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**Theorizing Race and Ethnicity –
Contemporary Paradigms and Perspectives**

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Introduction

Contemporary theories of race and ethnicity¹ sustain a dissonance between conceptualisation and empirical research, and between both of these things and political activism. This stems from a failure to conceptualise race and ethnicity concretely, materially, in ways connected with their resonance in people's lives and the broader social and political circumstances in which they are set. In this chapter I explore how this situation arose and what may be done to advance beyond it. I argue that the current situation needs new, materially grounded, approaches to race theory. We should focus on the *production* of race through human agency and routine social contexts of different scales. As well as grappling with micro-contexts, new approaches to race should engage with its global production in migration. Migration is a major issue in all nation states where a range of mobile populations from asylum seekers to economic migrants have become a focus for heightened localisms and political debates about access and entitlement. Centring on race production - *race-making* - reconnects race theory with empirical research agendas and race politics in a definitive move away from abstractionism.

Although race and ethnicity are concepts, constellations of ideas and speculative connections, a materialist approach can engage with these things in specific spatial and temporal contexts, with the ways in which they *matter* politically and *make matter* in the lives through which they reverberate. It is important to bear this in mind in the overarching attempt that follows to place contemporary debates, paradigms and perspectives in historical contexts that acknowledge the specificities of circumstances and micro-versions of place, on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as the dialogues, circulation of ideas and activists that bridge this gap. Theory does not always declare its location, and it is important to acknowledge specifics. Britain and America (and Canada) have distinctive (racialized and ethnicized) immigration processes. Settler societies like Canada and America forged nation states out of the material of migrant ethnicities and retreating colonial powers (like Britain) which sustained and remade the fabric of the nation in ways that were all about race. These three countries, and I am aware that this focus ignores other places like Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, had different relationships to empire, to slavery, to first nations and to domestic - as opposed to colonial - racial segregation and social compacts with the settled descendants of slavery. With a past mired in the racial politics of colonial governance and mid twentieth century migration's contribution to the mongrel nation; Britain was in a different position than North America when it came to the politics of race. This chapter centres on British debates and developments, acknowledging interconnections with, and examples drawn from, America. These are helpful locations for developing new racial theories that have relevance elsewhere in multiethnic, multicultural, multiracial societies.

Past Debates and Contexts

British, American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African debates and contexts, rendered through the (English speaking) academy, are both specific and interconnected. While they illuminate conditions that are peculiar

to each place and the ruminations of their local academics; theories and academics travel; revelations in one place are applied to another and published in international journals. In the end, the national origins of debates and theories are uncertain and their application inevitably extra-local. This section describes past debates and contexts relating to Britain, elements of which relate to other locations. There are numerous commentaries on the development of British theories of race and ethnicity with Mac an Ghail (1999) and Alexander (2002) producing particularly useful overviews. Cutting a path through these commentaries it is possible to give the briefest of outlines in contextualising the discussion of where we are now, and the directions in which things are developing.

Without the urban ecology of ethnic migration developed by the Chicago School in the early years of the twentieth century, British 'race relations' approaches of the 1960s were consumed with the implications of post war migration. This period was characterised by concern with weakening social and political cohesion resulting from poor social 'integration' in the face of growing, visible, bodily and cultural difference. These concerns are currently being recycled in a new, anti-Islamic, context. As entrenched forms of white Britishness grappled with the logistics of peaceful multi-racial co-existence and social scientists studied 'prejudice'; Black power and civil rights were tackling the US political agenda against the backdrop of the Vietnam War. In line with the trends in sociological analysis at that time, the psycho-social dynamics of prejudice and cultural dislocation were overlain by more *systematic* concern. Access and allocation systems in housing, jobs and education were assembled to form a broader picture of the *structural* forces at work in generating racial disadvantage, and an emerging sociology of 'race relations' was assembled by John Rex (1970), Robert Moore (1975) and others. As *structure* occluded *agency*, with its simplistic notions of racial prejudice as individualised flawed character, British *racism* ² was conceptualised as a monstrous apparatus of racialized social distributions in the context of debates about whether *intention* or *outcome* was more significant in defining these forms of racism (Feuchtwang 1982). Similar debates reverberated throughout other national contexts including the US and Canada. The research organised by these frameworks detailed racial access to social resources and provided important empirical evidence of systematic racism as exclusion and differential access. Although no longer fashionable, this evidence of racial disadvantage is still relied on in arguments establishing the contemporary significance and ubiquity of race. At the height of sixties and seventies concern with social structure, Marxists (Miles 1989, Cox 1948) and Weberians (Banton 1983, Banton and Harwood 1975) operated this structural paradigm. They debated whether race was a subordinate form of inequality to class; the connections between Black struggle in Britain and anti-colonial struggles in developing countries (Sivanandan 1976); and whether racism was an autonomous ideology from its referent, race (Miles 1996). *People, lives, feelings, routine social contexts and action* didn't feature in structuralism; but it proffered concrete evidence of racism, a set of targets for social policy reform, and a constituency in black people and their supporters who could be mobilized in political struggles against racism.

Structuralist race theory became unfashionable as intellectual agendas in Britain, the US and elsewhere shifted in the 1980s to centre on the multiple subject positions concealed by the concept 'black'. The fragmentation of blackness was driven by the imperative of recognising different 'experiences' of oppression and led by African American feminists and their supporters in Britain (Carby 1982, Parmar 1982) who, rightly, pointed out that blackness was gendered and gender a significant axis of differentiation. In the conceptual space opened by feminists, it was possible to consider manifestations of experience codified in identities. In Britain, the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies set about articulating racial differences obscured by the starker binaries of blackness and whiteness, oppression and privilege. It redeployed ethnicity in Hall's (1992) path-breaking 'new ethnicities', hitherto material worked by anthropologists, now articulated in convergence with race. Hall (1992) declared the end of the essential black subject, and *lost* Asian (Modood 1988) and other historically-migrant identities were reclaimed, articulated and acknowledged as part of the growing conceptual complexity of race. In Britain these debates prioritised identities expressed in popular culture, in film and music as *forms of aesthetic expression, articulated as discourse*. Thus a preoccupation with 'identities' was established on both sides of the Atlantic. This was later refined in the US by Conyers, (1999), Davis (1999) and others, articulating a plurality of African America voices liberated from the presumption of unitary experience in slavery.

While the fragmentation of this focus on identities is potentially liberatory, it is, ironically, as uninterested in human agency as structuralism. The identities period of race theory is connected with the textual turn; with *representation* and *discourse*, not flesh-in-motion on the scenes of everyday life. Of course, earlier notions of black identities standardized by oppression and anti-racist struggle were an oversimplification. But the politics of identity that replaced it offered neither targets for social reform, nor a constituency mobilised in political struggle against racism. Indeed, racism became a secondary problem to the elaboration of racial identities. Paul Gilroy's (1983) imaginative work developed the intellectual ground established by the CCCS, concerned with 'discourse' rather than raced bodies, lives, social practices and social inequalities. While racism remained an urgent political problem, those who were preoccupied with discourse were able to claim that theorists concerned with race were reinforcing its common sense meaning and the subjugation and exclusion this carried (Gilroy, St Louis 2002:659). Not only had race lost its connection with political struggle against racism; opposing racism simply sustained it. In this context Gilroy declared an end to 'raciology'; the 'mythic morphology of racial difference' (cited St Louis 2002:659).

These theoretical developments were by no means inevitable. In Britain alone there were at least two clear alternatives, one from within the CCCS itself. Solomos and Back's research on Black political activism in the town halls of the British midlands 'develop(ed) a theoretically grounded analysis of the everyday processes through which race and ethnicity have become an integral part of political life' (1995:17). They uncovered connections between political mobilisation and racial formation: 'While Hall and Modood were right to

question simplistic notions of unitary and essential models of identity, it was still important to understand how 'black' could serve as an organising category in contemporary political life' (p212-3). Despite being abandoned in the refinements of the politics of identity, Black remained an important organising theme in national and local British politics. The second, equally unfashionable, alternative to the identities focus, came from a left anti-racist political analysis set out in two edited collections; *Antiracist Strategies* (1990) and *Where You Belong* (1992) both edited by Cambridge and Feuchtwang. The result of a study group that met at City University in London throughout the eighties, these edited collections warned that it was important not to lose sight of the 'generality of racist forces and their effects and of the political implications of efforts to combat them' (Feuchtwang 1990:ix). This notes two elements in the analysis of racism. Firstly, it is important to be precise in identifying racism, rather than assume its existence in some general, less actionable, way. Secondly, it is *vital* to identify appropriate action to eliminate it (Feuchtwang 1990:ix): racism after all was the reason why we need to theorise race. Race in this analysis, maintains its connection with racism; and racism results from various conditions, calculations, practices and political forces - revealing Foucauldian deconstruction in the service of political activism - that produce exclusion and differential access. This approach supported neither unitary notions of blackness nor monolithic notions of racism, but this was overlooked in the retreat from 'blackness' and the anti-racist politics it sustained. Anti-racist struggle became a subordinate concern as more abstract, less material and socially grounded, theoretical concerns took priority over empirical and political ones.

Where are we now? Debates and New Initiatives

Race is over theorised and disconnected from social and political engagement. Writing elaborating *difference* provides complexity and depth, but is over-focussed on identities and lacks political engagement. Yet race politics are urgently needed. Racism continues in lethal attacks, in subtle discrimination, in differential opportunities, in bullying, in the treatment of new migrants and asylum seekers in a spectrum of nation states, and in political initiatives throughout Europe, and other places too, regarding integration. Similarly, new outbreaks of ethnic cleansing underscore the salience of ethnicity in the organisation of the modern world and its conflicts, from Iraq to Sudan. There is growing unease in academies at the disconnection between theoretical debate and political struggles addressing racism (Bulmer and Solomos 2004:8-10, St Louis 2002). There is a gathering disenchantment with the focus on discourse in race scholarship. Underling these concerns is an old argument that questions the usefulness of intellectual resources that cannot be levered into making the world a better, less violent and unjust place. This *is* a morally defensible and socially responsible position, even if intellectual engagement doesn't bring immediate social improvement. Bulmer and Solomos (2004:10) insist on the importance of maintaining race as an object of sociological investigation *and* political action, and this is, I think, the key to developing a more theoretically informed, political, engagement with race. This requires race to be explored for its social substance, using some quite conventional sociological tools. As St Louis (2002:671) points out 'the theorisation of race is

neither the distillation nor transcendence of personal experience....Race is both material and ideal in lived and reflexive senses....'. The gap between hyper-theorised conceptions of race and the social practices that operate around them, can be bridged by forms of social analysis that *engage with the more mundane aspects of the social texture of life in racialized societies*. And there are signs that things are moving in this direction.

There are, for example, signs of a willingness to tackle what Alexander (2002:564) calls the 'rather messier, incommensurable realities' like school exclusions and racial murders and use the resulting insights to generate new theoretical positions. This follows from a re-enchantment with *people* and their *lives* (Mac an Ghail 1999), from renewed interest in *social texture* - space, emotionality and social practice – conventional sociological concepts not usually deployed to theorise race. The excavation of difference has moved beyond identities fractured by religious and cultural markers, class gender and more (Alexander and Alleyne 2002:543, Alexander 2002:552), to focus on how difference plays-out in people lives. Race theorists are thinking about the impact of Islamophobia on social relationships; on the lives of British and American Muslims (Alexander 2005); and on the global organisation of Islam. The 'complex' alchemy of difference is now centring on the complexity of *lives* instead of the complexity *discourse* and *representation*. Gilroy's (1993:223) powerful statements on black subjectivity stressing mutation, hybridity and intermixture, inspire a new generation of race scholars, on both sides of the Atlantic, exploring *lived dimensions* of mixity (Twine 2006, Ali 2005). Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) and Vera and Feagin (2004:75) explore *emotional* dimensions of racialized life, and Montgomery (2004) examines routes through black neighbourhoods in Los Angeles, flesh-in-motion on the scenes of everyday life. This renewed enchantment with lives accompanies a renewed engagement with empirical research and its deployment in theory construction. It also signals a reconnection with classical sociological theory. These are signs that race no longer operates in a theoretical ghetto, but can become a focus in the mainstream of sociological theory.

The strength of this research is its attention to detail and its elaboration of the minutia of social texture which place it in the traditions of micro-sociology. Moving in the opposite direction, joining-up some of these small contexts with the bigger structural reasoning that lies behind it, are other contemporary trends in race theory. Two trends, especially, organising the particular into broader circumstances, a re-engagement with macro-sociology, merit consideration. First, are prompts to revisit articulation of the social inequalities that lean on the alchemy of race, ethnicity and class (Bottero 2005). This re-engagement with race as part of broader social structures and the organization of social inequalities got sidelined in the 1980s. Second, from philosophical traditions, are (American) political theories conceptualizing modern racialized states. These explain how race is part of the 'emergence, development and transformations' of modern states: conceptualising racial states as 'projects and practices, social conditions and institutions, states of being and affairs, roles and principles, statements and imperatives' (Goldberg 2002:5). This offers a clear understanding of social mechanisms through which racialized/ethnicized distinction are produced, and, exposes differential forms of citizenship *within* racial states. These are useful insights right now.

Migration, displacement and differential access to nation states and their allocation systems, has produced a complicated mosaic of race, ethnicity and migration. The old axes of migration and racial alignment are overwritten by new systems, and we struggle to understand their racial grammar. The global inequalities produced by these new systems of migration pose urgent political questions about global dimensions of social justice and rights. These opposing tendencies, in which we deconstruct circumstances and grapple with their detail; as well as join things up and think about broader circumstances, are helpful. The micro/macro is a useful tension to maintain in developing our analysis of race, because it operates simultaneously at different levels of scope and scale.

There are other, recent, trends too that merit attention. First, is the application of race (and ethnicity) to those who used it to position others but not themselves. Scholars developing Critical White Studies argue that whiteness operates as a badge of racial privilege and a site of critical reflection on a racial past inflected with violence and exploitation. The best of this writing (Frankenberg 2004, Back 2004, Gallagher 2003a 2003b) grapples with everyday life and with the connections between whiteness and racism (Back 2000). Their logic is that we are all raced and ethnicized, so the systems of advantage and disadvantage that produce race implicate everyone, expanding the constituency of anti-racist struggle.

Lastly, are theories concerned with global dimensions of race. This is an important but problematic area of race theory. Race often features in the examination of globalization as an 'addition' (Featherstone, Lash and Robertson 1995). Authors want us to take as axiomatic that globalization is raced without explaining how. Or, other times, race is the focus of analysis and globalization is added as a de facto backdrop to racialization (Bowser 1995, William Julius Wilson 1999). Both scenarios conceal the intersections between race and global social processes that need to be exposed. Conceptual schemes foregrounding interconnection (Sassen 1990, 1991, 1996) are often framed in technical and economic (not social) terms, and so obscure the social texture of racialized global relationships. Massey (1999:35) calls these 'iconic economics' because social features are treated as the consequence of formative technical and economic factors. These problems notwithstanding, conceptualising race in the intersections between networked social contexts, foregrounds spatial aspects of race as well as mobility and transcendence. These are productive avenues to explore in new conceptualisation of race. As the US theorist Winant (1994b:274) argues, the global geographies of race have made a new kind of comparative analysis possible: we can explore the global organisation of race and the racing of globalisation. This highlights the significance of social texture, social relationships and social practices; things we need to conceptualize as composing race.

Moving Forward: Where do we go from here?

These recent developments lead towards materialist analyses of race, grounded in the mechanisms composing and connecting social fabrics, and it is these I want to develop a bit further in suggesting new directions in race

theory. Clearly race is not an objective condition of descent, it does not correspond with human gene pools; but neither is it a mythic, ideological or discursive construct. Of course it *is* mythical, ideological and discursive, but it is not *only* these things, and not *primarily* these things. What we need to focus on is the way in which these things become part of social practice and social relationships. To transcend the mantra that race is socially produced we need to say specifically *how*, and we need to do so in materialist terms; terms that concretise discourse, symbol and representation. Winant (2000:183-184) argues that race has a salience in people's lives, in the ways in which people think about themselves and others. We can develop this. Race is part of social relationships and social processes, part of the operation of global and local space and an inextricable part of the ways in which societies are organized. I want to pursue some of these thoughts and offer them as elements in a materialist analysis of race: with the *texture of everyday life in which race is inextricably embedded*. In what follows I want to tease out a tangle of things composing everyday racial texture and so suggest some new directions to pursue; focussed on *doing, on action and social practice*, race-making, rather than talking, discourse and symbolism. These directions include the production of subjectivity, social relationships, and relationships between people and places; conventional sociological concerns pursued – but not in connection with race - in the work of C. Wright Mills, Irving Goffman, Marcel Mauss, Henri Lefebvre and George Herbert Mead. In focussing on the production of race in spatially constituted social relationships, I think we can learn something about *race-making*; the production of race and the social inequalities – racism - its resources, and so restore connections between race and racism; between theory, social relationships and politics.

People, Subjectivities and Comportment

Racialized regimes, regimes where race (and ethnicity) resources social distinctions, are composed through human *being* and *action*: reflexivity, conviction and volition produce and sustain racial distinctions (Knowles 2003). People are thus central actors in racial classification, and the forms of exclusion and (sometimes) untimely death, they support (Levi 2000). In the Third Reich German citizens drove trains and built gas pipes. The US segregation laws in the 1890s were similarly sustained through human initiative. A mixed-race man named Plessy, who counted as black in some states and white in others, was prosecuted for riding in a 'whites only' train carriage, thus violating the segregation laws of the State of Louisiana (Braman 1999:1394). This enforcement of the social boundaries distinguishing blackness and whiteness was made possible by Plessy's fellow passengers who were prepared to report him, the train guard who was prepared to enforce their objections and the personnel of the legal apparatus who were willing to pursue segregation by juridical means. Segregation broke down when these 'great and small complicities' (Levi 2000:49) were no longer viable. My point is that race is produced – activated as a resource in making social distinctions - through people's routine action. We are all involved in producing race for ourselves and others. These are personal matters, which are more than personal: racialized societies are sustained by racialized regimes and not just racialized individuals. The intersection between people and regimes is

something sociologists need to better understand. What part do individuals play in sustaining racialized regimes with their complex tapestry of social differentiation of privilege and disadvantage? In what do individual complicities consist? Herzfeld (1992:56) conceptualises complicity between regimes and its subjects as part of a broader problem. In the 'social production of indifference', in our 'destructive, routinized inaction' we are all, he says, *bricoleurs* working within and upon the system. Race, as sustainable classification, allocation, or subtle social difference, facilitating inequalities of social value and reward, is *made*, produced, in the interactions between people and regimes. In racialized regimes our daily lives are lived through the production of race: our mundane actions contribute to racialization. Focus on extreme racist parties or activists as the source of racism misses this point, revealed by conceptualising race's production through people, regimes and routine interactions.

It is not just action and its consequences that make race. Subjectivity and styles of being-in-the-world compose race too. We can think of these things as *people fabric*. Subjectivity is more fundamental than identity: it concerns the models in which personhood is cast; what it means to be a person, the general frame on which badges of identity are posted. This is partly existential and partly social: part corporeal and part consciousness. Begin with the social. Subjectivity is socially composed in this respect; the dialogical self can only exist among other selves in webs of inter-location (Taylor 1989:35-6 leaning on Mead) in the context of moral frameworks. We can think about personhood as social because it involves sociality, moral frameworks and engagement with the material details of everyday life (de Certeau 1989): things which are already inflected with race in racialized societies. Social dimensions of subjectivity are inextricably intertwined with its existential dimensions; this includes things which are personal and connected with individual feeling and the casting of existence. Race is made here too, in a dialogical relationship with the (raced) social dimensions of subjectivity. Race is socially generated: it becomes personal through the existential/social intersections in the composition of subjectivity. This formulation borrows compositional approaches to subjectivity (Shoemaker 1997:13) in which selves are *made* in practical routine action and forms of knowing, in 'moment by moment' 'back and forth' processes. And, it extends compositional subjectivity to help us conceptualize race-making; the production of race in human fabric(ation). I propose that we consider these processes as the means by which race is made and transmitted as subjectivity.

Race is also made through corporeality and comportment; through bodily movement and intersections with space. In focussing on these components of race making I am neglecting consciousness: there is much to say about this but it is a subject of a bigger literature than corporeality and comportment. Space, which I will turn to later, is animated by lives and performances, by *knowing how to act* (Mason 1996:302-3). Techniques of the body, posture, attitude, movements and habits are *also* performances of ethnicity, race and hybridized cultural practices which lend their (orchestrated) mobile character to the architecture of the streets. I say *also* because they are much more than this. Movement, habit, performance, architecture and specialized commerce produce China Towns and Little Italy's: the layered ethnic geographies of

cities. We will return to these later. How people comport themselves is both enactment and composition of (raced) subjectivity: where we walk and how is significant. I want to suspend the 'where' for later consideration of mobility and focus now on 'how' people walk and act and thus compose the racialized relationships of space. Some historical examples from the US ground this point about race-making.

Smith's (2004:120-121) *Photography on the Colour Line* shows postcards circulated in the 1920s depicting white folk, gathering at lynchings, unselfconsciously lined up, smiling, enjoying a day out. Their comportment composes and consolidates their whiteness, caught in the camera lens, in the act (crime) of racial annihilation. Compare the two forms of corporeality at a lynching; one at leisure, the other death, one smiling; the other ripped apart. This is an extreme example. Less murderous, more routine, forms corporeality and comportment are equally significant, if less dramatic and deserve the attention of race theorists. Du Boise understood this. His America Negro Exhibition, shown at the 1900 Paris Exhibition depicting photographs (taken by African American photographer, Thomas Askew) of African American men sitting at desks, dressed in fine clothes, challenged the visual narratives of poverty and rural landscape in locating African Americans and with it the mutual constitution of race and visual culture in the white normative gaze (Smith 2004:10-11). Du Boise repositions blackness, usurping body poses and material circumstances appropriated by whiteness, to emphasize a common humanity, challenging 19th C versions of racial hierarchy.

Routine corporeality and comportment also intersect with *entitlement* and *territory*. In hyper-white residential parts of US cities and small towns where people of colour form a tiny minority, white folk walk with a sense of (historical) entitlement, an un-challengeable right to be there; and (because of this) people of colour tread more cautiously. Shift the spatial context to downtown Pittsburgh and a different set of circumstances appear: multi-racial proximities invoke a sharing of space without clear racial hierarchies. A sense of entitlement and territory – a right to be there - is more finely balanced. These are not just matters of numeric strength, but perceptions of being in or out of place in the contexts of specific territories and boundaries. In Johannesburg white residents cluster in suburbs behind razor wire and high walls: theirs is a besieged entitlement, eroded by violence, a source of complaint. Black South Africans occupy the centre of a city, reshaped by white and business flight to the suburbs. American and British expats walk the streets of Hong Kong with a sense of difference from Chineseness, but with an unquestioned sense of a right to be there, and anywhere else they choose to settle, as part of a mobile global elite: entitled by their passports and qualifications.

These kinaesthetic versions of race (and ethnicity) making are significant in filling-in and marking neighbourhoods. This is where race is walked, as bodies encounter other bodies on the street, moving through doors, negotiating the pavement, public transit or parking space. Assemblages of bodies and performances jostling each other in the same space is where some of the practical politics of multi-racial co-existence are played out, not in words, but

bodily movements and the assumptions underpinning them. In summary then, I am suggesting that materialist analyses of race as race-making include subjectivity-production, corporeality and performance and the interface between people and regimes. Of course these themes need better elaboration than they have been given in this chapter.

Places, Social Relationships and Routes

Race-making is also about place, social relationships and routes, including global ones. Analytically, *space* is at the centre of these concerns. People and their spatial practices provide a window onto a rich archive of social differentiation, including race and ethnicity. Space is (socially) produced by *who* people are (subjectivities and identities), by *what they do* (social practices and activities) and *how they connect with other people* (social relationships). This framework is developed by Lefebvre (1996), and, although he doesn't do this, can be developed to think about race. I want to suggest that people's spatial practices reveal matrices of social differentiation in which race and ethnicity are entangled with other differences. You are not what you eat, but where you walk (or travel), the circumstances in which you walk and with whom you associate on the way. This position is also informed by Hesse (1999) and Massey's (1999) thoughts on globalization and by Clifford's (1994) work on *Routes* which displaces the analytical centrality of *settlement* with the *dynamics* of movement. Race, it seems to me, is always in production on a moving landscape.

Race sociology acknowledges space; as urban ecology (Park 1965, Farris and Dunham 1965, Burgess 1967); in patterns of residential segregation (Rex and Moore 1967, Smith 1993, Farrar 1997, Smith and Torallo 1993); in ethnic marking of place (Eade 1997, Anderson 1991); as architecturally encoded in territory (Farrar 1997); in drawing battle lines in racial conflicts that periodically erupt in British and American urban centres (Feuchtwang 1992, Kettle and Hodges 1992); and in acts of commemoration and the production of popular imaginary (Cross and Keith 1993). While these studies contain valuable insights that contribute to a materialist analysis of race as race-making, they don't conceptualise space in the way I propose, following Lefebvre (1996), as *constituted in* and expressed through concrete raced *social practices* and *social relationships* in the dynamics of movement (Clifford 1994).

Space acquires social – racial – significance in symbiotic relationship with the people using it. People, means subjectivities, corporeality, comportment and so on, as the reader will be aware by this point in the chapter. It also includes the meaning associated with the social categories through which people are socially positioned and through which they understand themselves. Space is a general, abstract category. It is the meaning, use and character of space that makes *place* (Massey 1994). Massey, guided by Lefebvre (1996), displays the instability of space in its ability to pick up new meanings, activities and people. Space is always being made, and has no essential or predictable relationship to race and ethnicity. This, of course, challenges essentialised notions of racial belonging to territories. Space makes, and is made by, race.

This happens through the meaning attached to its occupants and users, through their activities and lives, and through the meanings attached to it and which make it a place. Space can be investigated, but not assumed. Places can be understood for their *grammar*, the forms of social practice to which they give rise and which are walked and talked by human bodies in routine activity. People's subjectivities, corporeality, comportment and social activities – dealt with earlier – are part of the spatial production of race. So too, is the architecture of the built environment, but in this section I want to draw attention to *social relationships and practices* and *movement*. I will argue that racially calibrated forms of social differentiation can be analysed through pathways and journeys both local and global.

If we think of places as constituted (racially and ethnically) in networks of social relationship and webs of social practice (Massey 1994, Lefebvre 1996), then we can *differentiate places* through its social relationships and practices. Social relationships differ in quality, scope and scale; they range from intimacy to the formal relationships connecting people with organisations and regimes. We could *map people* according to the *nature and quality* of the social relationships they form. Social relationship maps would thus be adapted to log a whole range of social contacts, and hence provide a way of conceptualising social differentiation. For example, social relationships formed through work, forms of consumption, leisure activities and children's schools have a different *character* from social relationships formed through engagement with dispensers of social benefits, free school meals, social services, the police and agencies allocating social housing. Social relationships based on forms of violence, intimidation, raiding and competition have a different quality from those based on other more distant relationships of mutual respect or indifference. Social relationship maps of this sort would, of course, cross-cut simplistic notions of blackness, whiteness and so on; they would reveal subtleties in social circumstances. I suspect they would also reveal racialized concentrations and dispersals; broader patterns of social inequalities in which race and a raft of other social differences intersect. They would reveal which citizens deal with law enforcement agencies and beauty therapists: who serves and who is served. They would expose the contributions of class and social position in race-making. We could discover which citizens in the same neighbourhood live quite different or similar lives. Social relationship maps would reveal fine social distinction between people; and suggest directions for political change to address them. Similarly, we could log the *character of an area's social practices* - the things people do. This, too, would reveal subtle social distinctions and we might expect social relationships and social practices to be closely interconnected. Race is made and displayed in complex social process and the things I have suggested are ways of conceptualising this that connect with politics.

Let's turn to pathways and movement and so disturb notions of place as settled with the idea of places being constituted and threaded together in people's journeys. Lives are not fixed in place, although they compose place, but lived in journeys from one place to another. Space is etched by feet traversing it as pathways. This draws on Clifford's (1994) comments on the rhythms of dwelling and displacement. Small-scale, routine pathways are about jobs, home, shopping, facilities, social networks and social activities.

Neighbourhoods are occupied and passed through, traversed or avoided on the basis of accumulated knowledge and habit. Who goes where and why – to borrow Hesse's (1999) and Massey's (1999) comments on migration – is socially significant. People's local maps reveal their use of an area and we can interrogate the rationale behind it. Where we walk - or drive – and why, contains important information about the operation of the world in which we live and its *racial grammar*, the forms of social practice to which race gives rise. Montgomery's (2004) research on black middle class parents' routes through Los Angeles neighbourhoods, threading together social resources and servicing social relationships on behalf of their children, grounds the kind of mapping I am suggesting with an example. Neighbourhoods may be used for cheaper housing, but avoiding certain parks, schools and children, parents navigate routes through an area, selectively assembling its resources and opportunities in self-production. This both logs and produces race and the forms of social practice and journeys to which race gives rise. This is a step beyond indices of segregation, which are traditionally used to reveal the racing of place, and which fail to include routes and movement; significant aspects of race's dynamism and production that should be included in its theorization.

Bigger journeys, connecting locales within nation-states or traversing nation state boundaries in *global* movement, can also be mapped along the lines just suggested. The advantage of the approach I suggest is precisely its macro/micro application, particularly its amenability to global dimensions of race. Migration routes (and circumstances) provide important information on the racial grammar of globalization - the forms of social practice to which race gives rise on a global scale – and which Massey suggests (1999) reveal globalizations deep social (racial) inequalities. Scholars have long suspected that the racial geography of globalization is partly configured through the routes carved by mercantilism and empire (Winant 1994b: 271, Hesse 1999:127-9). MacGaffey & Bazenguissa-Ganga's (2000:29-46) study of Congolese traders operating between Kinshasa and Brussels and Brazzaville and Paris show how old routes are reactivated by *new forms of global trading and social relationships*. Their research reveals who goes where and why, for these particular routes. Traders trade African goods to migrant communities in Europe and designer, European produced, goods in Central Africa. Race is made in particular ways through these routes, as postcolonial migrants *work* their considerable resources and social relationships around new connections and schemes for making money. Under-development no longer underwrites, if indeed it ever did, the osmotic gradients of migration from less to more developed regions. The racial maps of contemporary globalization are more complex. Sassen's (1990) research on the sources of migration to the US from Korea and similar locations shows that off-shoring and direct investment form important bridges between sending and receiving nations.

Global Migration

Migration is only one place in which to examine race's global resonance. But given that migration is high on the political agenda of most nation states, this is an important issue in its own right. The enlargement of the European Union to include Eastern European states sparked a lively political debate about

European nation's capacities to absorb difference, and about rights and obligations, as asylum seekers are passed between nations and repatriated while Europe plans 'holding centres' in Albania. The U.S. struggles with its Mexican border and the competing priorities of cheap labour and citizenship, while scrutinizing its Northern boarder and approaching aircraft for terrorists. All countries, not just developed ones, are concerned with asylum seekers. Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa cope with Zimbabweans displaced by the collapse of agriculture and hyper-inflation. Those displaced by conflict and political persecution escape over the nearest border. Because migration is such an important issue and because the political debates it prompts draw heavily on race (and ethnicity), I want to explore this a bit further in making an argument about the merits of theorising race as race-production. I also want to show the kinds of research agendas that might be developed around migration, particularly from Hesse (1999) and Massey's (1999) argument that we need to know *who goes where and in what circumstances*: ideas I have developed in my research on British lifestyle ⁵ migrants and South and South East Asian serving class ⁶ migrants in Hong Kong. This is research particularly concerned with the *circumstances* of different migrants and migrations and offers, I think, a useful route into the maze of migration's racial grammar.

Tracking who goes where is complicated because not all countries collect statistics about arrivals, and still fewer count departures. Despite these limitations, mapping this data on a global scale would provide an overall picture of migration flows, identifying where people come from and where they go. We could thus determine whether migration had a distinctive racial grammar on the basis of empirical research. Scaling down a level we could then investigate the conduits that operate trans-nationally connecting people with places of new settlement and disconnecting them from old ones. Are these job opportunities, social relationships, lifestyle changes? Migration theory assumes jobs and rational choice theory account for migration flows, but is this in fact the case? And how do we account for differences in who goes and who stays between people in the same circumstances? Scaling down again, and working within the systems of migration identified through world-wide mapping of movement, biographical research can identify fine differences in migration circumstances and topographies. My research in Hong Kong investigates (biographically) circumstances of departure and arrival for a range of different migrants. Serving class migrants like Filipino maids and bar girls have substantially different circumstances of departure and arrival than British lifestyle migrants. Filipino maids leave so they can feed their children and send them to school. British migrants leave to earn more money or to live a more exciting life, in the sun. Filipino departure is calibrated by necessity. Circumstances of arrival include things like visas as well as friendship and family networks and employment and other opportunities. Filipino visas are tied to working as a maid and living with employers as well as being returned to the Philippines every two years, conditions which make it impossible to establish Hong Kong residence. British migrants can do a range of jobs and accumulate residence-status. Circumstances of arrival, of course, open onto conditions of new settlement and so the comments made above about the routes people carve connecting places in their everyday journeys apply to migrants, and reveal substantial differences between lives, too. White Britishness and Filipino-ness are made

in migration and new settlement: race-making, and the ways in which this is cross-cut by the production of ethnicity in this example, is about social relationships, social (spatially calibrated) social practices, relationships between people and between people and places. White Britishness preserves and develops its accumulated advantages in migration to Hong Kong and to other places too. Migration works to produce race (and ethnicity) on a global scale in unequal terms demanding closer attention and research by race theorists. Race theorists in Britain have been slow to engage with migration since the obvious, seventies, connection between blackness, empire and immigration control was over-written by the complexities of human mobility. Britain's migrants are no longer from its empire and frameworks centred on multiple forms of exclusion, into which the exclusion of immigrants neatly fit, no longer hold. Instead migrants come from all countries and many of them are white. The U.S. relationship to migration is similarly muddy and complicated. Hence we need new ways of theorizing race that allow us to investigate multiple migration systems and micro-circumstances and expose patterns of racialization.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed dominant trajectories of race theory, acknowledging differences, similarities and interconnections on both sides of the Atlantic. I have briefly explored current race writing and theorization offering new initiatives and directions. These challenge dominant trends in race theory, which are over theorised and divorced from empirical research and political engagement, at a time when political action is urgently needed. Building on exciting initiatives provided by contemporary race scholars, I have proposed a materialist conception of race that focuses on race-making. Race production, as I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, results from the routine actions and spatial contexts in which people comport themselves in everyday life. Approaching race in this way has a number of advantages. It highlights the significance of routine action. The routine has escaped analytical attention, as the spotlight focussed on extreme expressions of racism and violence. Overt expressions of racism and racial violence exercised in white extremism, for example, are just one of whiteness' tactics. More sinister is the subtle centring of white existence, supplying the normative gaze and its racialized judgement, released in the production of whiteness itself. The approach I have outlined reveals the mechanisms of race production, and its dialogical operation. The racial production of self and otherness resonate unequally with regimes; this is the problem. White subjectivities are not inherently problematic; they are (unevenly) circumstantially problematic, in dialogue with white dominated, regime sanctioned, versions of racialized otherness, and in dialogue with non-whiteness. African American subjectivities, for example, are also circumstantially problematic. They are problematic in dialogue with white, European American subjectivities and the regimes sustaining them. Difference is dialogical and it furnishes (race) material articulated and activated in the production of social inequalities. This reiterates the (British) 1960s idea, that its not race or racial difference that is problematic, but racial inequalities. I then take this a stage further, by exposing the production of race for providing the material for racial

inequalities. It is the capacity of race to operate in this way, in furnishing the material substance of racial inequalities, that is problematic. I show in this chapter, how race matters, and is made into matter, in space and through people and their activities and social relationships. The approach I suggest, then, has the added advantage of simultaneously foregrounding individual and systemic dimensions of race for analytic/political attention. Moreover, and this is its third advantage, it does so in ways that are open to political action in (small or more extensive) regime changes as well as in individual action. Race, then, becomes something we all contribute to; matters over which we have some control, over which we exercise agency and political decision-making. Fourthly, the materialist approach I suggest incorporates global, as well as micro dimensions of race making. This is vital because race clearly operates on a global, as well as a national and a micro, scale and needs to be so theorized. In an era of heightened mobilities, it is important to (re)connect race theory with migration and with new research agendas concerned with how migration operates, globally, biographically. Finally, the approach I suggest provides realistic and complex accounts of race, shaped through the intersections of multiple forms of social differentiation with which race coheres, based on empirical investigation of the social world. I am arguing that race should be theorised in 'positional' terms so that we end up with a scatter-graph of social circumstances: a fragmentation, not of identities, but social, spatially expressed, positions and circumstances. Of particular interest are the ways in which racially and ethnically conceived identifiers are distributed on these 'maps' of social circumstances. This, too, exposes how race works and makes it an actionable target of social reform. Race matters and is made into matter; it is concrete and part of who we are and what we do in the world. It is embedded in regimes, in social structures and inside people, traded and worked up in the dialogues between people conceived in racial terms, and in the dialogues between subjectivities and regimes. This is how we should theorize race, on the basis of social research, and in ways that support political action aimed at reducing and then eliminating its use as a resource in building social inequalities.

Endnotes

1. The terms race and ethnicity have separate intellectual histories in sociology (race) and anthropology (ethnicity) and political commitments. While they do not mean the same thing – for intelligent discussion of ethnicity see Amit (1996) Verdery (1994) – they often operate in tandem and when I write race I am also writing about ethnicity, hopefully in a way which is less clumsy than always using both terms.
2. Deflecting from race to racism was itself the outcome of a political argument in that this meant it was not race itself that was seen as significant but the system of social inequalities it supported. The meaning of race, as something supporting these inequalities, of course remained an object of intellectual inquiry and theorisation.
3. Theories of globalisation are diverse and the term is used here to indicate networks connecting distant locations and time space compression (Held and McGrew 2004).

4. Place and space are not the same and Doreen Massey (1994) provides an excellent account of their differences. Broadly, space is the more general category from which places are made in more specific terms. In specifying a particular space, a neighbourhood, a building, we get place, a space with a specific set of identities.
5. I am using this term lifestyle migrant loosely to refer to those who weave together bits of what they 'need' or demand in life from different places, and who use this form of *bricolage* to think about belonging as the satisfaction of needs. Lifestyle migrants do not 'need' to move, they seek a change of place in order to upgrade their circumstances: they are economic migrants. Need is a problematic concept. You could say that even refugees do not *need* to move. Many stay put and suffer the consequences. But the concept of *need* has a different valency in their lives, which are organized by more basic forms of survival. All forms of migration ultimately bleed into each other as Clifford (1994) suggests.
6. This term is also being used loosely to refer to those whose migration status and other factors mark and maintain them in serving capacities as waiters, domestic helpers and so on, so that they have a profoundly unequal but symbiotic relationship with those who rely on their services.

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