? Or, why thirteen out of seventeen papers are written by people who work in North America? Is it important that some of the contributors, though they live and work in the States, originate from the country that they write about? What is their relationship to that country, and to America? (Tong's auto-critique was particularly interesting in this respect, but too much is left unsaid.) Do you

have to live outside your country before you can criticize, or even understand, how archaeology interweaves with national identity? Does living or writing in America make you an 'outsider', or make you think you can act as 'outsider'? But, often, the 'outsider' works 'inside' the country they're talking of. What is the effect on practice, what happens to their working relationships when, in a volatile situation, they offer their critiques? And why, given the raft of North Americans, is there no discussion of nationalism, politics and archaeological practice within America?

More and more as I read the book I was left with the feeling that to understand how nationalism translates into archaeological practice and theory (and vice-versa) the most carefully contextualized biographies are required: of the people who write the stories (and those who refuse), of the people who write about the people who write the stories, about the people who listen, and those who turn away.

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Darnell M. Hunt, **SCREENING THE LOS ANGELES 'RIOTS': RACE, SEEING, AND RESISTANCE**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, xv + 313 pp., npl.

This is a . . . white dominated society and black people . . . don't fit in anywhere. And so, I think that, that's why we rebel. It's not because we're ignorant or anything like that' (p. 93).

After examining a local television news station's live broadcast during the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion, Darnell M. Hunt performs a textual and empirical analysis of how African Americans, Latinos, and Whites receive, accept and resist the basic assumptions embedded in this media text – a video, aural, written and graphic document. Concerned with the micro-mechanics of the construction of the relationship between race, power and seeing, the author first develops a theoretical framework and empirical method built from a synthesis of British cultural studies, the sociology of race, social psychology and ethno-methodology. He does so with several goals in mind: to 'study the *interplay* of mass media and race'; to 'establish-measure, interpret, characterize, demonstrate not only the social significance of media *or race*, but of their *interaction*'; and to 'identify specific ways in which hegemony may be de-stabilized by audience opposition (i.e. resistance)' (pp. 4, 29).

Secondly, Hunt provides an analysis of the arguments, signs and textual devices to identify fourteen major assumptions present in a seventeen-minute newscast transmitted live during the first hours of the rebellion on 29 April 1992. According to the author, the 'ideologies inscribed in the KTTV text first worked to interpellate viewers as those who accept the veracity of news images; the text then worked to establish the "senselessness" of the event to down play their legitimacy as political activity' (p. 158). Therefore, once the rituals of innocence and criminality are invoked, the largest urban rebellion in US history becomes the work of a criminal element which chose to launch a wave of assaults, arson and looting instead of expressing their objections through prayer, peaceful protest and voting. A long tradition of human rights' violations and the crises that define local political, policing and judicial institutions suddenly become a 'riot' led by black 'thugs' in South Central Los Angeles that must be contained, isolated, crushed even as it is being simultaneously commodified.

Eight months after the rebellion, Hunt assembled fifteen small groups from South central and West Los Angeles to view the news production. Five of the small groups were predominantly African American, five were predominantly Latino, and five were predominantly White. Each of the screenings and subsequent discussions around the fourteen assumptions were 'videotaped, transcribed, and coded in order to identify patterns that might link

viewing behaviour, group discussions and race' (p. 10). The methods used to analyse the responses included a close textual analysis of the dialogue, words and debates; a multiple regression analysis of social, economic, race and gender data; and, a probability study of viewing activity such as per minute rates of laughter, simultaneous talking and animation. Critical of positivism, yet hoping to open empirical avenues for scholars who study the media and the social construction of race, Hunt continues the social science practice of silencing local ethnic history, culture and systems of representation; this is the true legacy of positivism. Although often attempted, discussions of the reproduction of hegemony cannot easily occur without an examination of the local relations of power. Yet, Hunt has produced a remarkable first book that carves out a unique space in the discourse on race and the media.

Finally, the author suggests that audiences which examine the media text metalinguistically, 'an unprompted awareness and appraisal of the techniques used in the text construction', are less susceptible to the efforts of media organizations to isolate, stigmatize, silence and discipline oppressed ethnic groups, their communities and their mobilizations (p. 148). In comparing groups, African Americans were found to be somewhat more adept with this level of critique. In fact, during one of the discussion groups, one African American participant constantly reminded his friend that 'You on camera man!' (p. 83). Often left unsaid is that the rebellion of 1992 created a legitimacy crisis for television media from which it has yet to recover. Not only were its crews, vehicles and aircraft attacked, and its film used to arrest hundreds, but the escalation of surveillance gained a new wrinkle when many African Americans started to view a video camera as a necessity for urban survival. As with every other 'trend', the level of video surveillance and the rate of imprisonment in Los Angeles are often said not only to lead the world but are the world to come. This sentiment was recently expressed by the Los Angeles Hip Hop artist Ice Cube. 'Living in a California cage, . . . ya'll trying to study me?/How many penitentiaries ya'll going to build? How many jars are you gonna try to put us in?/. . . it's a trip, all these cameras going up. I can't go here, can't go there, I feel institutionalized, and I'm on the street.'

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Nathan Glazer, **WE ARE ALL MULTICULTURALISTS NOW**, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997, 179 pp., £13.50 (hardback).

Multiculturalism is now one of the vogue topics both in academia and in the public realm in much of the developed world. In the USA, as elsewhere, the debates have often been strident, with protagonists lamenting the threat it poses to the cohesion of national societies or, by contrast, regarding it as a means to empower disadvantaged minorities. A generation ago, Nathan Glazer made a reputation of being one of the strongest critics of affirmative action policies, arguing that the melting pot of the market would suffice to overcome ethnic inequality. Glazer's present qualified support for multiculturalist policies, indicates how far assimilationism has been supplanted as the goal and reality of US society. In this book Glazer charts the relatively recent rise of the word, discusses several debates evoked by multiculturalism, explains why it has been such a preoccupation of the last two decades, and mounts a moderate defence of it.

The book has seven chapters, a number of which have been published previously in different forms. Glazer, as a participant on various educational boards, provides a detailed discussion of some of the struggles to define school and university curricula, particularly contests over the status and content of American and World History. He attempts to go beyond the rhetoric on both sides to investigate whether multiculturalism threatens academic values, national loyalty, and interracial harmony. In a useful historical survey, he

outlines how support for cultural pluralism has been a very recent development, since in the past Americans adhered relatively unquestionably to assimilationist norms. In asking why assimilationism has failed as a policy, Glazer finds the answer in the failure to include Black Americans, and to a lesser extent Hispanics. He then goes on to review whether Americans can be brought together under a new dispensation.

Glazer adopts the tone of a moderate between extremists. He is supportive of the assimilationist project and to a conception of America as expressing a commitment to universalist values. Yet as a Jew, and hence as a member of an American subculture, he is sympathetic to the ideals of cultural pluralism. He is sceptical about the analytical utility of a concept that lumps together as cultural groups, ethnic communities, women, and gays and lesbians, and that seems to define and recognize others as groups in a politically expedient way. Much of the debate, as he says, is intensely political, with the French, Greeks and Italians having their cultural distinctiveness reduced by being lumped together under the pejorative label of Europeans, whereas Japanese are Japanese-Americans. The assimilationist ideal, he maintains, was for most both worthy and realistic, since over generations most minorities, despite their lack of cultural recognition, were successful in joining the mainstream. None the less, although like Arthur Schlesinger, he defends the traditional image of America as a success story based on Western European values and achievements, he identifies a fatal flaw in the American project, namely, its practical exclusion of its black population as lesser beings. The promise made of equal participation to migrants was never extended to those who had come as slaves. Yet the black civil rights leadership during the 1960s embraced the assimilationist ideal. It was their inability to achieve equal access which led to a growing shift towards a rhetoric of cultural distinctiveness, to the extent that Afro-Americans have become the 'storm troops' for multiculturalism in America. Citing indices of residential settlement and rates of intermarriage, Glazer argues that Afro-Americans are relatively segregated from the rest of American society.

Nevertheless, Glazer is optimistic that multiculturalism will not become dangerously divisive as some conservative ideologists fear, for several reasons. The rhetorical demands for cultural respect expresses essentially a desire for inclusion, not separatism. Some form of multiculturalism is practised by just about everyone involved in public education, and, as Glazer argues, educational engineering is limited as a former of attitudes, compared to the forces of markets and fashion.

Although interesting, Glazer's book demonstrates how ethnocentric even a relatively sympathetic treatment of multiculturalism can be. His focus is overwhelmingly American, with few comparisons to establish his points, even though there is an extensive and expanding international literature on this topic. Can the new vogue in the USA for multiculturalism be explained largely by local factors (the failure of the Civil Rights movement), given that as John Rex and others have shown, the question of cultural pluralism has become pressing in most developed and developing countries? And why is there no discussion of the work of political theorists such as Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor, which has such broad implications for all liberal democratic societies? For all its virtues, this is a peculiarly parochial book.

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Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, **REMAKING THE NATION: PLACE, IDENTITY AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA**, London: Routledge, 1996, npl.

This is a book full of good ideas. It asks an impressive number of highly salient questions about what 'national identity' is and about the place of race, gender and geography in the ways in which people construct images of themselves and understand their location. It

presumes that we live decentred lives in a globalizing post-modern world and attempts to consider the implications of this for how people imagine themselves and construct a politics for belonging. Although the material in the book deals with Latin America and, more particularly, with Ecuador, many of the questions it raises are clearly relevant to studies of race, ethnicity and identity globally. However, anyone looking for answers, easy or otherwise, will have to look elsewhere. As the authors note concerning the relationship between gender and national identity: 'in all seven sites [of the field work] we interviewed one hundred subjects, women and men equally in the hope that this would unpack the complexities of the gendering of national identities' (p. 3), only to conclude that 'this has proved to be the among the most opaque' of issues.

Instead of answers therefore, Radcliffe and Westwood have opted to try and operationalize Geertz's notion of 'thick description' as a way of understanding the make-up of the nation. Following a short introduction, the first chapter deals with the ways in which Latin American nations have been imagined, embodied and lived in. In other words, it draws attention to the various projects of nation-building from above and to how national identities arise through community interactions and rituals of different sorts from elections to language. It discusses briefly the relationship between nationalism and modernity, and identifies the way in which national identities are transformed by globalization, resulting in 'decentred nations' in which 'interactions and inter-relationships at numerous spatial scales define nations and nationhood, as much as the territorial boundaries and official maps of the state, based on the sovereignty principle' (p. 24). Chapter 2 picks up the central theme of race in the constructions of identity and the nation, rejecting the notion that 'race' is an ethnically descriptive category, analysing it instead as a tool for exclusion and labelling or 'otherization'. This is framed within the unstable and uncertain democratizations of Latin American states and their current emphasis on the pursuit of growth through neo-liberal economics. Chapter 3 explains how the nation has been made in Ecuador. Chapter 4, however, rather than deepening the book through an illustration of how its key themes might be worked through in the case of Ecuador, looks at cultural formations and 'correlative imaginaries' throughout Latin America. In particular, it picks up the role of football, *telenovelas* and religion in popular culture. The book thus loses, in my view, an opportunity to deepen its 'thick description' of national identities. Chapter 5 looks at the geography of identity and the role and representation of place, which of course varies with class, race location and age. Chapter 6 deals with the significance of gender to national identity. The final short chapter, which serves as a conclusion to the book, suggests that people in Latin America are aware of, and reject, 'power-saturated national projects' in favour of an assertion of identity 'in the light of their own subjectivity and social practice' (p. 160). In other words, the top-down construction of the nation exists as discourse but not as real lived experiences. This does not prevent citizens from making demands and having expectations on the state, as the authors note, though they do not fully analyse the consequences of these demands and their failure (generally speaking) on the state.

In sum, the book covers a number of important debates about nationalism and the making of the nation, placing them in the context of Latin America. That is its strength. Its weakness is that the empirical material is almost lost under the weight of theory. In fact, if anything, the influence of post-structuralism weighs too heavily on the text. The material is rarely allowed to speak for itself in all its power, though when it does, its messages are strong and clear. It might almost be said that theory here is obfuscating meaning. At times, it acts as a barrier between the authors and the reader, especially those unaccustomed to the language of post-structuralism, and between the authors and their material.

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Michael Rogin, **BLACKFACE, WHITE NOISE: JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE HOLLYWOOD MELTING POT**, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, xvi + 399 pp., \$24.99.

bell hooks, **REEL TO REAL: RACE SEX AND CLASS AT THE MOVIES**, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, viii + 244 pp., £12.99 (paper).

Much recent work on images of blackness in the dominant media has aimed at uncovering representation as a political rather than a reflective practice. Debates on representation and race will be greatly enhanced by the contributions of two prominent scholars who have each turned their attention to the representation of African Americans in American film, though from quite different historical perspectives.

Blackface, White Noise is divided into three parts. Part one, 'Made In America', offers a detailed historical account of nineteenth-century minstrelsy and explores its function as a mechanism of identity exchange which 'turned Europeans into Americans' (p. 12). Rogin argues that European immigrants accessed a white ethnicity through blackface performance which demonstrated their difference from African Americans and 'moved settlers and ethnics into the melting pot by keeping racial groups out' (ibid). In part two, 'The Jolson Story', Rogin applies this understanding of blackface to its use by Jewish performers in Hollywood. Part three, '"Democracy And Burnt Cork": The End Of Blackface, The Beginning Of Civil Rights', argues that the social problem films of the 1950s were an inheritance from the blackface musical because both genres 'change identities through masquerade' (p. 79). A filmography and an index are included at the end of the book.

There is a growing recognition of the immense historical significance that blackface has and *Blackface, White noise* is an important contribution to an understanding of its place in American cultural history. Rogin's authoritative and scholarly analysis negotiates and extends previous work on nineteenth-century minstrelsy, particularly Eric Lott's *Love And Theft, Blackface Minstrelsy And The American Working Class* (1995). The central understanding generated about the function of nineteenth-century minstrelsy as a mechanism of identity transfer is ingeniously and convincingly applied to the use of blackface in Hollywood film by Jewish performers. I am less persuaded by Rogin's argument in the final part of the book where he attempts to link the blackface musical to the social problem films of the 1950s. *Blackface, White Noise* is an interesting contribution to recent work, for example Richard Dyer's *White* (1997), that attempts to denaturalize whiteness by foregrounding the representational practice involved in its construction. The book has wide appeal for students interested in the cultural construction of racial and ethnic identities.

Blackface is the most painful reminder of Hollywood's historical colonization of black images and it is this legacy which bell hooks confronts in *Reel to Real*. Offering a survey of recent American cinema through reviews, interviews and critical essays, hooks considers the measures needed 'to imagine and create images of blackness that are liberatory' (p. 6). Most noticeable of the reviews is her celebration of Spike Lee's *Girl 6* (1996) which 'offers viewers the most diverse images of black female identity ever to be seen in a Hollywood film' (p. 18) and her condemnation of *Waiting To Exhale* (1996) for its images of 'self loathing and disempowerment' (p. 58). The essays in which hooks sets out her own vision of progressive black film-making are particularly interesting. In 'Artistic Integrity: Race And Accountability', she challenges the essentialist notion that black mainstream film-makers will automatically deliver improved images of blackness and argues instead for a wider practice of avant-garde film-making. In 'Back To The Avant Garde: The Progressive Vision', she argues for the need for audiences to be taught different ways of looking at film in order for them to appreciate experimental black film-making. The interviews with black film-makers in the latter part of the book are richly informed by the earlier reviews. Her exchange with Charles Burnett is particularly lively because of the clear disagreement they have on the merits of avant-garde film-making.

When the British film *Handsworth Songs* (1986) was released, it sparked an exchange of

views between Stuart Hall, Salman Rushdie and Darcus Howe in the *Guardian* newspaper. Howe made the telling point that black film-makers could not be applauded simply for being there and that it was necessary for a black critical tradition to develop around black films, however rarely they were released. *Reel to Real* is an extremely valuable reflection of hooks's contribution to the critical tradition that has developed in tandem with the increased profile of black film-makers in American cinema. Her interviews with black film-makers are a rare example of real dialogue being achieved between film-making and its critical reception. Given hooks's strong challenge to notions of essentialism in film-making, that is, the idea that black directed films will always produce better images of blackness, there does seem to be a small point of impasse in her critical thought, when she argues that Hollywood narrative structures are *always* inclined to produce problematic images of blackness. Rightly, hooks has faith in the pedagogical value of film and any academic course which considers questions of black experience and identity would benefit from using this extremely accessible volume of her work.

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Michael Eric Dyson, **MAKING MALCOLM: THE MYTH AND MEANING OF MALCOLM X**, London: Oxford University Press, 1995, xxvi + 215 pp., \$10.95 (paper).

William W. Sales Jr., **FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO BLACK LIBERATION: MALCOLM X AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY**, Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994, viii + 247 pp., \$14.00 (paper).

Michael Eric Dyson's Malcolm X is a larger than life figure called back to life to illuminate the 'true blood': an authentic black man absolutely opposed to white supremacy and Negro 'sell-outs'. *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X* is an important contribution to our understanding of Malcolm X as a cultural hero.

Dyson situated Malcolm's appeal in the political and economic currents of the time. He reminds us that the Civil Rights movement did not greatly enhance the lives of the black urban poor. Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam reached out to these 'socially dispossessed, morally compromised, and economically desperate members of the Black proletariat' (p. 8). They understood that the lives of the inner-city poor were impoverished by white racist neglect of their most fundamental need for self-respect, dignity, knowledge of self, and a black centred religious framework.

While this book provides basic details about Malcolm's life, its importance is in relating Malcolm's life to the cultural renaissance among young black men and to the larger cultural framework of white America. For Dyson, Malcolm's bold and vigorous critique of white supremacy proved a timely antidote during an era when young black males are openly demonized in public discourse. Malcolm X was a 'living indictment of the white American worldview' (p. 45).

Dyson negotiates the cultural sphere within which we assess Gangsta rap with supreme intelligence. 'Malcolm is the rap revolution's rhetorician of choice, his words forming the ideological framework for authentic black consciousness. His verbal ferocity' and 'the rhythms of James Brown and George Clinton', form 'a trio of griots dispensing cultural wisdom harnessed to polyrhythmic beats' (p. 85).

Although the strength and vitality of hip-hop culture is in part inspired by Malcolm X, so too are important aspects of its downside, particularly its equation of black liberation with black masculine self-realization. Dyson understands the temptation but cannot abide hip-hop's obsession with the terms and tensions of black manhood, and even more their

tendency to employ women and gays as rhetorical foils. Yet, Dyson counsels an insightful engagement with Gangsta rappers which admonishes against 'out-of-bounds behaviour with a ready appreciation of black oral practices like signifying and distorting' (p. 95). Hip-hop should not be the scapegoat for all that is wrong with gender in our society.

There is, however, a disjunction between Dyson's profound grasp of cultural issues and his somewhat more attenuated grasp of world and national political dynamics. He seeks to refute George Breitman's contention that Malcolm was moving towards a synthesis of socialism and black nationalism purely on the basis of a set of formal criteria about the necessary basis for Malcolm's elaboration of such a synthesis. Yet he makes no reference to the long history of such syntheses within the African Diaspora and among the revolutionaries of the Three Continents.

This perhaps reflects the gap between Dyson's generation and the black radicals of the 1960s, many of whose voices were silenced or muted in the great counter-revolution against the sixties. The next generation of radical intellectuals tended to be ideologically and organizationally associated with the social democratic Left. Bringing a black perspective to bear on those organizations is important, but caution is needed to avoid uncritically absorbing their anti-radical, anti-communist and anti-nationalist biases.

The Black Power militants, too, suffered the condescension of their elders. But the black students of the sixties gave us the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], the Black Panther Party, the Youth Organization for Black Unity [YOBUE], Peoples' College, the African Liberation Support Committee [ASLC], the National Association of Black Students [NABS], the Black Studies Movement, and much more. Generational disconnection is seldom as helpful as it seems on both sides of the gap. Dyson is generally careful about this issue in the cultural arena; he is much less careful in the political arena.

While lamenting the absence of black radical political organizations, Dyson excuses Spike Lee's perhaps 'inadvertent distortion' of Malcolm's last stage of development following his break with Elijah Muhammad. Dyson is willing to accept Lee's demonstration of Malcolm's almost desperate improvisation because a definitive account of Malcolm's last year 'is hard to come by'.

But such a definitive account has been provided by Professor William Sales Jr., one of the few black radicals of the 1960s who has been able to maintain his ties to the academy. Sales led the black student rebels at Columbia University in 1968, and lived and organized in Harlem for almost two decades after that. Sales's book, *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* is a work of immense power, insight and sophistication, towering above almost all of the Malcolm X literature, and should be considered a classic in the literature on the Black Freedom Struggle. Sales skilfully weaves the story of Malcolm's last year into an assessment of the challenges before the current generation of black youth, the crisis of the Civil Rights movement, and the significance of black radicalism as an ideology of black proletarian opposition to capitalism and racism.

The power of Sales's work is that it combines a close empirical study of the life of Malcolm X with a profound grasp of the social world of which he was a part. Sales is equally at home in discussing the world socialist movement, the national liberation movements, pan-African internationalism, and the US based Black Freedom Struggle.

Sales argues that the NOI and Malcolm X came to prominence as a consequence of the crisis of the Civil Rights movement, a crisis rooted in the limitations of the movement and its political economy. Like Dyson and others, Sales notes the class base of the NOI, but, unlike almost all other observers, understands the significance of the working-class base and its relationship to the nationalism of Malcolm X. He understands as well the role of the working-class standpoint in Malcolm's split with the more conservative bourgeois nationalism of Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan.

Like other scholars, Sales notes Martin Luther King Jr.'s increasing support for positions associated with Malcolm's stress on human rights. But his analysis of King is much more precise. Sales views both men as radicals, but viewed King as a progressive spokesperson for the talented tenth akin to the Fabian socialism of the early Du Bois; whereas Malcolm's

revolutionary nationalism was the most outstanding example of working-class leadership in the history of the United States (p. 103).

Sales's meticulous and detailed study carries the utmost respect for his subject, but there is not a trace of the 'infamous' hero worship routinely decried by some authors. Indeed, Sales points out:

People believed and followed Malcolm X not out of an emotional attachment to his charisma. The basis of his leadership was that he gave back to his followers, in a more highly refined and clarified form, ideas and insights which in fact were rooted in their experiences . . . In fact, Malcolm's charisma and leadership were based on a very low-keyed method of personal contact and one-on-one encounters with the Black masses (p. 57).

During his NOI period, Malcolm constantly pushed for politicizing Elijah Muhammad's theology. He was given some leeway to do so because it led to the growth of the organization. But Malcolm was not above the history of his time. Just as he was influenced by the Garveyism of his parents, so he was influenced by the milieu of Harlem nationalism in which he lived; and by the increasing militance of some sections of the Civil Rights movement leading to the creation in 1963–64 of the Revolutionary Action Movement and the Deacons for Defence. Also important were the rebellion of the black working class during the Birmingham campaign of 1963 and Robert Williams' armed self-defence against the KKK in Monroe, North Carolina.

Sales excels at explaining the class character of Malcolm's nationalism, in particular in his resurrection of the tradition of the Field Negro revolt as a means of confronting the crisis of the Civil Rights movement. Sales clarifies how this strategy required an acceptance of African roots and identity, and thus located the US based Black Liberation Movement within an international context. This was of great strategic significance but tactically difficult. An important tactical innovation during the OAAU period was the centrality of the concept of the Black United Front. The 1970s was the site of a black radical praxis of enormous scope and depth, a story which has not been told. We can begin to understand that movement by paying close attention to Sales's analysis of Malcolm's OAAU period.

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Christophe Jaffrelot, **THE HINDU NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA**, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, xxiii + 592 pp., \$32.50.

The rapid rise of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] since the mid-1980s, and the large-scale Hindu-Muslim riots that followed Hindu activists' destruction of the Babri mosque at Ayodhya in December 1992 have sparked new interest in two familiar questions about Hindu nationalism. First, why did Hindu nationalism emerge at all, given that Hinduism has no single religious text, tradition, or leader, and that Hinduism has long absorbed members of other religions and ethnic groups? Second, why, in a country with an 82 per cent Hindu majority, did Hindu nationalist parties not achieve major electoral successes before the 1980s?

Christophe Jaffrelot explores both these questions in his history of the sometimes difficult relationship between successive Hindu nationalist parties (the Hindu Mahasabha, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the BJP), and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS], the militant, largely upper-caste Hindu organization founded in 1923. This book is the product of hundreds of interviews with Hindu activists in north India, and Jaffrelot seems to have

read every important English and Hindi source on Hindu nationalism written in the past century. Although the sheer volume of the facts Jaffrelot has unearthed sometimes overwhelms his thesis, the book is nevertheless impressive, indispensable for those who study modern Indian politics, and a valuable point of comparison for those interested in Islamic, Christian or Jewish fundamentalism.

Hindu nationalism emerged in the 1920s, Jaffrelot says, as the reaction of some upper-caste élites, particularly Brahmins, to the perceived threats of 'Westernization', and lower-caste and Muslim political movements. The Hinduism espoused by the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS was no more authentic than any other invented tradition: it highlighted particular gods and traditions from the Hindu past that seemed likely to unify Hindus behind these upper-caste leaders, and rejected as un-Hindu divisive elements such as the caste system. In many ways, Jaffrelot shows, the drive for Hindu authenticity was also highly Westernized. The RSS modelled itself explicitly on the Western colonial powers, and the RSS's Western-style military drills and khaki uniforms survive to this day. Hindu nationalism's chief ideologues, V. D. Savarkar and M. S. Golwalkar, also drew upon Western, especially German, nationalist writers such as Johann Kaspar Bluntschli. Golwalkar, in particular, put forward a German-inspired, racially exclusive interpretation of India as the chosen land of an Aryan people, bonded by blood, and unified by a common language (Hindi) and Sanskrit culture.

Jaffrelot's central thesis is that Hindu nationalism did not achieve real political success before the 1980s because of three factors. First, highlighting the threat posed by the Muslim 'other' proved increasingly difficult after partition, with most Muslim-majority areas now in Pakistan, the Muslim élite having largely emigrated, and Muslims worse off than Hindus on virtually every measure of political and economic power. Second, the close association of Hindu political parties with the RSS was a mixed blessing. Hundreds of thousands of committed RSS cadres provided Hindu parties with help at elections, and in carrying out politically successful campaigns such as the 1966–67 movement to institute a national ban on cow slaughter. But the link with the RSS also prevented Hindu political parties from playing down their Hindu militancy to build electoral coalitions, and the RSS's reputation as an anti-minority, upper-caste, northern-dominated organization that often used violence scared off the voters that the Hindu parties needed to make an electoral breakthrough. Third, though Congress leaders in the states often appropriated Hindu nationalist themes, the central government under Nehru and Indira Gandhi displayed a 'vigilant secularism' and used arrests and other preventive measures to thwart nationalist mobilization attempts.

In the 1980s, however, it became much easier to paint Muslims as threatening to Hinduism, because new Muslim entrepreneurs emerged, remittances and religious donations poured into India from oil-rich Arab states, and hundreds of ex-untouchables in south India converted to Islam in 1981 to escape the prejudices of the caste system. The BJP and RSS began a new and highly successful militant campaign built around the Babri mosque at Ayodhya (which they claimed was built on the birthplace of the Hindu god, Ram) just as the willingness of the Congress to use state power to confront the Hindu right was weakening. In the 1980s, both Indira Gandhi (Prime Minister from 1980–84) and Rajiv Gandhi (1984–89) cloaked themselves in Hindu symbols and tacitly encouraged Hindu militancy over such issues as the Ayodhya mosque.

If Jaffrelot's book has a weakness, it is in his reliance on such factors as the Hindus' 'subjective perception' of the Muslim threat and the Congress's relative willingness to use repression against Hindu militants. These factors are not only virtually impossible to measure, but also seem to be as much the result of successful Hindu mobilization as they are the cause. In any case, one can think of several states in the 1980s with large, 'threatening' Muslim minorities (for example, Kerala and Assam) that have been remarkably resistant to the charms of the Hindu nationalists.

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Peter Mackridge and Eleni Yannakakis (eds), **OURSELVES AND OTHERS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GREEK MACEDONIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY SINCE 1912**, Oxford: Berg, 1997, xii + 259 pp., £12.95 (paper).

The editors and authors of this volume adopt an inter-disciplinary perspective in examining a much debated topic that has affected past and contemporary Balkan (and also European) politics: the so-called 'Macedonian question'. The book includes contributions from anthropologists, historians and literary scholars. It offers a coherent and well-structured collection of essays addressing closely the same question, namely the development of a Greek Macedonian cultural identity since 1912. None the less, each paper may also stand as an independent study that adds to our knowledge of Greek Macedonian society and culture. The editors have deliberately chosen to leave it to individual authors to present their theoretical and methodological tools (p. 3) and although this may seem a risky decision for an edited volume, it has paid off by providing the reader with rich and detailed materials as well as with a variety of theoretical approaches.

The first part of the book includes four contributions which examine the subject from a historical perspective. Basil Gounaris identifies four distinct phases in the development of Greek historiography on (what in Greece is called) the 'Macedonian Struggle' and discusses critically their relationship to the Greek state internal and foreign policies. John Koliopoulos's article investigates the origins, identity and numbers of Slav-speakers of Greek Macedonia. The author, however, seems to confuse research findings with personal opinions, oversimplifying complex chapters of modern Greek history such as the 1945–47 Civil War. In his contribution, Philip Carabott provides a concise account of the repressive measures taken by the Metaxa dictatorship (1936–1941) with the scope of culturally assimilating non-Greek speakers inhabiting Greek Macedonia. He also highlights the links between the Metaxa policies and those of inter-war parliamentary governments. The first part of the book ends with Anthony Bryer's brief though enlightening essay on 'The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian School of Byzantine Art (1910–1962)'.

The second part includes four anthropological studies. Anastasia Karakasidou's essay offers an original account of the transition from an ethno-cultural Slav-Macedonian consciousness to a Greek national identity among the Slav-speaking populations of Greek Macedonia and the particular role played in it by women. The study by Eftihia Voutira discusses social, political and cultural aspects of Asia Minor refugee integration in Greece. However, the specific case of Greek Macedonia as a host region is dealt with only marginally. This issue, however, is taken up by Georgios Agelopoulos who considers the genesis of a common local identity in a village composed of five, initially distinct populations which, however, gradually fused into one community. This study at the micro-level of the processes and dynamics of amalgamation of the different populations inhabiting Greek Macedonia may provide a model for the study of wider, socio-historical processes in the region. The intermingling and fusion, at the local level, of different cultural identities under the pressure of wider socio-political processes of voluntary or forced assimilation is highlighted also by Jane Cowan in her contribution on the 'Polyglot Articulations of Local Identity in a Greek Macedonian Town'. This study offers an original account of the representation of complex patterns of belonging in societies that are ethnically and culturally mixed.

The third part of the book concentrates on a Greek Macedonian cultural identity as expressed in literature. Peter Mackridge investigates the literary activity in Thessaloniki in the period 1912–1940 and discusses the links between the assertion of an indigenous literary tradition and the process of consolidation of the Greek nation-state. Eleni Yannakakis shows how the hero's resurrection in Pentzikis' novel *The Dead Man and the Resurrection*, ultimately symbolizes the rebirth of a multilingual, multicultural society into an authentic national culture. Aglaia Kehayia-Lipourli discusses the role of the literary circle formed around the magazine *Makedonikes Imeres* in the formation of a Greek Macedonian cultural identity. Finally, X. Kokolis points to the representation of the 'Balkan Babel' in the literary work of a Greek fighter of the 'Macedonian Struggle'. In fact, the chapters by Yannakakis

and Kokolis may be related to Homi Bhabha's approach to the study of the nation (*Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, 1990) in that they explore the literary expression of the internal disunity of the nation.

Thanos Veremis' postscript informs the reader about the most recent developments of the 'Macedonian question' in the controversy between Greece and FYROM. None the less, this postscript remains somehow 'cut off' from the rest of the book which concentrates on cultural identity rather than on politics.

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Kum-Kum Bhavnani and Ann Phoenix (eds), **SHIFTING IDENTITIES, SHIFTING RACISMS: A FEMINISM AND PSYCHOLOGY READER**, London: Sage Publications, 1994, 221 pp., £10.95 (paper).

The dominant theme of this book is anti-essentialist, pro-social constructivist. When identities shift, racisms shift; when racisms shift, identities shift. Identity is not a monolithic structure, enduring and stable. Neither is racism. When I describe myself to a fellow Indian in Britain, my self-description may be very different to when I am describing myself to a white person or a black person. So too prejudice comes not merely from white males, but also from white females, never mind the fact that we are women together, working for the empowerment of women. Identity may even embrace contradictory and conflicting elements, that coexist without a sacrifice of personal integrity. And racism may emanate within the domains of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and able-bodiedness.

Thus Shari Tarver-Behring points out that studies on the struggle for identity among women have concentrated almost exclusively on white women and the multiplicity of challenges in the development of identity in minority group women has been seriously overlooked. Redressing the imbalance, Philomena Essed's case presentation of Carol L., a black real estate broker, working in a white male-dominated profession, highlights the ambivalences of being successful in a racist society. Carol's explanation is that racism only impedes you when you lack aspiration. 'Most blacks take discrimination lying down. (They) do not aspire to be more than gardeners, secretaries' (p. 106).

Corinne Squire, too, scrutinizes a successful female member of the black bourgeoisie, Oprah Winfrey, but with different intent. If the empowerment of women is the goal of feminist thought, does the Oprah Winfrey show achieve this end? By and large, yes. The show focuses on issues of domestic violence, child abuse and eating disorders, and topics of interest to its largely female audience. It is certainly feminist in its insistence on the personal: Oprah touches, cries and laughs a lot and so do her audience and participants. She has certainly made some anti-feminist gaffes, as when she dragged sixty-seven pounds of lard on to the stage and proudly claimed that that was the weight she had lost. But she has made up for that now, being anti-diet and regularly denouncing dominant images of the female body. So, yes, the Oprah Winfrey show is feminist and, yes, it does empower women.

But let us eschew simplistic notions of empowerment, says Nira Yuval-Davis in a chapter that is one of the highlights of this book. Let us not forget that the empowerment of one section of society often means that another section has a price to pay. For example, when mothers are empowered enough to break out of sexist/heterosexist alliances, is it not the children who suffer? Empowerment is often problematic and groups find themselves embroiled in a deadly conflict of interests. What then? Well, given that we affirm the fact of our essential unity in our diversity, we need to recognize that each group speaks its own truth as partial, its knowledge unfinished and situated, contextually determined. It is therefore not universalism that leads to empowerment but dialogue. Empowerment in

essence is the fact of being heard. And we can be sure of hearing and being heard if we develop the ability to root and to shift. How do we do that? Each participant brings with her, her rooting in her own membership and identity but at the same time tries to shift in order to get into the skins of other women with different memberships and identities. This is transversalism at its best, developing the solidarity to keep one's own perspective while empathizing and respecting others.

This, of course, is no easy task. One of the issues hotly debated is whether feminism can remain a perspective within psychology? According to lesbian feminists Celia Kitzinger and Rachel Perkins in their book *Changing Our Minds: Lesbian Feminism and Psychology* (New York; New York University Press, 1993), it cannot. Psychology individualizes what are problems within the structure of society and solutions must necessarily be macro-level. But Karen Henwood, in the volume under consideration, is not so pessimistic. It is true that mainstream, male dominated psychology in its hankering after the status of a science wants clean variables, easily manipulable. But feminist psychology is carving a post-positivist path that details the richness and complexity of women's experience. And our research *is* valid, at least to ourselves. Perhaps some day men will learn to transverse, to root and to shift, as many of us have.

For these chapters, and a personalized conversation between Kum-Kum Bhavnani and Donna Haraway (in which we discover that Haraway was once married to a man who was actively gay), the book might be worth your money, if you have lots of it to spare. The others are poor meat (or should I say poor fare for the vegans among us). Why does L Mun Wong Di(s)-sect and Dis(s)-close Whiteness, e-racing it with his porno-raced method of retaliative language abuse? What is so noteworthy about Nora Rathzel's analysis of the terms 'home' and 'foreigner'? When are we going to learn, if not in this chapter by Anne Woollett and her colleagues, how Asian women's ethnic identity shifts as a result of their becoming parents? Where is Jewish feminism, laments Erica Burman, and when will we be empowered if our black bodies are not yet considered beautiful, asks Barbara Trepagnier.

This has been a difficult book for me to review. I am Indian and therefore most of you in Britain would consider me black and I am feminist. I therefore embraced this task with eagerness. But the book is verbose, pretentious and patchy at best. Its saving grace are those paragraphs of personal history, but they are few and far between. In the end I have to confess that its quality fails to reach the mark of much black feminist literature that I have read.

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David Turton (ed.), **WAR AND ETHNICITY: GLOBAL CONNECTIONS AND LOCAL VIOLENCE**, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press for the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, San Marino, 1997, 270 pp., £49.50 (hardback).

Most studies of the formation and politicization of collective – broadly 'ethnic' – identities, and of the violent conflicts that sometimes follow, are either primarily theoretical works or atheoretical policy-oriented analyses. This book, which grew out of a conference held in San Marino in 1994, represents an admirable effort to bridge and transcend that divide.

The volume's conception and agenda are ambitious. It seeks to substantively cover several complex sets of issues, ranging from old conceptual and methodological debates on how to study 'ethnicity' to questions of the responsibilities and capacities of the international community in responding to internal wars. The volume opens with an exceptionally lucid overview of this range of issues by the editor. Eight essays by an interdisciplinary cast of British and German contributors follow.

The chapters can be grouped under three categories. Some analyse the making of particular 'ethnic' questions and/or armed conflicts. Others concentrate on especially important conceptual and empirical issues – the reasons for the salience of internal war in the contemporary world, the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalisms. Still others provide critical perspectives on the efficacy of mechanisms of international humanitarian and peace-making intervention in such conflicts. It would have been helpful if the contributions had been organized under three separate headings reflecting these distinct preoccupations.

Turton poses well the key questions that animate the volume. 'How is it possible for people who have been living on the best of terms since childhood to behave towards each other with such awful cruelty and inhumanity as . . . for example, in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia?' (p. 3). 'If national unity based on cultural homogeneity is no longer an option (at least for 'progressive statecraft'), by what political means can ethnicity be accommodated within a multi-ethnic state, so that it does not become a vehicle for *violent* assertion of political and economic self-interest?' (p. 28).

This, in turn, raises a crucial dilemma. Symbolic and institutional recognition of group diversity is often a *sine qua non* for democratic development and/or stability in multinational states, but it also carries the risk that the collective identities (and material interests) thus recognized and empowered may take on a life of their own, to the ultimate detriment of the initial aim – multinational democracy.

Tom Gallagher's overview of the breakdown of the one-party socialist Yugoslav federation emphasizes the role played by nationalist intellectuals and ambitious politicians in its constituent republics. His account relies overly on journalistic sources and fails to benefit from some of the best scholarly sources – both older sources on the modern history, political economy and institutional structure of Titoist Yugoslavia, and newer ones on the collapse, such as Susan Woodward's contentious but important *Balkan Tragedy* (Brookings Institution, 1995). By comparison, Stefan Troebst has written a fine in-depth account of the absence of post-1991 violence – at variance with the predictions of several doomsayers – in (Yugoslav) Macedonia, the traditional 'powder-keg' of the Balkans. His chapter illuminates both the remarkable evolutions of Macedonian identity during the twentieth century and the regional political and geostrategic transformations that have altered the context of the once-incendiary 'Macedonian question'.

Thomas Zitelmann's contribution casts light on politicized Oromo ethnicity and the ideological construction of an 'Oromo nation' in the Horn of Africa. The institutional solution of the current Ethiopian regime (led by the erstwhile Tigrayan separatist/national liberation movement) to the problem of group diversity is a copybook adaptation of the (slightly different) Soviet/Yugoslav models of polycentric authoritarianism, a fact also noted in Turton's introduction. Based on the institutionalization of a degree of regional and local autonomy within an essentially one-party framework, this formula has been demonstrated to be a spectacular success in the short to medium term and a spectacular failure in the longer term.

Jakob Rosel correctly emphasizes the importance of the existence of the basic procedures and institutions of democratic governance to prospects of successful regulation of ethnic conflict. He also argues strongly for keeping the concepts of 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationhood analytically separate, even though in most empirical contexts the two may be difficult to disentangle.

Harry Goulbourne tackles a distinct but related debate – on multiculturalism in Western democracies, with specific reference to Britain – and makes a case for a dynamic view of the making of 'culture' in heterogeneous societies through mutual intercourse and cross-fertilization. Klaus Jurgen Gantzel provides interesting data on wars since 1945 (66 per cent have been intra-state conflicts, 93 per cent have occurred in the developing world, and 25 per cent are still ongoing), but his grand theoretical explanation of these trends is less than persuasive.

What can, and should, the international community do to combat the global plague of

local wars? Just as it debunks culturally essentialist, often racist, notions of Balkan bestiality or African bellicosity, this volume does itself credit in promoting a critical attitude to the role of the international community, and the specific intervention policies and strategies filtered through institutions like the United Nations [UN]. Turton himself notes the unsettling fact that some 90 per cent of the approximately twenty-five million dead in post World War II internal wars in the Third World have been killed with weapons supplied by one or other of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and frankly recognizes that the type of response of international institutions to this genre of conflict is dictated by a very particular, and inequitable, global structure of power.

Ioan Lewis's excellent analysis of the UN intervention in Somalia is an indictment of both the overall perspective and approach of this most important of international institutions to the phenomenon of complex internal wars, and of the specific policies that flow from that approach. Lewis shows how the UN intervention actually contributed to the deepening of sectarian divisions by giving exclusive recognition, intentionally or not, to the worst belligerent elements. I have observed the same tragic phenomenon, of the ostensible cure aggravating the ailment, on the ground in the war-zones of former Yugoslavia. Clearly, there are severe limitations to what international intervention can achieve in polarized, divided societies, but more intelligent, constructive approaches to peace-building should still be possible.

Mark Duffield's essay develops a trenchant generalized critique of the basic flaws in the conceptualization and implementation of peace-keeping operations and humanitarian aid, whether through the agency of the UN or NGOs. He makes a provocative argument that humanitarian relief, a veritable transnational growth industry, has in fact become an integral part of the 'political economy of internal war' (p. 210) in many places. The volume concludes with an overview by Giorgio Ausenda of critical theoretical and policy issues in the understanding and alleviation of internal armed conflicts, with a useful bibliography attached.

This volume contains numerous insights from different angles on one of the urgent human and political problems of our times.

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Tariq Modood, Richard Berthoud *et al.*, **ETHNIC MINORITIES IN BRITAIN: DIVERSITY AND DISADVANTAGE**, London: Policy Studies Institute, 1997, xii + 420 pp., npl.

The endorsements at the beginning of this study rival the body work of a formula one racing car and read like a Who's Who of the British race relations establishment. On this occasion the product matches the publicity, for the volume is a genuinely important piece of research containing a wealth of information about the current status of Britain's three million ethnic minorities. It is the fourth in a series of PSI studies dating back to the 1960s that have not only charted the complex patterns of ethnic group adjustment and experience in this country but have also played a significant role in nudging political and social policy in a positive direction. From an academic perspective, such longitudinal studies are invaluable for they present a dynamic and evolving picture of the changing nature of British society and set current controversies into a wider context.

The report builds on the previous research into employment, housing, income and education, but also extends the focus to include in depth consideration of health, racial harassment and the complexities of identity. The authors are careful to interpret the survey data with caution, recognizing the limitations of this type of evidence, and to relate the findings to the emerging picture of British race relations over the past four decades. They

also link their analyses to the broad theoretical and policy debates on the subject of ethnicity which enhances both the academic and practical relevance of the work.

In general, the findings confirm the continuing pattern of ethnic disadvantage in British society but reveal that this is part of an increasingly differentiated experience depending on the special characteristics and unique circumstances of the six major ethnic sub-groups that make up the bulk of the minority population. Those that have done best, as measured against the native white population, are the Chinese and African Asians; Caribbeans and Indians tend to be in an intermediate position; while the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis consistently fall into the most disadvantaged categories. But even this overall summary masks intra-ethnic differences influenced by class and other factors: the Chinese have a surprisingly low level of home ownership considering their economic success, and the white majority suffer more respiratory illness than any of the ethnic groups, largely as a result of cigarette smoking.

All minorities are victims, to some degree, of the 'hidden injuries of racism' and there is a perceptive discussion of the subtle ramifications of the many variants of racial harassment. Globalization, and the related economic restructuring flowing from it, has clearly added to the problems of the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis, who have tended to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Other groups have adapted to the service economy and made use of a heavy investment in education that has shown up in their comparative levels of achievement. Despite undeniable general progress, significant problems remain, particularly among the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities, for many Caribbean young men, and there is evidence of a 'glass ceiling' impeding the progress of ethnic minorities into the top echelon of jobs. In this last case, a pervasive ethnic penalty appears to amount to a major roadblock.

Some of the most insightful interpretations can be found in the three chapters written by Tariq Modood focusing on employment, identity and citizenship. Here the author uses the survey data to engage in important debates on the diversity in the structure of inequality and rejects Malcolm Cross's Asian-Caribbean dichotomy. He considers the complex dynamics of ethnic identity which is constantly being constructed into new, mixed forms with the passage of time. Modood also assesses the influence of differential stereotyping within a wider interactive framework and evaluates the varying impact of colour and cultural racisms, and the apparent emergence of an intolerance towards Islam. This may be part of a more general 'clash of civilizations' invented by some post-Cold War theorists as a convenient replacement for the former communist menace. When the next national survey is undertaken, in the early decades of the next century, more attention could be given to the distribution of wealth and to the manner in which imprisonment, drug policy and the justice system impacts on ethnic minorities. Until that appears, this report will remain the indispensable reference work for anyone seeking to understand ethnicity in contemporary British society.

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Steven Vertovec and Ceri Peach (eds), **ISLAM IN EUROPE, THE POLITICS OF RELIGION AND COMMUNITY**, Basingstoke, Macmillan and New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997, npl.

The field of ethnic relations in Europe is now a very complex one. In recent times it has been dealt with by students of 'race relations', immigrant settlement, and nationalism. Such perspectives are useful but too broad in scope. They largely fail to theorize two other major problem areas which intersect with them or remain as structural elements on the margins. The first of these is represented by the problem of the place of Islam in Europe, the second

by the position of Roma. The volume here under review is probably the best systematic guide in English for the understanding of Islam.

Most official discourse about Muslims in Europe does not encourage those who are concerned that their relations with secular or Christian Europe should be peaceful. Rather, it is characterized by some sort of confrontational stance or by the belief that, in the wake of the collapse of Communism, 'fundamentalist' Islam is the new enemy. This volume of essays takes a cool and objective look at the diversity of Islam in a way which could lead to more intelligent and more peaceful policy responses.

There are actually five ways in which Islam has penetrated into Europe, namely its historical penetration into the Iberian peninsula, its relative autonomy in the Tsarist and communist empires in the East, its place in the world succeeding the break-up of the Ottoman empire, recent migration of Muslims to Western Europe, and flows of refugees persecuted because of their particular varieties of Islamic identity and belief. The total number of Muslims of concern to Europe is difficult to estimate. But it is probably between 20 and 30 million of whom immigrants in Western Europe number about 6.6 million.

The quantitative empirical problems of counting Muslims as well as that of describing the diversity of Islamic structures and beliefs, the responses to their presence and their responses to these responses, are set out here in a commanding introduction to the volume by the editors. In particular, they focus on the position of the children of Muslim immigrants to Western Europe showing how, like Muslims in other situations, they adapt Islam to new circumstances. In part they are seen as reacting to their exclusion from European societies but as interpreting this exclusion in new Islamic terms.

While no collection of essays could completely cover the totality of the problem of Islam in Europe, this collection is none the less a valuable starting point. Giles Keppel reviews the situation of Muslims in France and Britain; Popovic looks at Muslims in the Balkans; Frangopoulos describes the special position of Pomaks in Thrace; and Szajkowski that of the small Muslim minority in Poland. Lewis and King look at the mobilization of Muslims in Yorkshire, and more widely in England, both in relation to their sectarian diversity and in terms of their response to political events; Remy Leveau looks at the particular position of the Beurs who have adapted to French politics and culture, Schiffauer at the position of Sunni Muslims in Germany, and Amiraux at Turkish Islamic Associations there. Sander considers the important question of who is to be counted as a Muslim in official statistics. Allievi and Landman deal with the relation of Muslims to the media respectively in Italy and The Netherlands. Finally, Nielsen of the Birmingham Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations, who has played a leading role in sustaining an international comparative perspective of Islam, speculates on the position of Muslims at the beginning of the new millennium.

It is not possible to do justice to this volume in a short review. One can but hope that it will receive due recognition among academics, policy-makers and politicians as essential basic reading in relation to one of the most important political problems of our time. It may also be seen as a contribution to a systematic sociology of the structure on modern Europe which transcends more simplistic attempts to analyse that structure in terms either of class or of race and ethnic relations and nationalism.

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Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (eds), **CRITICAL WHITE STUDIES: LOOKING BEHIND THE MIRROR**, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1997, 680 pp., npl.

Scholars in the field of ethnic and racial studies throughout the English-speaking world have long operated under the assumption that race and ethnicity are terms which describe

foreign, subaltern or minority groups. This has led to a paucity of work on ethnic and racial majority groups. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic's reader, *Critical White Studies*, represents an attempt to fill this void by highlighting the background against which the study of ethnic and racial 'others' takes place.

The book, which is 680 pages long, consists of eleven thematic parts and 114 entries, mainly selections clipped from larger books or articles. Most of the selections are no more than several pages in length – the purpose of the work being to provide an overview of current developments in the field rather than a substantive analysis. Sections are followed by thematic reading lists and run as follows: How Whites See Themselves; How Whites See Others; Whiteness: History's Role; Whiteness: Law's Role; Whiteness: Culture's Role; White Privilege; The Ladder of Whiteness; The Color Line; Multiracial People and 'Passing for White'; Biology and Pseudoscience; White Consciousness – White Power; and What Then Shall We Do? A Role for Whites.

In approaching a volume of this size, one element the reviewer looks for is scholarly coherence. In the case of this work, unity is provided by critical race theory, an approach which developed in the 1970s from neo-Marxist and post-structuralist wellsprings. Accordingly, this is a volume that operates from the premise that whiteness is a construct designed to confer political, economic and status advantages to its advocates. Constructivist interpretations of whiteness are given their grounding in the sections on history and law, the strongest parts of the book.

On the latter topic, Herbert Hovenkamp's account of the evolution of American jurisprudence on the race question is exemplary (pp. 199–208). The presence of contributions by historians of the stature of Reginald Horsman, Eric Foner and David Roediger ensure that the historical perspective on whiteness is also ably presented. Horsman, for instance, speaks of how mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxonism provided an ideological weapon which gave white Americans a sense of racial exclusivity and legitimized American expansion to the south and west (pp. 139–44). Roediger later provides a much-needed look at how the boundaries connoted by the label 'white' in the United States, have only recently expanded to include Southern and Eastern European groups (pp. 402–5).

Sociologists will find the section on white power the most empirically interesting, while for pure reading pleasure, the literary sketches contained in the multiracial section are highly recommended. Discussion of Murray and Herrnstein's *The Bell Curve* in part nine offered enlightened debate on a highly-charged contemporary issue. Other parts of *Critical White Studies* are more problematic, but even in these chapters, some gems may be unearthed. For instance, possibly the best sociological contribution in the reader comes from the youthful pen of Charles Gallagher, whose gritty realism and grounded description of the nature of white identity struck me as particularly innovative (pp. 6–11).

Gallagher's contribution nevertheless highlights a problem with this anthology: it does not adequately address the relationship between whiteness and the decline of white ethnicity. Gallagher's work addresses themes similar to those of Herbert Gans, Mary Waters, Richard Alba and Stanley Lieberson. These researchers have amassed an impressive body of empirical literature concerning the rise of white, or 'Euro-American' identity. High rates of inter-ethnic marriage (a relatively recent development) have created this new 'white American' ethnic category, whose culture and ontology urgently need mapping. However, in scanning the 680 pages of *Critical White Studies*, not a single selection appears from this literature.

The work is also light on anthropological and cultural studies material pertaining to white identity (contributions by Sacks and Gallagher notwithstanding). A clutch of fine material has recently appeared that examines latter-day white identity, especially as it relates to the sociological concept of lifestyle. On this note, the authors may wish to consult the reading list on the Organization for the Study of White American Culture website. The upshot of all this is that while *Critical White Studies* does an admirable job of tracing the lineaments of white power, it says next to nothing about white culture and identity. This has to be considered a major weakness of the anthology, a deficit less evident in Mike Hill's recent

reader, *Whiteness*. Finally, the book's breadth of inquiry is useful for the introductory reader, but themes lack continuity and development, leaving the specialist frustrated. Multiple passages that relate similar facts (that is 'one-drop' rule) or didactic positions (Noel Ignatiev's essays) only exacerbate the problem. Consequently, in an age of limited funding, this reviewer does not recommend that academics or postgraduate students acquire the book. That said, *Critical White Studies* belongs in every library as a specialist's reference and is a suitable reader for undergraduate courses.

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