

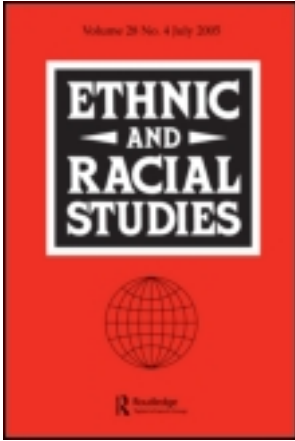
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Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954

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Ethnic and Racial Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rers20>

Book reviews

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Available online: 22 Feb 2010

To cite this article: Patricia A. Bell, John D Brewer, Ronit Lentin, Giorgia Doná, Nasar Meer, Philip Spencer, Catarina Fritz, Andrew G. Kourvetaris, Cileine de Lourenço & Kathleen M. Blee (2010): Book reviews, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33:3, 554-566

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870903577699>

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Book reviews

Howard Ehrlich, **HATE CRIMES AND ETHNOVIOLENCE: THE HISTORY, CURRENT AFFAIRS, AND FUTURE OF DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA**, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009, 208pp., \$24.00 (pb).

This work represents an attempt to resolve several issues related to the study and the politics of race and ethnicity, and violence in American Society. The author makes several good points and directs more attention to the source of the terminologies used in the study of violence in America. While the discussion draws upon traditional sociological understandings of the causes of societal problems related to racial and ethnic violence, it does assist in expanding that understanding by making several important comparisons. While some of these issues have been discussed in the literature, the author has a somewhat unique perspective on the role that terminology. In some respects it is sociology of sociology. The book also incorporates gender and sexual preference in the discussion but primarily focuses on race and ethnicity.

One of the goals of the book is to make a clear distinction between and amongst the use and the meaning of the terminologies 'hate crime', 'bias crime' and 'ethnoviolence'. The latter terminology was coined by the author and he explains the difference in this terminology and others by using examples from the scholarly literature, popular media and political representations. The analysis is data driven but also incorporates theory and some history. Another goal is to communicate the source of ethnoviolence and to delineate the preconditions for same. In doing this, the author provides a review of how these terms have been used in scholarly literature and in the popular press. The analysis includes considerations for both the macro and micro levels of analysis. The author believes that more is to be learned from the macro level than the micro level about the differences among legally defined hate crime, culturally defined bias crime and ethnoviolence. The terms originate in different sources and have their own identifiable impacts on the study and the definition of violence in America.

To accomplish the stated goal, the book includes not only the work of the author but essays written by others. The most cogent part of the argument is an analysis and discussion of how the law and legal and the legal system directs the focus of the study of violence motivated by prejudice as well as policy. In this discussion, the author uses historical and contemporary examples to show that the terminology 'hate crime' functions to limit the researcher's and the scholar's attention. This serves to exclude from discussion and from the research the many actions that can be defined as ethnoviolence but not as hate crime or bias crime. The role of the popular media in perpetuating stereotype, prejudice, discrimination and ethnoviolence is discussed at length.

Most of the analysis is presented in outline steps, preconditions and pathways. The historical background of the study is mostly limited to the twentieth century, although some other times receive mention. Issues of immigration, economy, culture, globalization and social class are employed to assist the reader in better understanding violence in general and ethnoviolence in particular. With regard to understanding violence in all its forms, the failure of studies of crime and of race and ethnicity are linked to the limited terminology employed by these studies. To demonstrate the point, the author employs information regarding activities on college campuses and the activities and beliefs of hate mongering groups.

The author takes the role of activist throughout the discussion but brings this aspect of the book to fruition in the last chapter. This last chapter offers a personal view of issues that are important and personal statements about what is wrong in society. This part of the book should serve to stimulate an interesting discussion in a classroom or public policy setting.

© 2010, Patricia A. Bell
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Ivan Evans, **CULTURES OF VIOLENCE: RACIAL VIOLENCE AND THE ORIGINS OF SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH**, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, x+310 pp., £65 (hb).

South Africa is a country ripe for cross-national comparison and has formed part of a contrast on many parameters with several other countries, but rarely with the USA and never, to my knowledge, on the sociology of violence. In comparing the culture of non-legal violence in the two societies, Ivan Evans has written a truly wonderful book representing the best of historical sociology – a subfield almost absent in British sociology but which is very strong in Canada and the USA, ironically, much of which is written by Britons based in North America or by people trained in Britain. Evans, however, is a South African, a graduate of the University of Western Cape, and thoroughly grounded in historical sociology after graduate training at Wisconsin, one of the best departments of sociology in the United States, and now teaches at the University of California San Diego.

The thesis is simple – so simple as to have been overlooked previously: communal acts of non-legal violence are mediated by the culture in which they take place. The American South has a ‘lynch culture’ and South Africa a ‘bureaucratic’ one. This distinction leads to different forms of non-legal violence that are grounded in broader cultural features in the two societies that are themselves mediated by their respective historical narratives of nationhood, labour relations, religious values and legal controls. The ritualized forms of behaviour involved in lynchings are described as redolent of the evangelical Protestantism of the South, a culture that presented god as wrathful, vengeful and punitive and which gave theological justification to its racial hierarchy. The publicness of these rituals allowed whites to reinforce their racially exclusive communal bond through lynchings in the true Durkheimian sense, giving lynchings parallels with primitive religions. In South Africa, by contrast, extra-legal violence against non-whites was a private practice and the public sphere was largely free of communal, crowd violence. African workers had greater economic value; the white working class was indifferent rather than hostile towards them. Afrikaner Calvinism did not frame racial segregation as a religious crusade, as white Southerners did, and developed a ‘religion of the lost cause’ that was concerned more with Boer–British than black–white relations. Africans are described as receiving marginal attention by Afrikaner civil religion. And their respective legal systems reproduced the cultural differences, with the courts being reluctant to prosecute or convict white Southerners, while South African courts remained committed to formal justice procedures, although it was a legal system heavily weighted against black peoples. Law in South Africa was put to use to physically separate the races not exterminate Africans, hence the depiction of its culture of non-legal violence as ‘bureaucratic’.

A brief review cannot adequately capture the power of these arguments, or reproduce the depth and intricacies of the historical evidence marshalled to support them. It has to be said that the arguments are particularly suited to the historical period covered in the book, in South Africa’s case up to 1948 and thus before Afrikaner nationalism took control of the state, although in his conclusion Evans extends the argument to National Party rule and the rise of apartheid. Apartheid segregation and its later manifestation in the form of Separate Development epitomized the bureaucratization of racial segregation. And while there were more incidents of communal violence against black peoples in recent South African history, it was done by the state not lynch mobs. But here lies the rub. White South

Africans did not need to develop a lynch culture because the law allowed the state to do the killings for them. Apartheid South Africa was a pariah precisely because legal violence replaced the need for mobs to generate and justify non-legal forms. The police and the army were South Africa's Klu Klux Klan.

Cultures of Violence is one of the best books I have read in a very long time. Its narrative is complex, the historical material is rich and the sociology first class. It offers a lesson in historical sociology.

© 2010, John D Brewer
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Bryan Fanning, **NEW GUESTS OF THE IRISH NATION**, Dublin and Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2009, 228 pp., £29.95 (pb).

Major social changes accompanied the Republic of Ireland's late 1990s economic boom. The year 1996 was designated as the migration turning point, when for the first time in Ireland's history immigration exceeded emigration. A year later, during the 1997 European Year Against Racism, racism was publicly named for the first time, in relation to state and civil society responses to migrants, but also to the Republic's older racialized groups, primarily Travellers, Jewish people, and black Irish people. Robbie McVeigh had already outlined 'the specificities of Irish racism' in his trail blazing 1992 *Race and Class* article. However, the late 1990s migration turn led to the field of migration studies – courses, theses and academic and policy studies and publications, funded by government, Europe, universities and NGOs – topping the social sciences agenda.

Earlier studies by researchers including Steve Garner, Steven Loyal, Robbie McVeigh, Piaras Mac Éinri, Alice Feldman and myself emphasized the role of the state as the main player in the racialization of Irishness. Simultaneously, Sinéad Ní Shuinear outlined the trajectory from the racialization of the Irish by British imperialism to the racialization of Irish Travellers by settled Irish people. Race and racism became analytically acceptable as academics, NGOs such as Amnesty International and the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism conducted surveys that negated the accepted wisdom that the Irish, having been subject to British colonialism and diasporic dispersal, were too powerless to be racist.

Bryan Fanning, a prolific writer and editor of *Translocations*, Ireland's ejournal dedicated to the study of migration and social transformation, is one of the key players in this expanding field. Fanning's earlier focus on social change and migration considered the mechanics of exclusion, in particular due to distinctions between 'nationals' and 'non-nationals', while also highlighting the continuities between the historical treatment of Travellers and Jewish people and contemporary responses to immigrants. His studies of Travellers in country Clare systematically obscured McVeigh's earlier theorization of Irish sedentarism and state-inspired policies of settling and assimilating Travellers. And his work on the responses to immigration – based on studies of the treatment of migrant children and political parties' inadequate responses to immigrants likewise obscures the work of many other researchers who, unlike Fanning, focus on the role of the state in the racialization of Irishness.

New Guests of the Irish Nation, Fanning's most recent offering, explicitly shifts away from understanding the responses to immigration in twenty-first-century Ireland as occasioned by racism, to focusing on the rather dubious David Goodhart-style post-multiculturalism theory of ethnic nepotism as posing a risk to social cohesion.

Most recent analyses of immigration and racism in the Republic of Ireland (Fanning says nothing on the north of Ireland, surely part of 'the Irish nation' of the title) focus on the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, when the long standing *jus soli* citizenship entitlement granted to all people born in the island of Ireland was voted out in favour of a *jus sanguinis* entitlement, depriving children of migrants of citizenship rights. In Fanning's reading, the Referendum cannot be understood without reference to past exclusionary nation-building discourses, and

what he calls the 'distributional anxieties' shaped by past economic fatalism, coming to a head in the more prosperous era of the now defunct 'Celtic Tiger'. Refusing to admit the state's role in constructing immigrants as, paradoxically, both useful economic commodities addressing labour shortages and as economic burden, Fanning regards state-led distinctions between Irish nationals and 'non-national' immigrants, as responses to what he ultimately theorizes as popular, genetically based ethnic nepotism.

Quite apart from the theoretically thin uncritical emphasis on now outdated concepts such as 'ethnic nepotism', 'identity politics' and 'social cohesion', and despite some insights on the marginalization of Travellers (though the overemphasis on Travellers is puzzling when the collection supposedly deals with new immigrants) and asylum seekers, there are several problems with this book. Firstly, being a serendipitous collection of articles, polemic pieces, book reviews and conference papers, it is inevitably repetitious and at times contradictory. Secondly, the title, a play on a 1931 Frank O'Connor short story, supposedly a slap in the face of the clichéd 'Ireland of the welcomes', ultimately casts migrants as guests, the only response to whom should be hospitality and solidarity rather than equality. Thirdly, Fanning's rejection of theorizations of Ireland as a 'racial state' is bizarre, since much of his empirical evidence points to the state being the key player in constructing migrants as 'non-nationals'. Finally, presenting his work as pioneering, giving no credit to the work of other researchers is, at best, a poor academic practice.

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Lee Anne Fujii, **KILLING NEIGHBORS: WEBS OF VIOLENCE IN RWANDA**, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009, ix+224 pp., £16.50 (hb).

Killing Neighbors is a welcome contribution to the sizeable number of publications on the Rwandan genocide that thoughtfully addresses the growing call for examinations of violence at micro-level. Rather than a clearly bounded event, Fujii Lee Anne considers the genocide in terms of processes, thus expanding its historical framework and taking a dynamic approach to explaining genocidal participation.

The innovative argument put forth in the book is that the Rwandan genocide can be best understood not through the explanatory category of 'ethnicity', which many scholars tend to unquestionably rely upon, but by shifting the level of analysis to the study of social relations. Adopting a social constructivist approach, Fujii views violence as a form of organized social action and presupposes that most behaviours are embedded in social relations.

Fujii develops her core argument by noting that the ethnic hypothesis according to which Hutu killed Tutsi because they belonged to the 'other' ethnic group does not account for the killings of moderate Hutus or the recorded instances of Tutsi joining the killing mobs. More specifically, the 'ethnic hate' hypothesis that presupposes that Hutu were mobilized by hate to kill members of the other ethnic group does not find empirical corroboration, while the 'ethnic fear' hypothesis, which may explain why individuals joined the attacking crowds, does not account for the complex decision-making processes involved. Challenging both hypotheses, the author argues that local ties and group identities better explain the micro-level dynamics of genocidal involvement.

The book is the outcome of nine months of fieldwork in two rural communities in Rwanda, one located in the north and the other in the south of the country, where Fujii conducted intensive semi-structured interviews with eighty-two victims, witnesses and perpetrators. The strategic choice of locations, with their distinct and diverse histories of political alliances and demographic composition, and the thoughtful decision to interview individuals living in the communities and residing in prisons, enables the author to narrate

how low-level perpetrators whom she calls 'Joiners' and their neighbours made sense of genocidal violence.

Killing Neighbors begins with a historic account of the terms Hutu and Tutsi, which started as social labels and only gradually took on ethnic meanings under a process of State expansion. It then examines local narratives of violence to tackle the enigma of identity, unveil the power of local ties and expose the logic of group membership. For the author, the public, performative and collective nature of violence can be interpreted as a script, which the state sponsored and promoted along ethnic lines but which was locally interpreted and acted upon on the basis of social relations. Furthermore, while in public Joiners willingly, forcefully or unwittingly participated in acts of violence, in private they could abandon the script to resume their roles as relatives, friends and neighbours.

The power of local ties was instrumental in producing and reproducing violence: social bonds and not ethnic attachments patterned performances. Ties to local power through kinship, friendship and group activities turned into avenues for recruitment and targeting, and acted as powerful homogenizing forces. Situational exigencies created opportunities and constraints for performative acts of violence while group identities and group dynamics took precedence over individual or ethnic identities. The group rather than individual Rwandans became the 'social actor' dynamically performing a self-reinforcing script that simultaneously generated violence and created group momentum: 'killings produced groups and groups produced killings' (p. 154).

This well-written and clearly articulated book is a timely contribution to understanding the Rwandan genocide in terms of social relations. This reviewer would like to introduce an additional element to the eloquent analysis of local ties: the role of 'social influence' in shaping Rwandan social relations and making sense of participation in violence. Finally, taking the author's viewpoint that genocidal violence is a social process rather than a bounded temporal event, this reviewer is left to ponder about the nature of social relations in the aftermath of the genocide. If the Rwandan genocide was a tragic script in a longer history of complex social relations, what can the findings of this book tell us about the dynamics of post-1994 group identities, ongoing conflicting social relations in the region, and transnational ties to relatives, friends and neighbours?

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Peter Hopkins and Richard Gale (eds), **MUSLIMS IN BRITAIN – RACE, PLACE AND IDENTITIES**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009, 236 pp., £19.99 (pb).

If we look back at the British race and ethnic relations literature of earlier decades, it is difficult to ignore the tendency for a proliferation of edited collections concentrating on minorities party to one 'crisis' or another. The debates over the discursive construction of black youth are one obvious illustration but there are others. That is not to say such a tendency is limited to the study of ethnic and racial minorities, and in many ways the field of race and ethnic relations has moved on. Inquiry has become multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, less consciously ideological though perhaps no less political, and the aperture has widened to encompass different scales of perspective, now frequently taking in the global. But arguably the chief difference between present and earlier accounts of minorities in Britain has been the 'arrival' of Muslims; or, more precisely, that both Muslim-consciousness and Islamophobia has made it impossible to deny the empirical presence and conceptual significance of Muslims for the field. As such, the last few years have seen a plethora of commentaries and collections on *this* problem minority, each varying in scholastic merit, intellectual value and political purchase.

It is with some welcome insight then that Peter Hopkins and Chris Gale draw together some very significant contributions in their edited collection. Introduced with an analytically strong chapter by two knowledgeable and nuanced editors, an obvious strength of this book is its intellectual breadth spanning as it does demography, religious studies, sociology and politics, while retaining an elastic geographical thread. Particular highlights for this reader include Deborah Phillip's account of young British Muslim women's conceptualization of 'home spaces', and how, following the argument of bell hooks (1990), these spaces can facilitate Muslim women's transformation from objects of racial oppression and discrimination to subjects who reclaim autonomy and negotiate their ways through tradition. Indeed the first section of the book boasts a rich ethnographic discussion of gender and masculinity with authoritative contributions from Claire Dwyer and Bindi Shah, and Louise Archer. It was a little surprising then that a more general discussion of Muslim labour market experiences should be included in this section. That is not to detract from Sophie Bowlby and Sally Lloyd-Evans's contribution, however, which provides a rigorous and systematic disentanglement of how ethnic penalties can translate into an 'Islamic penalty' in the UK labour market. Drawing upon data sets from Reading and Slough, that are contextualized in the national picture, they make the significant finding that Muslims are indeed materially discriminated on the grounds of their 'Muslimness', a finding that accords with other embryonic work undertaken in this area. This potentially has considerable public policy implications, demonstrating as it does that Muslim labour market discrimination cannot be explained away by reference to ethnic or racial origin alone.

Section two broadens out the theme of space to include Caroline Nagel and Lynn Staecheli's account of British Arab activists' private and public adoption of religion, Richard Gale's documenting of the intersections between religious architecture and urban planning in Birmingham, and Anjam Mukadam's discussion of migration and cultural commodities. In this section too we find Sean McLoughlin's illuminating reflection on pilgrim's voices as they journey to Mecca and Medina. The third and final section is perhaps the least thematically tidy, varying as it does between a discussion of imagining Muslims within the disciplinary tradition of geography by Lily Kong; the political standing of Muslims as agents and participants in citizenship regimes by Tariq Modood; and the process and impact of Islamophobia as it shapes Muslim political subjectivities by Jonathan Birt. Each of these contributions are significant and sometimes profound, and of course Modood's has in many ways, over a number of years, spoken to a variety of audiences in persuasively making the philosophical and political case for the logical extension to Muslims of a meaningful and reciprocal citizenship.

Yet, in a curious way one of the lessons of this collection is that Muslim academicians can still be marginal to the scholastic story of British Muslim life. For it was once hoped that following the pioneering inquiry into British Muslim communities by the likes of Roger Ballard, Claire Dwyer, Pnina Werbner, the early Phillip Lewis and, of course, Modood himself, that a 'next generation' of British Muslim scholars would be able to speak to mainstream disciplinary and interdisciplinary audiences in the academy. Yet perhaps only three of the twelve chapters in the collection are penned by Muslims themselves, and, if we put Modood to one side – as probably the most significant and established voice in the field – then this does not bode well for future collections documenting British Muslim life. This should not, of course, detract from the many excellent contributions made in this collection as detailed above, and nor do the editors at any point present it as a complete anthology. But the book does, nevertheless, raise issues about authenticity and representation of which future collections must remain cognizant in order that British Muslim academicians too can be agents who shape the present inquiry into British Muslim life.

Aristotle Kallis, **GENOCIDE AND FASCISM – THE ELIMINATIONIST DRIVE IN FASCIST EUROPE**, Routledge Studies in Modern History, London: Routledge, 2009, xi + 413 pp., £100.00 (hb).

This is a very interesting book which in some ways goes against the trend of recent comparative work on genocide. There has been a growing tendency of late to locate genocides in a longer time frame and a wider geographical context, connecting it to the impact and logic of Western imperialist states as they raided the world. This is very much not the approach adopted here, which is rather to focus on what was going on inside Europe in the twentieth century, and in particular on the emergence and dynamics of fascist ideas, movements and regimes and on the genocidal tendencies they fostered. But this is no simple reversion to earlier arguments about the dangers of totalitarian ideologies of the right, if not the left. Rather, the author traces the emergence of an increasingly racialized nationalism across Europe which accompanied and inspired the fascist effort to construct a series of homogeneous nation-states. This was, the author argues, an inherently and extremely violent project, in which Nazi Germany took a decisive lead, with catastrophic consequences for those who were deemed not to fit into such states, above all the Jews. Nazi Germany occupied a particular place in the European political order, and provided a model and an example for others to follow. Like (the sometimes unfairly criticized) Daniel Goldhagen, the author fully comprehends the radical nature of the Nazi genocidal project, the boundaries the Nazis deliberately crossed and the taboos they consciously broke. But he also shows how others joined in, seeing what the Nazis had been able to do and taking inspiration from them, thus meeting one of the standard objections to Goldhagen's work, that he does not adequately deal with or account for the murderous and genocidal anti-Semitism of non-Germans. It was not necessary for fascist movements and regimes to align themselves ideologically with the Nazis, although they very often did so. They could also exploit the conditions brought about by war and invasion, and by the dislocations that had enabled the Nazis to come to power in Germany in the first place, to act out already existing and mobilizable hatreds, especially of the Jews. Seeing what the Nazis were doing and had already done with impunity, they could seize the opportunity to kill their own hated others (again, very often, the Jews), secure in the knowledge that the Nazis would either approve or tolerate their violence, even if (astonishingly and ironically) the Germans could themselves be occasionally taken aback by its level or form. For at the most fundamental level, as the author argues, the Nazis provided what he identifies clearly and precisely as a 'licence' to kill for governments, local authorities, movements and 'ordinary' people. This last is a category which perhaps need a little more thought, although the author does provide a useful historicized interpretation of the social psychological explanation offered by Milgram and Zimbardo. As he points out, it was not just any authority which offered this licence but a particular, historically constructed one which had very quickly become the most powerful state on the continent and seemed for a period unstoppable. It was the success of the Nazis which inspired or encouraged others to pursue their own similar projects, just as it was the Nazis' own successes which had encouraged them to become ever more radical in their ambitions and actions. This line of argument matters and is persuasive in two important respects. The first is that it helps us see how and why, for all their initial differences, there could be a connection and a convergence between different fascist movements, such as Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. It was the success and power of the Nazis which drew others into their orbit, whatever the earlier differences or disagreements. The second is that it shows how genocide can contain a kind of self-radicalizing momentum. Once the killing had started, once the Nazis had seen what they could do, what in a sense they could get away with, their ambitions grew, not just to cleanse Germany but to annihilate the Jews entirely. Genocide in this case (and one might ominously assume in others too) was not some kind of lashing out as things began to go wrong, as the Nazis faced defeat; quite the opposite. It was born of triumph and what Christopher Browning has elsewhere called elation or euphoria. In this sense, this book

offers more than a carefully delineated and thoroughly explored set of historical case studies. It offers a warning too.

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Maxine Margolis, **AN INVISIBLE MINORITY: BRAZILIANS IN NEW YORK CITY**, Miami: Florida University Press, 2009, 151 pp., \$19.95 (pb).

This book is an ethnography of Brazilian immigrants in New York. Maxine Margolis presents an updated version of her 1997 volume with the same title. She addresses the difficulties in estimating this population group in the US and first of all focuses on the problems concerning the census question on ethnicity. These immigrants in New York do not see themselves as Hispanics, and only geographically as Latinos, preferring to identify themselves as Brazilians. Other studies in Boston and elsewhere have found a similar pattern among Brazilians living there. The large majority, being undocumented, also mistrusts the confidentiality of the census and is afraid to be categorized in this manner.

Brazilian immigrants, until recently, have had no trouble finding jobs. They work as cleaners, nannies, dog walkers, cab drivers, dancers, shoe shiners, restaurant dish-washers and landscapers. Although they have a great deal of difficulty with the English language, combined with their lack of proper documentation, this still does not prove to be an obstacle to finding employment. Margolis notes that in New York, as well as other cities, there is a great demand for cheap labour in the service sector, and this serves as a pull factor for Brazilian immigrants interested in working for a short period of time. Undocumented immigrants are preferred by employers in New York, and are in particularly high demand in the restaurant business. They are the ideal employees; unlike native workers, they will not, due to their undocumented status, challenge their working conditions, poor wages, long hours or the lack of health insurance. In fact, Margolis finds that employers received the undocumented migrant with open arms, and the success of most of their businesses depends considerably on the presence of these Brazilians. She notes that very little has changed regarding the enforcement of legality in the work place since the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and the subsequent establishment, in 2002, of the Department of Homeland Security. Since employers are under no obligation by law to check the veracity of an employee's documentation and any document will suffice, illegal Brazilian immigrants do not find obstacles to work in New York. Of the one hundred Brazilian immigrants interviewed in her study the average held 3.25 jobs a piece (p. 49). Four out of five women in her study worked in domestic jobs as housekeepers, maids, nannies or baby sitters. Not only women, but some of the men interviewed also found domestic employment as butlers, valets and chauffeurs, and many were employed as a couple, living in the homes of very affluent New Yorkers (p. 13).

The jobs Brazilians perform may be considered undesirable by Americans, but for a Brazilian earning \$12 to \$15 an hour in construction work, or driving a radio call car and receiving \$600 a week, this is a considerable sum of money. Margolis also found members of her sample to be frugal and greatly focused on their goal to make sufficient money to return home as soon as possible. Most do not even spend money on winter clothes and buy only what is necessary to survive the cold weather in social service stores catering to the homeless.

A large number of New York Brazilians interviewed in her study cite economic or professional reasons as the motivation to emigrate, including high inflation and the decline of Brazilians salaries, where the average monthly income is only \$375 in the wealthiest area of Brazil like São Paulo. These incentives are coupled with the lack of jobs facing young Brazilians even after they receive a college degree. Many immigrants interviewed were psychologists, economists and lawyers who were unable to find jobs that paid decent salaries (p. 11). Margolis also encountered in addition to professionals immigrant Brazilians of the

lower-middle class such as nurses, elementary school teachers, as well as business owners who were affected by the country's poor economy (p. 25). Urban Brazilians from the middle class and lower-middle class find temporary emigration as the solution to their problems, in particular the young and single Brazilians who do not require as much capital to move to the United States. Margolis reports that until 2003, ten years after her initial research in the New York area, Brazilians in this part of the US still continue to choose migration to the US for a period of time to solve their problems, although in cities like Governador Valadares this international experience is planned from the time they are children (p. 26). Another special characteristic of Brazilians in New York is the racial make-up of this population. Since they are largely middle and lower-middle class, most of the sample interviewed was of lighter skin with only 16 per cent mulattos and blacks. This, she explains, is due to the fact that 'people of color' are underrepresented in the middle classes and 'overrepresented at the lower ranks of Brazilian society' (p. 26).

Apart from the economic reasons, many of the immigrants chose to emigrate to the US as a result of the powerful influence of the Brazilian media promoting images and idealizing American life styles in areas such as fashion, music and consumption. In order to experience this idealized world they may have to work at the bottom of the pay scale, but it is still seen as an exciting opportunity for them and worth living, for a short period, away from their homeland. Many middle-class Brazilians also find little difficulty financing their trip to the US, but, since 9/11, tourist visas are much harder to obtain. How the impact of the 2008–9 economic recession will affect this particular group awaits yet another edition of Margolis's valuable study.

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Leland T. Saito, **THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION: THE FAILURE OF RACE-NEUTRAL POLICIES IN URBAN AMERICA**, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009, xi + 275pp., £13.67 (pb).

Detailing three case studies on racialized decision-making over economic development and historic preservation in San Diego and redistricting in Los Angeles and New York City, Leland Saito's *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America* entices the voyeur in us all to peer into a local political world of contentious micro-interactions between policy-makers, activists, coalitions and communities of colour. Saito argues that, despite federal legal mandates for local jurisdictions to be 'race-neutral' or 'colour-blind' in policy processes, urban, white American policy-makers persist in ignoring or devaluing the social geographic histories and undercutting the political representation of East Asian, Latino, and African Americans at the local level. Although Saito makes no analytical distinction between 'race-neutral' and 'colour-blind' policies, his thick descriptions of racial-ethnic minority groups' local political struggles against the relatively impervious white power structures will appeal to students of ethnic and racial studies, sociology and political science, and particularly to those who believe, as Saito does, that incorporating race into public policy is critical to redressing racism. The mortar of Saito's argument – that whites ignore race when crafting policies and falsely believe that they have transcended racism – is not clearly specified, however, and gets buried in the shifting analytical units of the individual, policy, group, place and race. Saito provides ample and compelling evidence of backroom politics between individuals and political interests over built spaces. Indeed, Saito claims convincingly that white American officials as a cohesive group continue to undervalue the significance of historical artefacts and to curtail the political ascendance of people of colour in order to maintain white power. Saito does note some exceptions: individuals who have broken through this glass ceiling include a number of successful male, non-white, elected officials who, Saito claims, garnered broad

constituent support because of their 'effective deracialized political platforms and campaign strategies' (p. 119); '[s]uccessful politicians, such as Gary Locke and Antonio Villaraigosa, [who] win because they run carefully sanitized, deracialized campaigns in which race is mentioned in ways that support accepted notions of assimilation and a colour-blind society' (p. 204).

Yet, absent in the book is elaboration about the relationship between campaign strategies, narrative, identity and identification, and exploration of how that relationship contributes to colour-blind or race-neutral policy. While Saito's conflation of race and ethnicity in *The Politics of Exclusion* can be overlooked for argument's sake, increasingly difficult to glean from the book's rich detail is how exclusionary politics at the cultural group level relate to racial-ethnic politics at the individual level. Furthermore, the book does not describe the mechanism(s) by which racism, which has undoubtedly undergirded urban American politics since the seventeenth century, becomes falsely expressed as 'prejudice-free' in individual consciousness and politically manifested as 'race-neutral' or 'colour-blind' in the policies of the early twentieth century.

For example, Saito does not specify how the successful political careers of white and non-white individuals, like Howard Berman, Richard Polanco, Gloria Romero, and Ron Sims, relate to the interests and coalitions of particular cultural groups, like East Asian Americans, Latino Americans and African Americans, or to the interests of different organizations, like the Center for Asian Americans United for Self Empowerment, the Gaslamp Black Historical Society and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Moreover, Saito alludes to, but does not answer, such important questions as: can redistricting (or, more accurately, the persistent illegal practice of gerrymandering) in major cities be accomplished in any way other than as a party-centric, racial-ethnic, zero-sum game? What are the social consequences of the racial-ethnic groupness of particular politicians, political candidates or interests for city neighbourhoods? How are growth machine cities like San Diego, Los Angeles and New York City representative of the rest of metropolitan America, given that a majority of Americans now live in urban places?

The Politics of Exclusion succeeds in provoking ongoing debate about how much farther American policy-making must go to include its entire people in 'the social heritage of the nation' (Marshall 1964, p. 83). The book also draws much needed critical attention to the unrepresentativeness of American democracy, where democracy is most direct and impactful: at the local community level. The book is less successful, however, at explaining how race-neutrality or colour-blindness informs targeted or universalist policies. While Saito focuses primarily on East Asian American (dis)enfranchisement in a few coastal cities, all local minority struggles in American history attest that 'serious and sustained efforts of Asian Americans to preserve their history in San Diego and to gain political access in Los Angeles and New York City demonstrate the difficulty and complexity of gaining access to and modifying institutions that have historically excluded racial minorities' (p. 206). As Saito would aver, contention over race and, I would add, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, age and ability, is key to social and political change in urban America.

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MARSHALL, T. H. 1964 *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday

Micol Seigel, **UNEVEN ENCOUNTERS, MAKING RACE AND NATION IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES**, American Encounters/Global Interactions Series, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2009, ix + 386 pp., £15.99 (pb).

Focusing on the earlier period of the twentieth century, Micol Seigel offers a refreshing analysis of racial perceptions in the USA and Brazil. Her book explores how images of blackness were constructed in Brazil and the US and how Brazilians of African descent and African Americans imagined each other. Seigel's approach is theoretically innovative in that she utilizes a transnational framework for her analysis, thus providing a much needed departure from old comparative assumptions about racial and national differences in the two countries. The book debunks juxtaposing notions of US racial purity and Brazil's racial harmony by deconstructing even the very questions that assume a comparison to be possible.

Taking advantage of a web of diverse routes the transnational offers, the author traces fluid, often hidden or forgotten maps of cultural exchanges between Brazil and the US, while revealing fascinating encounters and the uneven and contested terrain of hybridity. She accomplishes this by maintaining a dialogue between perceptions generated in both countries by and about artefacts such as advertisements, music, monuments and the black press.

The book begins with a chapter analyzing Brazilian coffee advertisements in the US in the early 1900s. Increasing global consumption of coffee intensifies Brazil's presence in the transnational arena as it becomes a major producer of the product. In Siegel's analysis of ads, she brings to attention that 'consumer citizenship is a racialized nationalism constructed in a transnational context' (p. 15) and consumption 'becomes a national quality' (p. 17). Images of the Brazilian Other are articulated in a hierarchical relationship between the US as the sophisticate, civilized consumer and Brazil as the crude, pre-modern exotic producer.

In two other chapters, Siegel unearths the journeys, encounters and renaming of two major African diasporic contributions: the *maxixe* and jazz. The *maxixe* appeared in the US in 1914, to fall into oblivion by the end of World War I. Shortly after its debut in the US, the *maxixe* was consumed as 'tango'. Diluted in a soup of exotic tunes such as the Hawaiian hula, the *maxixe* resurfaces later contained and devoid of its African diasporic roots in the boogie woogie. In Brazil, where the good families and moral standards setters first rejected it for its vulgarity, the *maxixe* finally was accepted in refined Brazilian elite circles after Paris had consumed its exoticism and regurgitated what was left back to Brazil.

On the other hand, jazz's popularity exploded in 1920s and it became recognizably valued by many. According to Siegel, jazz bands played all genres, and some of the music musicians called jazz was actually *choros*, *maxixe* and marches 'played with an expanded percussion section' (pp. 99–101). Siegel argues that despite jazz's transnational inceptions, people have perceived it as authentically US-American (p. 101), but the *maxixe* lost its connection with Brazil. In her view, this reflects global inequalities in the music industry and the power of naming. The author urges musicologists to pay increased attention to the imbalances of transnational cross-class cultural exchanges and the negotiating power of the Other. Otherwise, scholars run the risk of celebrating hybridity as an even exchange and of not bringing to light genres belonging to "'the Negro Vogue"' to and from Brazil' (p. 101).

The chapter 'Black Mothers Citizens and Sons' offers an analysis of the many reactions regarding the homage to the slave mother being proposed by the Monument to the Mãe Negra movement in Brazil. Siegel tackles the confluence of race, gender, class and hemispheric power relations rooted in the different meanings articulated in the cross-cultural debate over the erection of such a monument. She refutes a common but mistaken notion that, by comparison to African Americans, Brazilians of African descent lacked a politicized racial awareness.

The contributions of Siegel's work are many and to different fields, including history, American, Latin American, cultural and race and ethnic studies. Rather than a comparison of national traits and differences, Siegel's sophisticated study explores the complexities in the encounters between Brazil and the US in the transnational scenery of popular artefacts. It sheds new light on notions of race and nation in Brazil and the US by maintaining that these

were forged often in relation to one another. The transnational method the scholar utilizes serves well in bringing to light black historical agents and showing they were not ignorant to undertakings in each other's countries.

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Amy Louise Wood, **LYNCHING AND SPECTACLE: WITNESSING RACIAL VIOLENCE IN AMERICA, 1890–1940**, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009, 349 pp., \$39.95 (hb).

In the postbellum Southern United States, African Americans experienced violence in many forms and much of this violence was sanctioned or ignored by the authorities. Racial violence was practised through interpersonal attacks, sexual assaults, legal injustices, denial of civil rights including the ballot, and mob attacks. Lynchings were far from the most common form of racial violence in this era. But, as Amy Louise Wood convincingly shows, lynching had a particular power to terrorize and to inscribe the boundaries of racial privilege and domination. By drawing on cultural theories of spectatorship, audience, image and witnessing, *Lynching and Spectacle* provides an important new way to understand racial violence in this period.

Between 1880 and 1940, a decade longer than Wood's study, over 3,000 African American men were killed by white mobs. These mobs operated outside the law, attacking those they accused of crimes or offences, often sexual in nature, to the white racial order. Lynchings were not only a Southern phenomenon and African American men were not its only victims. Mob violence extended across the continent and targeted also Native Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, white men, and African American women. Yet, the most frequent type of lynching was that of African American men at the hands of white Southerners. This became the prototype of antebellum racial violence.

Racial lynchings were gruesome affairs. African American men were tortured in highly sadistic and often ritualized ways, including being emasculated, and their bodies mutilated and traded as souvenirs after their death. Lynch mobs staged their violence in public, gathering crowds to witness, and photographing their victims to commemorate the event. Wood's impressive analysis of photographs of lynching scenes finds three distinct types of images. In some, the victim is the central focus. Others show crowds at a distance or white men posed around the body of their victim. Surprisingly, given the often-celebratory atmosphere of white mobs at a lynching, photographers rarely showed crowds in the act of violence. Whites are not depicted in acts of murder, burning, torturing or mutilating. Rather, they stop what they are doing and pose for the camera. In this way, Woods notes, violence is pushed to the outside of the photo's frame. Captured on film is a gathering of whites that appears respectable and orderly. Moreover, by staging the crowd clustered together, the photographer creates an image of white cohesiveness that echoes the goals of the period's virulent white supremacists.

Wood corrects several misconceptions about Southern lynching. It is commonly assumed that mob violence occurs in backward or remote social settings. Wood argues that this was not the case in Southern racial lynchings. Indeed, the most dramatic lynchings occurred in places that were urbanizing, not in the rural countryside. Neither were lynch mobs composed of the bereft, socially marginal or criminals. Instead, they were made up largely of law-abiding members of the rising middle class, which Wood interprets as an effort to proclaim middle-class moral superiority over poorer whites and African Americans by positioning themselves as guardians of the social order. Finally, although postcards, photographs and news reports all demonstrate that women and children were among the spectators at lynchings, Wood finds white men solidly in the majority in these mobs.

Wood's work valuably situates lynching violence in broader cultural and social trends in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She reminds us that lynching, however

unimaginable it might seem today, was intimately tied to more ordinary cultural trends in this era. The long tradition of public legal executions in the Southern US, for instance, made it socially acceptable to stage the death of a person in a public arena. Even when public executions were finally abolished in the South, it was not because of ethical or moral concerns for the victims, but because local officials feared that public executions would excite, and thereby provoke disorder among, the public. The photographing of lynchings, too, was part of a larger cultural assumption that criminality was corporal so that evidence of criminal disposition could be traced from pictures of faces and bodies. Even early movies were part of the cultural milieu in which lynching could flourish. Theatres aired sensationalistic films that depicted legal and extra-legal hanging and executions. Through all these means, Wood shows, white audiences were turned into spectators of racial violence and came to understand their spectatorship as respectable.

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