ROUTLEDGE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS

Routledge Handbook of Critical Studies in Whiteness

Edited by Shona Hunter and Christi van der Westhuizen

"This collection offers, at long last, the foundation of a genuinely transnational as well as transdisciplinary conversation about whiteness. The editors have curated an extraordinary range of work from a new generation of writers who bring creative, intuitive and analytical insights to bear on a subject that has evaded sustained critique for too long. The book will infuriate those who are invested in maintaining the status quo; it will only encourage those who are determined to act together to change it."

Vron Ware, co-author of *Out of Whiteness: Color, Politics and Culture*

"This handbook provides a compelling, multi-level and wide-ranging investigation of the many ways in which white supremacy has ineluctably always been central to the notion of 'race' and racism in its various dehumanising and ever-destructive guises. Drawing on the insights of authors from a wide range of countries, contexts, and disciplines, this insightfully curated collection of chapters makes for captivating reading and adds significantly to extant scholarship on racism. This scholarly tour de force will undoubtedly become an important reference for scholars with an interest in the field whiteness and racism and the ever-changing articulations of racism."

Norman Duncan, Professor of Psychology; Critical Race Scholar; co-editor of *Race, Memory, and the Apartheid Archive: Towards a Transformative Psychosocial Praxis*

"What a wide-ranging and fiery examination of whiteness; its intersections, infusions and leaching logics across time, place and systems of colonial and racial domination. Apartheid, Hindu nationalism, indigenous genocide, oceanic colonialism and Goa, Meghan Markle, post-feminism, philosophical entrapment and Zionism are some of the topics through which authors complicate and decolonise critical whiteness studies. Drawing out theorising into activism, crucially the collection offers strategies towards a more equitable social world. A treasure trove for teachers, students and activists."

Yasmin Gunaratnam, Reader at Goldsmiths College, author of *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power* and *Death and the Migrant: Bodies, Borders and Care*

"It is hard to think of a more necessary critical renewal of whiteness studies than that presented in this detailed, challenging and incredibly insightful book. Authoritative and innovative, the editors and authors have done a great service to the topic and our understanding of it."

Professor Nasar Meer, University of Edinburgh, editor of *Whiteness and Nationalism*

"Our world is in turmoil. We live in the accumulated pain and emboldened geopolitical violence of 500 years of colonial history. This volume does not offer any balm for white wounds. Rather it is an insurgent call for racial justice. Bringing together a breadth of voices from across the Global North and South, the editors ask readers to critically reflect upon the connections and separations of the world through the varied formations of whiteness. This extraordinary volume is a provocation, a challenge, and a conversation, offering new constellations of possibilities to approach the field of critical whiteness studies; to interrogate whiteness within the calculated balances and sacrificial structures of the world; and to consider whiteness in relation, a method of working through the interpersonal. The chapters rumble with a thoughtful intensity that both activists and intellectuals require to carry forth visions of radical change, especially in these times when events in one part of the world cascades in another."

Nalini Mohabir, Concordia University, co-editor of *The Fire that Time: Transnational Black Radicalism and the Sir George Williams Occupation*

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF CRITICAL STUDIES IN WHITENESS

This handbook offers a unique decolonial take on the field of Critical Whiteness Studies by re-historicising and re-spatialising the study of bodies and identities in the world system of coloniality.

Situating the critical study of whiteness as a core intellectual pillar in a broadly based project for racial and social justice, the volume understands whiteness as elaborated in global coloniality through epistemology, ideology and governmentality at the intersections with heteropatriarchy and capitalism. The diverse contributions present Black and other racially diverse scholarship as crucial to the field. The focus of inquiry is expanded beyond Northern Anglophone contexts to challenge centre/margin relations, examining whiteness in the Caribbean, South Africa and the African continent, Asia, the Middle East as well as in the United States and parts of Europe. Providing a transdisciplinary approach and addressing debates about knowledges, black and white subjectivities and newly defensive forms of whiteness, as seen in the rise of the Radical Right, the handbook deepens our understanding of power, place, and culture in coloniality.

This book will be an invaluable resource for researchers, advanced students, and scholars in the fields of Education, History, Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Political Sciences, Philosophy, Critical Race Theory, Feminist and Gender Studies, Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies, Security Studies, Migration Studies, Media Studies, Indigenous Studies, Cultural Studies, Critical Diversity Studies, and African, Latin American, Asian, American, British and European Studies.

Shona Hunter is Reader in the Centre for Race Education and Decoloniality (CRED), Leeds Beckett University, UK. Her publications include *Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance* (2015) and various special editions and articles in *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society, Critical Social Policy, Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North Cultural and Media Studies, Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Journal, Journal of Psychosocial Studies,* and *Policy Futures in Education*. She has held posts at the Universities of Birmingham, Lancaster, Leeds University in the United Kingdom and visiting positions at the Universities of Sydney, Australia; Mannheim, Germany; Cape Town, Rhodes; and Johannesburg, South Africa. Her scholarly interests are framed through an engagement with feminist anti-racist decolonial critique and include all aspects of welfare politics and governance, state practices, identities and the broader material-cultural-affective politics through which 'the' state(s) is enacted nationally and globally as a global colonial formation.

Christi van der Westhuizen is Associate Professor at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD), Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. Her publications include the monographs *White Power & the Rise and Fall of the National Party* (2007) and *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa* (2017), and articles in *African Studies*, *Critical Philosophy of Race* and *Matatu Journal for African Culture and Society*. She has held research fellowships with various universities, and previously worked as an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Pretoria. Her research focuses on identity, difference, ideology, and democracy in postcolonial contexts.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Routledge Handbook of Critical Studies in Whiteness

Edited by Shona Hunter and Christi van der Westhuizen

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2022
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguingn-ublication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-0-367-40379-9 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-13934-0 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-0-429-35576-9 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9780429355769

Typeset in Bembo
by MPS Limited, Dehradun

Contents

List of Figures

Contributors

Amanpreet Ahluwalia is a writer, activist, and artist with 16 years of experience in social justice and community leadership development work. Aman brings her early involvement in theatre to her writing, focusing on the importance of bodily experience, powerful storytelling and emotional reflection work to honour what social change requires of us. Her recent work focuses on growing professional expertise, research, and practice by using lived experience of marginalisation as a force for ethical leadership and progressive social change. Aman is also the founder of *Birthing Ourselves*, a platform for growth and reflection for leaders focused on social justice from an intersectional perspective.

Brittany Aronson is an Associate Professor in Sociocultural Studies in Education at Miami University Ohio, USA. She teaches classes in sociocultural foundations, sociology of education, and multicultural education. In her scholarship, she focuses on preparing educators to work against oppressive systems as well as critical policy analyses of both popular and political discourse. Her research interests include critical teacher preparation, social justice education, critical race theory, critical whiteness studies, and educational policy. Dr. Aronson earned a PhD in Learning Environments and Educational Studies from the University of Tennessee in 2014.

Neema Begum is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Manchester Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE), Britain. Her research is on the voting behaviour, political attitudes and representation of British Black and Asian people. Her PhD was on *British ethnic minority attitudes towards European integration and their voting behaviour in the Brexit referendum*.

Colleen E. Boucher is a Doctoral student at the University of Colorado Denver, USA, in the Critical Studies of Education programme. Research and publications have included the study of whiteness as it manifests in teaching practices, considering the many ways racism infiltrates curriculum and student–teacher interactions.

Shefali Chandra is interested in the sexual, affective, and racial relationship between India and the United States. Currently, Shefali is completing a book on the making of Indo-America as a spatial and cultural formation that is shaped by discourses of caste, race, and sexuality. *Penetrating America* explores the structural collaborations between sexuality, brahmanism, upper-caste power, whiteness, settler-colonial scripts, colour-blindness, racial capitalism, and heteronormativity. She also writes about the caste history of the English language project, and how whiteness nurtures upper-caste expansion. She is an Associate Professor in the Departments of Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies and History at Washington University in St. Louis, USA.

William E. Cross Jr. is a Professor Emeritus of Higher Education and Counselling Philosophy at the University of Denver, USA. His research and courses synthesise Africana Studies and Psychology, stressing the sub-fields of developmental, social and educational psychology. He is the author of *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity* (1991), co-editor of *Meaning-Making, Internalized Racism, and African American Identity* (2016), and co-author of *Dimensions of Blackness: Racial Identity and Political Beliefs* (2018). He received the 2020 Gold Medal Award for Life Achievement in the Application of Psychology from the American Psychological Foundation. His forthcoming book is titled *Black Identity Viewed from a Barber's Chair*.

Katerina Deliovsky is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. Her research and scholarly activities broadly encompass critical whiteness studies with an emphasis on white femininity and anti-racist feminism and methodology. A distinct but related area of scholarly inquiry is the critical sociology of mixed unions. A consistent theme animating her work is the development of an epistemologically deep and multi-dimensional theorisation of race, gender, power, and whiteness. Her current scholarship extends her critical whiteness focus to explore (white) women's sex/'romance' tourism and transnational relationships in, but not limited to, the Caribbean.

Michelle Fine is a Distinguished Professor of Critical Psychology, Women's Studies, Social Welfare, American Studies and Urban Education at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA. She is also Professor Extraordinarius in Psychology at the University of South Africa. As a scholar, expert witness in litigation, teacher and educational activist, her work centres on justice and dignity, privilege and oppression, and how solidarities emerge. She is the author, co-author/editor or co-editor of more than 20 books, including *Just Methods: Expanding the Methodological Imagination* (2017) and *Off White: Essays on Power, Privilege and Resistance* (with L. Weis, L. Powell and A. Burns, 2004).

Phillip W. Gray is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the Liberal Arts Program at Texas A&M University at Qatar. He previously taught at the US Coast Guard Academy as well as at various universities in Hong Kong. Gray's main areas of research include the ideology and organisation of extremism, as well as Comparative Political Theory (CPT). His work has been published in various journals, including *History of Political Thought*; *Terrorism and Political Violence*; *Journal of Political Ideologies*; and *Politics, Religion, and Ideology*. His most recent book is *Vanguardism: Ideology and Organization in Totalitarian Politics* (2019).

Katalin Halász is a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow at Brunel University, Britain. She uses arts-based research methods to explore the lived experience of race and gender. She has staged a number of participatory and multimedia performances in the United Kingdom, Denmark, Germany, Brazil, and Bolivia, and has curated exhibitions in London. More on her artful sociological research can be found here: https://www.katalinhalasz.com/.

Sarah Heinz is a Professor of English and Anglophone Literatures at the University of Vienna, Austria. Her research and teaching focus on intersectional identificatory processes and the material and cultural practices through which these identifications are performed. She focuses on home spaces and practices and their representations in transnational contexts, and has published on representations of whiteness in Irish, Australian, Nigerian, and British literatures. Recent journal articles include 'Unsettling Australia: Disturbing White Settler Homemaking in Peter Carey's *True*

History of the Kelly Gang' (published in *Humanities,* 2020) and 'Revision as Relation: Adapting Parable in Chigozie Obioma's *The Fishermen*' (published in *Adaptation,* 2020).

Tobias Hübinette is an Associate Professor in Intercultural Education and Senior Lecturer in Intercultural Studies and in Swedish at the Department of Language, Literature and Intercultural Studies, Karlstad University, Sweden. He also teaches Comparative Literature and Gender Studies. His research is in the field of Swedish critical race and whiteness studies, which he is also actively trying to establish within Swedish academia. He has also been engaged with critical adoption studies. His books focus on Korean adoption and transnational adoptees, as well as on Swedish whiteness and Swedish racial formations and relations.

Jamie Kherbaoui is a critical community engagement practitioner working at Lesley University, USA, and an interdisciplinary scholar with research interests focused on the white saviour industrial complex. In 2019, she earned her M.Ed. in Community Engagement with a Concentration in Higher Education from Merrimack College, where she completed her Master's thesis qualitative research on how white individuals develop critical consciousness of white saviourism. In 2017, she received her B.A. in Sociology with a Concentration in Social Justice in Urban Education from Drake University.

Mandisi Majavu is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political and International Studies at Rhodes University, South Africa. His scholarship investigates the intricacies of racial formation across space and time, ranging from white racism and racial formation in South Africa to anti-black racism in Australia and New Zealand; from white missionaries and Christianity in 19th century South Africa to race and liberalism; and from gender and race in sports to the black diaspora. He focuses on the way in which these narratives intersect. Dr. Majavu is the author of the book *Uncommodified Blackness* (2017).

Kendra Marston is a Learning Advisor at Massey University, New Zealand. Her research predominantly focuses on gender, race, and class representation in popular media culture. She is the author of *Postfeminist Whiteness: Problematising Melancholic Burden in Contemporary Hollywood Cinema* (2018).

Cheryl E. Matias is a Professor and Director of Secondary Teacher Education at the University of Kentucky, USA. Her research focuses on race and ethnic studies in education, with a theoretical focus on critical race theory, critical whiteness studies, critical pedagogy, and feminism of colour. She uses a feminist of colour approach to deconstruct the emotionality of whiteness in urban teacher education. Her books are: *Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education* (2016) (Honorable Mention by the Society of Professors of Education); *Surviving Becky(s): Pedagogies for Deconstructing Whiteness and Gender* (2019) (nomination for the AESA book award); and *The Handbook of Critical Theoretical Research Methods in Education* (2021).

Bernard Matolino is an Associate Professor in Philosophy at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. His latest book is titled *Afro-Communitarian Democracy* (2019).

Ashley A. Mattheis completed her PhD in the Department of Communication at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA. Her work brings together cultural studies, media studies, and rhetorical criticism, through the lens of feminist theory to explore the material effects of cultural production and consumption online. Her areas of inquiry include the digital

cultures of the 'Momosphere', the Alt-Right, the 'Manosphere', and #Tradwives, to understand how gendered logics promote racial discrimination and (re)produce dominant structures. Her dissertation, *Fierce Mamas: New Maternalism, Social Surveillance, and the Politics of Solidarity*, analyses how white women's strategic use of motherhood discourses works to reproduce structural whiteness.

Aurelien Mondon is a Senior Lecturer in politics at the University of Bath, in Britain. His research focuses predominantly on the impact of racism and populism on liberal democracies and the mainstreaming of far-right politics through elite discourse. His first book, *The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia: A Populist Hegemony?*, was published in 2013 and he co-edited *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech* in 2017. His new book, co-written with Aaron Winter, is *Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream* (2020).

Amrita Pande, author *of Wombs in Labor: Transnational Commercial Surrogacy in India* (2014), is Associate Professor in Sociology at University of Cape Town, South Africa. Her research focuses on the intersection of globalisation and the intimate. Her work has appeared in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Gender and Society* and many other journals. Her recent research explores the 'global fertility flows' of eggs, sperms, embryos and wombs, connecting the world in unexpected ways. She is an educator-performer, touring globally with a performance lecture series, *Made in India: Notes from a Baby Farm,* based on ethnographic work on cross-border gestational surrogacy.

Ilan Pappé is a Professor of History at the University of Exeter, Britain. He is the Director of the European Centre for Palestine Studies and a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies in the university. Prof. Pappé is the author of 20 books and numerous articles. His books include *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006) and *On Palestine* with Noam Chomsky (2015). His two recent books are *Ten Myths About Israel* (2017) and *The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Israeli Occupation* (2017).

Rory Pilossof is a member of the International Studies Group at the University of the Free State, South Africa. His main research areas are land, labour, and belonging in southern Africa. His recent publications include *Labour and Economic Change in Southern Africa, c.1900-2000: Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi* (2021), with Andrew Cohen.

Sherene H. Razack is a Distinguished Professor and the Penny Kanner Endowed Chair in Women's Studies in the Department of Gender Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, USA. Her research and teaching focus on racial violence. She is the founder of the virtual research and teaching network *Racial Violence Hub* (RVHub.com). Her publications illustrate the thematic areas and anti-colonial, anti-racist feminist scholarship she pursues. Her recent books include *Nothing Has to Make Sense: Anti-Muslim Racism, White Supremacy and Law* (Forthcoming in 2022), and *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* (2015).

Arun Saldanha is a Professor in the Department of Geography, Environment, and Society at the University of Minnesota, USA. He is the author of *Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscosity of Race* (2007) and *Space After Deleuze* (2017), and co-edited *Geographies of Race and Food: Fields Bodies Markets* (2013/2014, with Rachel Slocum), *Deleuze and Race* (2013, with J. M. Adams), and *Sexual Difference Between Psychoanalysis and Vitalism* (2013). Arun's research interests

include feminist theory, Marxism, psychoanalytical theory, and the Anthropocene. He is currently working on a hybrid project, *Prince from Minneapolis*, based on a symposium held in 2018.

Mark Schmitt is an Assistant Professor of British Cultural Studies at TU Dortmund University, Germany. His recent publications include *British White Trash: Figurations of Tainted Whiteness in the Novels of Irvine Welsh, Niall Griffiths and John King* (2018) and *The Intersections of Whiteness* (edited with Evangelia Kindinger, 2019).

Lwando Scott is a Next Generation Scholar at the Centre for Humanities Research (CHR), University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Lwando's research focus is on 'queering the postcolony' by engaging and challenging decolonisation, sexuality (queerness), gender, and culture. 'Queering the postcolony' is a continuation of Lwando's work in Queer African Studies. Lwando's Doctoral research was on same-sex marriage in South Africa, titled *'The more you stretch them, the more they grow': Same-sex marriage and the wrestle with heteronormativity*. Lwando was an Innovation in Science Pursuit for Inspired Research Fellow at Ghent University in 2016/17. He was awarded the Yale-Fox Fellowship at Yale University in 2013/14.

Javeria Khadija Shah is a sociologist in Visual and Social Cultures. Her work is interdisciplinary and aligns with visual arts, policy and education, in pursuit of social justice. Her research draws on person-centred methodologies that incorporate visual anthropology and narrative approaches to re-conceptualise societal positioning(s) of the individual. Dr. Shah is an academic at the Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, University of London, and a visiting lecturer at Leeds Beckett University, the University of Arts London, and the University of Winchester. In 2018, she set up the *Social Performance Network,* a research and practice-orientated platform on socialisation and its 'performance' in social world contexts.

Theo Sonnekus is a Research Associate in theDepartment of Visual Arts at Stellenbosch University. He has published widely on the representation of Afrikaner ethnic identity in post-apartheid visual culture and contemporary art, and on the intersection of whiteness and masculinity in queer urban spaces and the South African gay press. His current research centres on the race politics of a collection of monographs of homoerotic male nude photography produced and distributed in apartheid South Africa by the radical publisher *Alternative Books* (1981-1991).

Yasuko Takezawa is a Professor of Anthropology at the Institute for Research in Humanities of Kyoto University, Japan. Since 2001, she has been leading an international collaborative research project on race/ethnicity/migration, consecutively winning one of the largest grants from the Japanese government. She argues that race is not a modern Western construction, but has existed indigenously in the Middle Ages in Japan and Europe. Her English publications include 'Racialization and Discourses of 'Privileges' in the Middle Ages: Jews, 'Gypsies', and Kawaramono', in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2020) and *Race, Civilisation and Japanese Textbooks During the Meiji Period* in *Politika* (2021).

Sitara Thobani is an Assistant Professor at the Residential College in the Arts and Humanities, Michigan State University, USA. Her research focuses on formations of race, gender, sexuality, and religion in South Asian colonial and postcolonial visual cultures and representational practices. Sitara received her DPhil in Social and Cultural Anthropology from Oxford University, St. Antony's College. Her first book, *Indian Classical Dance and the Making of Postcolonial National*

Identities: Dancing on Empire's Stage (2017), demonstrates how this art form and attendant cultural performances serve as a site for the mutual constitution of Indian, diasporic and British national identities. She currently researches Hindu nationalism in transnational contexts.

Samantha Vice is a Distinguished Professor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. She works in ethics, aesthetics, and social philosophy, her latter work concentrating on white identity and racial privilege.

Georgie Wemyss is a Senior Lecturer and Co-Director of the Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging at the University of East London, Britain. She was previously employed as a youth and community worker and in further education in London's East End. Her research and activism draw together anti-racist, feminist and anti-colonial scholarship with a particular focus on colonial seafaring histories, borders and citizenship. She is the author of *The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging* (2016) and co-author of *Bordering* (2019).

Aaron Winter is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of East London, Britain. His research is on the racism and the far right with a focus on identity, mainstreaming and violence. He is co-editor of *Discourses and Practices of Terrorism: Interrogating Terror* (2010), *Historical Perspectives on Organised Crime and Terrorism* (2018) and *Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method and Practice* (2020), and co-author, with Aurelien Mondon, of *Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream* (2020).

Acknowledgements

Bringing together a volume of the scope and scale of an International Handbook means that our recognition and thanks go to many people. To the contributors, first, who all in the context of extreme difficulty and uncertainty produced incisive, timely and well-crafted chapters with good humour, generosity and great commitment to a collective endeavour. It has truly been a pleasure to engage with them. We look forward to more.

Huge thanks go to Michelle Fine and William E. Cross Jr. who provided our Epilogue. Our admiration for Michelle and colleagues who produced *Off White* in its initial (1997) and later (2004) iterations is substantial. The approach we develop to connecting agencies, identities and systems as well as the commitment to asking new questions about materialities was influenced by the collective endeavours of both those volumes. In these, we were also able to see other projects on whiteness with deep political heart and commitment to resisting the dehumanisation it wreaks. In this regard, we are thankful to William E. Cross Jr's acceptance of the invitation to be involved in crafting the epilogue. To have a cultural psychologist and African American scholar so important to shaping the Black collective struggle to resist the white gaze on Blackness through ground-breaking deficit model busting ideas like 'Nigrescence', and then followed by volumes like *Shades of Black* (1991), is truly an honour. This volume should be read with all of these interventions as the precursors. In beautiful, contested conversation so many people globally contributing to the waft and weft of a collective writing against whiteness.

Our deep gratitude goes to South African artist Norman Catherine for his generosity in agreeing to the use of his work on the front cover. Given the aim of this handbook of bringing the Global South squarely into the global interrogation of whiteness, also using South Africa as a lens, it is apt to feature a foremost contemporary artist who is also renowned for his anti-apartheid work. We believe his evocative depiction of troubled and troubling racialised subjects captures the complexity of the intersecting orders of domination this handbook is grappling with. Our thanks also go to Janet Catherine.

At Routledge, thanks go to Emily Briggs, Commissioning Editor in Sociology, whose invitation spurred this project from conceptualisation. Her vision for a volume which was boundary breaking in terms of a mix of globality and multidimensional analysis bringing in the collective and collegiate emphasis on curation is what put our efforts in train. Thanks too, to Lakshita Joshi, Editorial Assistant, for administering, always to time and with efficiency and friendliness.

Thanks also to the two anonymous peer reviewers for their comments on the chapters by South African contributors.

Thanks to Sean Brown for formatting assistance in the last stages to manuscript submission, and to Dr. Olutobi Akingbade, postdoctoral research fellow at the Centre for the Advancement

of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD), Nelson Mandela University, for editorial assistance.

For Shona, teaching in all its iterations is a lifeblood. Heartfelt thanks to my students in critical studies of whiteness over the years and especially on my current Critical Whiteness Studies module on the MA in Race Education and Decoloniality in the Carnegie School of Education at Leeds Beckett University. We dwell in the pain and loss of whiteness and produce joyful human resistance together through this dwelling. I really hope that this volume will honour their interest, tenacity and commitment to rehumanising themselves and the world through anti-racist activisms inside and outside their institutional locations. Thanks always to friends, family and compatriots many of whom are here either in soul or via the pen. I have had much happiness and fun learning from and working with my co-editor, comrade and friend Christi van der Westhuizen. Our criss-crossing experiences and sharing of interconnected respective South (hers) and North (mine) woes and joys challenge my understandings of my world in important ways. I will value that, continuing. I am proud of what we have achieved together.

Christi expresses wholehearted appreciation to Allan Zinn, director at the Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD), Nelson Mandela University, for creating a nurturing environment in which research can flourish, and for the many conversations developing insight into South Africa's postcolonial conundrums. Warm thanks also to Prof André Keet, Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Engagement and Transformation, Nelson Mandela University, for countless incisive intellectual engagements and also opportunities to deepen critical thinking about race and anti-racist transformation. My gratitude also goes to Prof Norman Duncan, Vice-Principal: Academic at the University of Pretoria, for the opportunity to engage in anti-discrimination policy development and praxis in the Higher Education context, and for encouragement at crucial moments. For intellectual inspiration and collegial support along the highways and byways of academia, I thank Irma du Plessis, Andries Bezuidenhout, William Gumede, Karin van Marle, Danie Brand, Zohra Dawood, Allan Boesak, Elna Boesak, Zimitri Erasmus, Beata Mtyingizana, Denise Zinn, Mandisi Majavu, Andries van Aarde, Leslie van Rooi, Sonwabo Stuurman, Michelle Pressend, Matete Madiba, Malehoko Tshoaedi, Nisa Paleker, Derick de Jongh, Claire Kelly and David Moore. Taking the scalpel to whiteness to cut through its life-denying properties with my co-editor Shona Hunter has been a personally enriching and an intellectually expansive process for which I am grateful. It has been particularly inspiring to think together to bare global whiteness and dissect its North-South dynamics, inherent to whiteness' intractableness. Our shared commitment to the antiracist project provided the impetus to complete this project against the odds in the especially difficult time of a global pandemic. And lastly, as always, thank you to Melanie Judge, every step of the way.

Preface

The interrogation of whiteness has long been pursued through the incisive critique of black thinkers such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, Frantz Fanon, James Baldwin, Steve Biko, and others. Decades after this work, intellectual scrutiny of the slippery object of whiteness has burgeoned into Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS), a distinct if loosely constituted area of academic and research inquiry. What was different in this relatively new field, was to name, home in and dissect whiteness as a distinct power formation within the structures of race, racism, and white supremacy that rose with and sustained colonialism, and today forms an essential part of coloniality. The impetus for expanding the focus from the racialised margins to whiteness as the centre of power in racial structures sprung from the recognition that whiteness was ill-defined, operated invisibly frequently and managed to retain traction over four centuries. Hierarchies have been organised with devastating results around whiteness, despite it being a phantasm of the Western mind construed from false attributions of human value on the basis of phenotype.

Toni Morrison's call to 'avert the critical gaze from the racial object to the subject' (1992: 90)[1] has been heeded from the first explorations in Critical Legal Studies (Lopez 1996) and Labour Studies (Allen 1994; Roediger 1991), to Education (Fine *et al.* 2004, 1997; Helms 1992) and Media Studies (Dyer 1997; hooks 1992), to Sociology (Feagin and Vera 1994; 2nd ed. with Batur 2000; Wellman 1993) and Feminist Studies (Frankenberg 1993; Ware 1992; Hall 1992). Since then, there has been a steady stream of special editions of key journals such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2008), *Ethnicities* (2010) and *Social Politics* (2010), and the first special edition on whiteness in the African context (Van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema 2017).[2] Notable titles of books appearing since 2014 include Money and Van Zyl-Hermann (2020); Kindinger and Schmitt (2019), Eddo Lodge (2018), Van der Westhuizen (2017), Lundstrom and Teitelbaum (2017), Wekker (2016), Matias (2016), Weber (2016), Hunter (2015), Alcoff (2015), Willoughby-Herard (2015), and Sullivan (2014). These interdisciplinary contributions coalesce around critical interrogations of privilege; intersectionality; global and national racial regimes; the collusion of white respectability and good intentions in racist reproduction via institutionalised whiteness; white denial and ignorance; and the pervasiveness and codification of whiteness in everyday practices. The impetus behind this rapidly growing body of work is the recognition that whiteness forms the material, ideological, cultural, and affective centre of the unequal power structure of racism, which has proven to be not only remarkably adaptable to changing contexts but also resistant to dismantlement.

This preface outlines the structure of the volume, and also situates our approach as friendly critics in relation to the field that has contentiously come to be known as Critical Whiteness Studies. Disarticulating race implies the destabilisation of culture, embodiments and investments of white people. This is perhaps why so much of Critical Whiteness Studies addresses the issues

of culture, identity and embodiment. Important as such analyses are, focusing on this outside of the machinery that produces whiteness risks merely repeating versions of the same racialising processes. This volume builds on newer, more explicitly integrated critiques that analyse whiteness as part of a broader racial formation, which is material, affective and discursive. Such work includes the South African-based Apartheid Archives project (Hook *et al.* 2013; Hook 2012; Straker 2004) and, from Britain, Sara Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* (2006) and *On Being Included* (2012). After the genesis of the project in the second quarter of 2018, as editors we set out with a critical and expansive approach to 'the field', seeking to extend the parameters of the critical study of whiteness. While not dispensing of the body, culture or identity, we sought to re-historicise and re-spatialise the understanding of bodies and identities as part of a global colonial world system which presently has whiteness at its heart. This is in response to criticisms about the ongoing parochialism of the field, which tends to be dominated by white scholars from the Global North, particularly from the United States and, more recently, from Britain and other Anglophile contexts. Asia, the Americas and the Caribbean, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as parts of Europe, have been underrepresented in the literature.

To upset the epistemological centre/margin relations of coloniality, Global North dominance is here challenged by including differently placed scholarship and a range of black authors. The volume features contributors reflecting on, and/or writing from, under-studied regions and countries: Africa (Matolino), Zimbabwe (Pilossof), South Africa (Vice, Sonnekus, Majavu), and other non-US settler states (Mattheis and Marston), India (Thobani, Chandra, Saldanha, and Pande), Israel (Pappé), Sweden (Hübinette), and Japan (Takezawa). Some make explicit South–South linkages and flows (Pande), or North–South connections (Thobani, Wemyss, Deliovsky, Hübinette and Heinz). While some contributors engage on Southern contexts whilst still located in the North (Chandra, Thobani, and Saldanha), others critique the Global North while located outside of it (Gray), alongside those located within (Razack, Begum, Mondon, Winter, Halász, Schmitt, Kherbaoui, Aronson, Boucher, and Matias). The terms of the debate in the volume extend to a broader set of questions around decolonial and Black politics (Shah, Ahluwalia, Matolino and Majavu); and spheres of human thinking and doing such as the Arts (Halász), Philosophy (Matolino); History (Majavu); Media (Heinz and Marston); and Religion (Razack). Therefore, the collection draws together, in one place, literatures from different national and disciplinary contexts, to create a conversation between established and emerging scholars towards producing an original take on the field's key questions.

As editors moving from transdisciplinary backgrounds, and being differently situated in the Global North and Global South, we believe the pursuit of anti-racism must be simultaneously intellectual and activist. Whiteness works as a knowledge formation imbricated with patriarchy, heteronormativity and capitalist relations. Racial justice remains out of reach if power is not brought in explicitly, with attention to white supremacy and the contributions of white people to its historical and current structures of domination. As we consider in more detail in our own chapter, grasping the nettle of whiteness becomes all the more urgent given the politics of the moment, as racial populisms of all hues rise with renewed impetus in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, both at global and national levels. Therefore, we aim to situate critical studies in whiteness as a core intellectual pillar in a broadly-based project towards racial and social justice, and the end of heteropatriarchy and coloniality.

Section I on 'Onto-epistemologies' troubles and extends the methodological basis for critical studies of whiteness. Arun Saldanha shifts the methodological parameters significantly, situating the onto-epistemic relation and expanding our methodological imaginary. He makes a historically and spatially expansive intervention at the beginnings of our contemporary global

coloniality in Goa at the point mercantile capitalism was being established. But he shifts our sensibilities towards this by bringing us right into contact with the lived practices of the people making 'early whiteness' via a materialist ontology. Key themes of our contemporary global coloniality are there - religion, purity, sexuality - but in reworked form. The centrality of Northern European imperialism is disrupted through a beginning with the Portuguese. Sherene Razack takes us into the area of affect and its power to produce whiteness, and ensures the Islamophobic dimensions of culture, politics, and practice is understood and challenged. Katalin Halász focuses our attention on rethinking the body and affect together through gender and sexuality, and Mark Schmitt extends the notion of culture to better engage the body with attention to class by way of the idea of figuration.

Section II is on 'Conspiracies', and stands in dynamic tension with the first section. 'Onto-epistemologies' provides ways of thinking and doing in and out of race, while the 'Conspiracies' section interrogates those ways of thinking that aid and abet race, in the form of ideologies that reinforce or counteract whiteness. Problematising these conjunctions assist in explaining the longevity of race and racism across time and place. In the first chapter, Sitara Thobani finds unexpected transnational synergies between contemporary nationalist projects of India and the United States. Tracing the US's religio-racial taxonomy in its immigration laws and Supreme Court decisions, she shows how the Indian American diaspora's Hindu nationalist mobilisation enhances the politics of Trumpist whiteness. Ashley A. Mattheis takes up the transnational reactivation of white supremacism in the form of #Trad cultural narratives that mobilise traditional constructions of femininity and masculinity in service of utopic whiteness. This counter-position against feminism bridges liberal democratic and neo-fascist ideologies in contexts varying from Britain to its former colonies. Kendra Marston in her chapter also draws on online cultures to drill further into resurgent British white nationalism, using as lens the figure of Megan Markle as latest (unwanted) addition to the royal family. The #Megxit campaign against Markle is both a counter-reaction against postfeminism and a reassertion of Britishness as necessarily white. Mandisi Majavu then turns the dissection knife onto liberalism and socialism. Using the South African context as exemplar, he argues that these ideologies present themselves as colour-blind while being underpinned by whiteness as a normative value. The section ends with Ilan Pappé's chapter, which addresses a lacuna in scholarship on Zionism. While Post-Zionist and anti-Zionist scholarship probed Zionism as a Eurocentric settler colonial movement, it underestimated the racial and colour dimension in the formation of Israeli nationalist identity.

In Section III on 'Colonialities', we expand the range of colonialities usually considered in critical analysis of whiteness. Part of our concern is to consider the interrelationships and overlaps between Empires and the interdependent dynamics of nation building within this. Yasuko Takezawa's contribution brings a relational analysis to bear on the Japanese self-construction over time, breaking with the racialising dichotomies of coloniality to consider the complex power dynamics of the trilateral relationship between Japan, the West and Asia. Shefali Chandra's contribution moves us onto the symbolic relational constructions of American and Indian empires and the role of whiteness and caste within this. Rory Pilossof considers the shifting constructions of whiteness in Zimbabwe's postcolonising processes. Through this he raises questions around the particularities of colonisation on the African continent and the relationships and differences between African nations. In his chapter, Tobias Hübinette brings in an analysis of coloniality in a Nordic context. He challenges the notion of 'good' Sweden and makes a strong critique of the multiple and related colonialities still at play in Swedish adoption practices facilitating a colonially consumptive dynamic between North and South.

Section IV on 'Intersectionalities' brings the reader to the workings of whiteness at the level of identity: that is, the lived ways in which differences are intersectionally mobilised with or against other social categories to advance or rebut whiteness. In his discussion of contending settler masculinities in South Africa, Theo Sonnekus shows how whiteness and heteronormativity are co-constitutively bolstered through ethno-gender divisions in national identities. Staying with white heterosexuality but shifting the focus to femininities, Katerina Deliovsky casts a critical eye over sex/romance tourism literature. She finds that white heterosexual women reassert colonial tropes and reinforce racial hierarchies in the enactment of their newfound sexual 'autonomy' in Caribbean sex tourism locales. The theme of travelling tropes continues in Lwando Scott's analysis of media representations of 'the global gay' and white homonormativity, showing white gay men's reproduction of dominant power formations through the invisibilisation of black male sexuality. Turning to class, the section ends with a chapter by Neema Begum, Aurelien Mondon, and Aaron Winter on how #Brexit elite discourses seek to re-legitimise whiteness by interpellating the working class as white people 'left behind', detrimentally affecting immigrants and racialised minorities while undermining politics of solidarity across race and class lines.

Section V on 'Governmentalities' prompts a set of expanded questions on the spatial and temporal global orders which govern the intimacies of whiteness via ideas of the home, the body and in the broader public sphere through labour and institutional interactions. Amrita Pande looks at the way reproductive choice constitutes a desire for cosmopolitan and mixed whiteness. Georgie Wemyss develops a geographically and temporally expansive cross-empire analysis of the racialisation of British Indian seafarers. She shows powerfully and poignantly the ways in which these seafarers, the 'lascars' are always, wherever and whenever 'not quite white enough', to use Nayak's (2007) phraseology. Sarah Heinz's contribution explores the global constructions of the ideal home and related home making practices as white. In an interesting and powerful shift in the more usual global analysis of the White Saviour Industrial Complex, Jamie Kherbaoui and Brittany Aronson particularise the internal politics of the United States in a devastating critique of the contemporary and historical production of whiteness in this context. In the final contribution to this section, Javeria Shah returns us to one of the more studied contexts of British governmentality of whiteness, presenting us with a means to developing a multi-layered analysis of the global colonial using a 'whiteness ecology'.

In the sixth and last section, titled 'Provocations', the focus moves to points of friction within theorisations and lived experiences, as discussed in previous sections, to unpack dilemmas and debates that have made the critical study of whiteness especially lively in its short existence. Bernard Matolino opens the section with a confrontation of the discipline of African philosophy. He argues that a contemporary insistence that seeks to assert African philosophy by setting it up against whiteness as a vacuous ideology and epistemology traps African philosophy in circuitous protest thought. Can whiteness be suspended to free African thought? Continuing the exploration of epistemology but from the vantage point of lived experience, Amanpreet Ahluwalia problematises normative Critical Whiteness Studies and challenges scholars in the field to enable conversations that reflect the intricacies of both working and living towards racial justice. The next chapter serves as one answer to Ahluwalia's challenge: Samantha Vice resumes her scholarly inquiry into 'being white'. Vice argues that the subject racialised as white amid social conditions of injustice is presented with a paradox: her ethical confrontation with her white privilege runs up against the need to protect the self and personal projects and commitments. The section then segues to white reaction in the form of the relatively novel positionality of the Alt-Right and their practice of appropriation aimed at subverting recent social justice gains. Phillip W Gray analyses how the Alt-Right redeploy the Black Feminist concept of intersectionality to mobilise whiteness as resistance, bolstered with

patriarchal masculinity and anti-neoliberal localism. The interrogation of new forms of aggressive whiteness continues in the section's concluding chapter. Colleen E. Boucher and Cheryl E. Matias argue that liberal colour-blindness has been superseded by whiteness as a form of 'evolutionary terror'. In reaction to the critical exposure of whiteness as centrepiece of the global architecture of racism, whiteness has emboldened itself to intensify its supremacist attack.

As can be seen from the discussion above, the volume brings materiality, signification, affect, and the body together. The intention is not to construct a new field. Neither does the volume seek to present a single perspective, theoretically, or methodologically. Very quickly into the project, as also for contributors Colleen E. Boucher and Cheryl E. Matias (see Chapter 28) the centrifugal nature of the notion of a 'field' of whiteness studies became too much of a re-racialising pull in terms of the representation of the scholarly endeavours collected in the Handbook and in our understanding as editors. Therefore, we have opted for the title *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Studies in Whiteness* as it better captures the aim of understanding whiteness, rather than any intention to reflect, consider or constitute a field of scholarship. Mindful of Robin Wiegman's (2012) criticism of academic fields as fundamentally conservative, culturally exclusionary mechanisms – at least as they work in the context of the contemporary hyper-neoliberalising academic space – the Handbook is aimed at maintaining and emphasising the transdisciplinary nature of work on whiteness. We hope to start different conversations which cut into the race essentialisms that still haunt the predominantly social constructionist study of whiteness. Doubtless, the volume succeeds with some of the original intentions, but not with others. In emphasising the worldliness of whiteness, the volume may have sacrificed some of the livedness of the fine-grained empirical work that both editors have previously conducted. However, we regard this Handbook as an invitation to others to extend the decolonial analysis borne on whiteness here, especially around further empirical work on people in their bodies.

Notes

1 Kovel's (1970) early work in Psychology should also be noted.

2 Journal articles include contributions written by the editors of this book: 'Reproducing and Resisting Whiteness in Organizations, Policies and Places' (Hunter *et al.* 2010) in *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and* Society, and 'Race, Intersectionality and Affect in Postapartheid Productions of "the Afrikaans White Woman"' in *Critical Philosophy of Race* (Van der Westhuizen 2016). Abbas *et al.* (2013) published 'New Territories in Critical Whiteness Studies' in *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies,* and Samaluk and Pederson (2012) published 'Critical Whiteness Studies Methodologies' in *Graduate Journal for Social Sciences*. In 2019 the *American Behavioural Scientist* featured engagements with whiteness in 'Critical Race Theory and Sociology' (Christian *et al.* 2019) and Nasar Meer (2019) has brought together work on 'Whiteness and Nationalism' in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power.* There has also been a steady range of high impact review articles produced ranging from Alastair Bonnett's 1996 essay in *Theory, Culture and Society* and in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, through Anoop Nayak's (2007) contribution to *Sociology Compass*, to Steve Garner's reflections on shifts and upswellings in the field in *Ethnic and Racial Studies and* Chen's contribution to *Journal of Social Thought,* both in 2017. Others still focus on nation specific fields, like Inna Kerner's (2007) reflection on the German field and Lundstrom and Teitelbaum (2017) on the Nordic region. From a decolonial point of view and one that emphasises the sorts of critical connections with indigenous theorising we see as vital to the field, the contribution of the Australian Association of Critical Whiteness Studies and its many members and Chairs must be recognised. Especially the tireless work of Aileen Moreton-Robinson. We hope we honour that well in our own essay.

References

Abbas, M., Burgin, S., Decker, J. and Hunter, S. 2013. New Territories in Critical Whiteness Studies, *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal* 9(1) https://acrawsa.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/CRAWS-Vol-9-No-1-2013.pdf

Ahmed, S. 2010. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. London: Duke.

Ahmed, S. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. London: Duke.

Alcoff, L. M. 2015. *The Future of Whiteness*. Cambridge: Polity.

Allen, T. W. 1994. *The Invention of the White Race: The Origins of Racial Oppression in Anglo America*. London: Verso.

Bonnett A 1996. 'White Studies' The Problems and Projects of a New Research Agenda. Theory, Culture and Society. 13(2):145-155.

Chen, J. M., 2017 The Contentious Field of Whiteness Studies. *Journal for Social Thought* 2(1):15-27.

Christian, M. Seamster, L. and Ray, V. 2019. New Directions in Critical Race Theory and Sociology: Racism, White Supremacy, and Resistance'. *American Behavioural Scientist*. 63(13): 1731-1740.

Dyer, R. 1997. *White*. London: Routledge.

Eddo-Lodge, R. 2018. *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*. London: Bloomsbury.

Feagin, J. R. and Hernán, V. 1995. *White Racism: The Basics*. London: Routledge.

Fine, M., Weis, L., Powell, L. C. and Wong, L. M., eds. 1997. *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*. London: Routledge.

Fine, M., Weis, L., Powell, L. C. and Burns, A., eds. 2004. 2nd ed. *Off White: Readings on Power, Privilege, and Resistance*. London: Routledge.

Frankenburg, R. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Garner, S. 2017. 'Surfing the third wave of whiteness studies: reflections on Twine and Gallagher', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(9): 1582-1597.

Hall, C. 1992. *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Helms, J. 1992. *A Race is a Nice Thing to Have: A Guide to Being a White Person or Understanding the White Persons in Your Life*. Kansas: Content Communications.

Hook, D. 2012. *A Critical Psychology of the Postcolonial: The Mind of Apartheid*. London: Routledge.

Hook, D., Stevens, G. and Duncan, N. 2013. *Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive. Towards a Psychosocial Praxis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Hooks, B. 1992. Representation of Whiteness in the Black Imagination. In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, ed. B. Hooks, pp. 165–178. Boston MA: South End Press.

Hunter, S. 2015a. *Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance*. London: Routledge.

Hunter, S. 2015b. Being called to 'By the Rivers of Birminam': the relational choreography of white looking. *Critical Arts*, 29 (S1): 43–57.

Hunter, S., Swan E. and Grimes, D. (2010) Reproducing and resisting whiteness in organisations, policies and places, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 17(4): 407-422.

Kerner, I, 2007. 'Rassen', Körper, Identitäten: Kontingente Bezüge. In: Diehl, P, and Koch, G., eds *Inszenierungen der Politik. Der Körper als Medium*. München: Fink. 123-140.

Kindinger, E. and Schmitt, M., eds. 2019. *The Intersections of Whiteness*. London: Routledge.

Kovel, J., 1970. *White Racism: A Psychohistory*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Lopez, I. F. H. 1996. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press.

Lundstrom, C. and Teitelbaum, B. R. 2017. Nordic Whiteness: An Introduction. *Scandinavian Studies*, 89 (2).

Matias, C. E. 2016. *Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.

Meer N. 2019. Whiteness and Nationalism. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*. 26(5)

Money, D. and Van Zyl-Hermann, D. 2020. *Rethinking White Societies in Southern Africa 1930s-1990s*. Oxon: Routledge.

Nayak A. 2007. Critical Whiteness Studies. *Sociology Compass*. 1(2):737-755

Morrison, T. 1992. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.

Roediger, D. A. 1991. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso.

Samaluk, B. and Pederson, L. L. (eds) 2012. Critical Whiteness Studies: Methodologies. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 9(1) http://www.gjss.org/sites/default/files/issues/editorials/Journal-09-01--00-LundPedersen-Samaluk.pdf

Straker, G. 2011. Unsettling whiteness. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 16 (1): 11–26.

Sullivan, S. 2014. *Good White People: The Problem with Middle-Class White Anti-Racism*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

Van der Westhuizen, C. 2016. Race, intersectionality, and affect in postapartheid productions of the "Afrikaans white woman". *Critical Philosophy of Race* 4 (2): 221-238.

Van Zyl-Hermann, D. and Boersema, J. 2017. Introduction: The politics of whiteness in Africa. *Africa*, 87 (4): 651–661.

Ware, V. 1992. *Beyond the Pale, White Women, Racism and History*. London: Verso.

Weber, B. 2016. Whiteness, WiG, and Talking about Race. *Women in German Yearbook*, 32: 189–202.

Wekker, G. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wellman, D. T. 1993. *Portraits of White Racism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiegman, R. 2012. *Object Lessons*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Willoughby-Herard, T. 2015. *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*. Oakland: University of California Press.

1

Viral whiteness: Twenty-first century global colonialities

Shona Hunter and Christi van der Westhuizen

While the Coronavirus pandemic prompted some to stress its levelling effect as it felled even denialist presidents, cumulative mortality figures, and unequal vaccine access laid bare the cold and crude facts of the global order of coloniality. It works as a division of life in which race, class, gender, and geographical location still largely determine who is to live, and who is to die. African-Americans and racialised minorities elsewhere in the Global North suffered the most deaths, while poor communities in the Global South were especially hard hit. In most African states, infection numbers could give no indication of the actual extent of the virus' spread, due to low testing, and tracking capacity. Figures for excess mortality would be the only way to measure the real impact. Vaccine nationalism, bolstered by deadly capitalism, reared its head as states raced to be the first to scoop up millions of doses from pharmaceutical companies. Soon states in the Global North started with the process of vaccinating populations, the only sustainable way to save lives, while the majority of states in the Global South looked on. Global health care inequalities were proffered as a boon in a morbid echo of colonial medical abuses, as French doctors suggested that vaccine trials be conducted in Africa 'where there are no masks, no treatments, no resuscitation' (BBC 2020). Meanwhile, health protocols aimed at containing the virus provoked the drawing of political lines, with White Right supporters shunning the wearing of masks and social distancing, despite these being the only measures that could slow down the virus. The Yellow Peril was reconjured as Sinophobic politicians sought to capitalise on the virus's apparent origin in China. Spikes in racist hate crime followed.

Taking these observations together in the wake of the Coronavirus pandemic, liveability was afforded to some and not others, based on race, class, and gender hierarchies of humanisation and dehumanisation. The global crisis of health was exposed as borne from systemic, multilevel convergences of white supremacy, necro-capitalism and heteropatriarchy. Within this, whiteness on a global scale again designated an ordering of life, which redirected the crisis to its Others to bear the brunt: Those racialised and gendered, the poor, the older, the disabled, the medically sick, and others who are rendered vulnerable and disposable within a broader bio-politics of global colonial debility (Puar 2017).

In this opening essay, we situate the critical study of whiteness at this current global colonial juncture. We offer a decolonial analysis true to the praxis as well as the title by way of first showing how the deconstructionist impulse must translate into an onto-epistemic struggle

DOI: 10.4324/9780429355769-1

which recognises and refuses race as the way of organising and defining the human. This refusal is in concurrence with Mbembe's opposition to the mythologisation of whiteness that *all* racialised subjects can get lured into:

> Whiteness is at its best when it turns into a myth. It is the most corrosive and the most lethal when it makes us believe that it is everywhere; that everything originates from it and it has no outside.
>
> *(Mbembe 2015: 3)*

We proceed by developing a layered argument to show how whiteness works as a formation, a logic, and an assemblage through which global coloniality is enacted relationally in the interconnection between material, symbolic, and affective (Hunter 2015a, 2015b; Hunter et al. 2010). From this point of view, there is no such thing as white people, but there are people racialised as white, humans caught up in the racialising logics of global colonial forms of subjectification and who are constantly called to the many material, cultural and affective lures of whiteness. Whiteness falsely promises self-understanding and certainty in existence. But this self-understanding can only ever be achieved through the perpetuation of violence on the self and the other because of the mastery which is demanded through a commitment to the idea of race.

The Global North has maintained race thinking through the institutionalisation of whiteness as a (neo)liberal ideal to naturalise distinctions of life, creating disposable victims outside of whiteness and powerful oppressors inside. We reference the pandemic context to show how these distinctions work along the long-established colonial lines of innocence and guilt, and the way these lines are sustained in the contemporary moment through neoliberal processes of individualisation. These processes in turn work to frame diversity as a public good and whiteness as its guardian and arbiter. We then consider how this inside/outside whiteness dynamic translates into the study of whiteness itself, as well as into anti-racist politics and the contemporary public debate on whiteness. This binary dynamic is what this volume speaks back to. Critical studies in whiteness need to do better in pushing understanding beyond liberalism's terms because these terms are what create whiteness as a bureaucratic formation of coloniality. Neoliberalism's mix of necro-biopolitics depends on whiteness.

In this chapter, we trace key epistemologies from critical whiteness studies, shorthanded here as the 'invisibility–ignorance–innocence triad'. As the global war against racism gains momentum in the twenty-first century, these (neo)liberal mainstays of whiteness are augmented with explicit white supremacist re-instantiations, with Radical Right populisms rising to defend coloniality. South Africa serves here as an exemplar of global settler coloniality to consider how differentiations within whiteness work globally, connecting the Global South and Global North in complex ways (see also the chapter by Thobani in this volume). Rather than the oft-stated aim to visibilise and 'know' whiteness, we show how whiteness shifts between visibility and invisibility. Its self-proclamation to innocence is always under threat. The hyper-visibilisation of whiteness is key to how contemporary global colonial whiteness works through commodification: Through 'knowing' itself, declaring itself to be problematic and then 'cleaning up' itself to re-achieve innocence. But this relies on the same possessive, narcissistic mastery logic of coloniality, whereby the white subject knows and controls, mind over matter. We trace how hyper-visibilisation fits with the contemporary anti-racist focus on 'white fragility' as a form of white denial. Identifying 'white fragility' is purported to lead out of whiteness. For this to happen, it is suggested that the claim to white fragility be dislodged through deconstructive knowledge of the privilege and power that the white self asserts over the point of view and

experience of the other. The counterargument made here, is that there is no way out of whiteness without deconstructing the binary terms of liberalism's lived dynamic.

This volume, as a whole, is curated to move beyond the deconstruction of colonial mastery internal to critical whiteness studies by bringing to bear a different way of thinking about whiteness as an onto-epistemic phenomenon. The goal is not to 'cleanse' white people and restore innocence to them, but to disestablish whiteness. Adapting Puar's concept of 'queer assemblage' to 'race-resistant assemblage' assists in this work, as it

> … moves away from excavation work, deprivileges a binary opposition … underscores contingency and complicity with dominant formations. This foregrounding of assemblage enables attention to ontology in tandem with epistemology, affect in conjunction with representational economies, within which bodies interpenetrate, swirl together, and transmit affects and effects to each other. (Puar 2007: 205)

The focus shifts therefore to understanding the materialisation of race. How does whiteness come to be as a process of historical violence which is repeated when race is lived in contemporary, supposedly non-violent neoliberal forms? The bodies of race manifest practices of history; the present-day relationships between bodies convey history. Materialised through their connections to other things, ideas and affects, white bodies come to be through intersecting relations of domination and possession. This analysis throws into relief the complicated matter of denial and accountability, which is so contested in critical whiteness studies. Whiteness traumatises and retraumatises. In the present moment, this gains a new form in neoliberal demands to show the trauma. Whiteness now comes to rely on the dualism of white saviour/traumatised victim, because what white subjects can 'save', they can contain and control. Pluralism and incompleteness are the basic threats to whiteness. Therefore, with this non-binary, or binary-resistant, analysis we propose rethinking whiteness in two related senses. First, as a deeply material matter which must be worked through. Second, as a matter of human practices which produce the deathly effects of whiteness.

The politics of (white) crisis

Writing together apart in Britain and South Africa, as editors, due to a global pandemic and lockdowns, with a crisis of health curtailing our differently experienced everyday in both mundane and far-reaching ways, this unpredictable situation makes obvious again the nature of whiteness. Whiteness is a dynamic, shifting, but durable system of domination through, under, against and within which people live, work, and relate (Hunter 2015b; Van der Westhuizen 2007). Whiteness is fundamental to the reproduction of global coloniality, systematised through the intersection of racial capitalism and what is left of liberal humanism after its neoliberalisation. It is a whiteness which feeds off and into the crisis discourse. Capitalism needs crisis. This current one must be read as another one of the many, ongoing 'flashpoints where capitalist crisis becomes racialised and where that racialisation seems to become a fix or an amplification in response' (Bhattacharyya 2018: 9). Grasping the nettle of whiteness becomes all the more urgent given the politics of the moment, as racial populisms of different hues surge at global and also national levels, seeking to augment or even supplant the neoliberal order. Therefore, unpredictable as it may be, this situation has a precedent in the context of the global racial order's reproduction and reinstation of whiteness, with echoes a century ago from the Spanish Flu pandemic followed by the rise of fascism. Interrogating the global racial order as magnified by whiteness is at the heart of the endeavour in this Handbook. This pursuit has an activist

dimension, as part of an overall intellectual project of anti-racism, shared with Critical Race Theory and Black Feminist Theory. It builds on the work of black thinkers, concurring that there can be no racial justice without attention to white supremacy and the contributions of white people to its historical and current structures of domination.

Whilst this situation of a global pandemic was not what we imagined as editors setting out on this project in 2018, it brutally confirms the starting point for this volume which recognises that a 'racial attack on black people sits at the heart of global affairs and the emergence of social science; this attack has used analytics that disavow racial suffering and allegedly provide analytics for understanding its costs' (Willoughby-Herard 2015: 167).[1] Like Willoughby-Herard, we are concerned with processes of knowledge production as constituted by the 'axis of difference' central to the Western imaginary (Grosfoguel 2002): As first asserted by Edward Said (1978), the Western subject is contingent upon defining itself against an other, for example, its Oriental other or its African other (Baderoon 2014: 33). With the neo-conservative notion of the 'axis of evil', George W Bush's USA shifted the colonial global colour line further east with the figure of 'the Muslim terrorist': Abjected and therefore suitable for murder by drone attack, with civilian deaths mere 'collateral'; being under suspicion in any case, except when performing 'good Muslim' as per Western white requirements (Mamdani 2004). Inspired by historically and spatially expansionist approaches from black studies, decolonial, feminist, queer, post-structuralist, and postcolonial scholarship (Gilroy 2000; Hall 1996; Lewis 2017; Mbembe 2000, 2019; Moten and Harney 2013; Weheliye 2014; West 1993), we critically interrogate global whiteness (Willoughby-Herard 2015) produced through intersecting colonialities, transnational linkages, practices, philosophies whereby western subjectivity is produced through a hierarchy of human liveability. The valuation and hence validation of some lives over others, through a hierarchisation of grievability and precarisation (Butler 2004, 2009), is a global enactment of whiteness. This is most starkly demonstrated by the global inequality in the procurement of vaccines against the Coronavirus, with resources obtained as a result of colonialities of power determining who are to live, and who to die. Elaborated through modernity and Western European colonial 'worlding' (Wynter 1994) race is the defining idea through which categories of human value and levels of disposability are measured for the purposes of resource extraction and profit exploitation, and for justifying the subjugation and control of racialised people. As Morning (2011) has powerfully shown in the US context, this raciology continues to be naturalised through the transmission of essentialist notions of race across disciplines and at all levels of education. While, as Goldberg (2009) argues, the idea of race is not naturally violating, we regard the meanings and practices attached to whiteness in the context of coloniality as never innocent. These are always at work in the service of domination, and this domination materialises through their institutionalisation. Thus, whiteness from our point of view is a way into understanding the current global intersecting systems of precarisation, marginalisation, exclusion and abjection. Whiteness gives analytic purchase on this hydra-headed animal of power – on power formations that interlink and reinforce reciprocal dominations, marginalisations and oppressions. Analysing whiteness provides a way to speak back to these formations.

It is the relationship between contemporary racial ordering and the violent institutionalised racism at its heart which is exposed by pandemic conditions, through global interconnections, interdependencies and also marked discontinuities across the power geometries of South–North, East–West. True to form, in the Global North 'crisis tends to be declared and action called for when white middle-class people are affected' (El-Enany 2019: 51). The differential ramifications of the pandemic situation are not unique in their genocidal effects. There is longstanding and increasing evidence as to the contemporary institutionalised expression of

colonially enacted genocide through the unequal ordering and distribution of health, social care and other forms of welfare (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019a, 2019b). This is built into colonisation and contemporary coloniality. Medicine – its development and institutionalisation – has been fundamental to the production and maintenance of colonisation and to the production of whiteness as an aspirational ideal (Anderson 2002; Bashford 2000; Doyal and Pennell, 1994; Hunter 2010; Stoler 2002; Doyal 1994). The destruction of indigenous health care, the creation of cordon sanitaire, quarantines and related internal forced migrations, the extractive movement of medical expertise from the Global South to North – these are some of the most evident examples. Epidemiologically and anthropologically derived evidence for the continuing uneven distribution of health between Global North and South is incontrovertible, with recent World Health Organisation (2020) data recording nearly 10,000 children dying *daily* from preventable causes in the Global South. There is growing mainstream recognition that this situation is an expression of institutionalised violence related to 'pathologies of power' (Farmer 2005). Indeed, the concentration on infectious disease prevention at the expense of public health activity in the Global South can be understood as part of this pathology, reproducing biomedical amelioration rather than addressing the systemic production of ill health.

Whilst the direct death tolls from COVID-19 appear to have bucked the usual uneven North-South patterning with the Global North thus far experiencing the highest death rates, the overall uneven distribution of global death due to the multiple and systemic impacts of COVID-19 looks likely to reflect the predictable pattern of inequality (Makau 2021; Schellekens and Sourrouille 2020). This is hardly surprising in the context of a Global Public Health System working 'as an apparatus of coloniality' whereby 'Public Health manages (as a profession) and maintains (as an academic discipline) global health inequity' (Richardson 2020a: 1). Also, unsurprising are the disproportionate racialised impacts of COVID-19 in the areas hardest hit in the Global North. In the context of the United States 'if they had died of COVID-19 at the same rate as White Americans, about 18,000 Black, 6,000 Latino, 600 Indigenous, and 70 Pacific Islander Americans would still be alive' (APM Research Lab 2020 cited in Richardson et al. 2021). Kherbaoui and Aronson in this volume link this to a 'White Saviour Industrial Complex': They argue, alongside community organisers and activists of colour, that it is 'disaster white supremacy that has built the foundation for the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States to be so much worse than in other countries' (Chapter 22 of this volume). This suggests an additional dimension to the 'pandemicity' identified by Eugene Richardson, whereby the 'linking of humanity through contagion' extends to the contagion of racism's impacts. The structural conditions of racialised minorities living across the Global North mean that these communities have born significantly the disproportionate impact of morbidity and mortality of COVID-19, as well as much of the burden of care. That caring burden itself is the result of extractive coloniality internal to nations, which has increased their risk and exposure. Evidence from across England and Scotland is reflected across Europe as well as the United States (Qureshi et al. 2020): Structural inequalities in housing, employment and income, pre-existing chronic health conditions, greater concentration in health professions and frontline care as well as the provision of other essential services, increased difficulty of social distancing, unequal access to health care, mistrust of state institutions (Laurencin and Walker 2020; Nazroo 2003; Nazroo and Bécares 2020). Then, there are the additional impacts of racism itself on the body and on health: Both in terms of premature violent death and increased incidence of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and broader mental health effects (Nazroo et al. 2020; Richardson 2020b; Wallace et al. 2016). This is a pandemic on a pandemic, racism being the other pandemic (Godlee 2020; Laurencin and Walker 2020).

The neoliberal politics of white innocence

Human relationality – the truth of human interdependence, denied by some yet so continually obvious for others – is what is at stake. In this crisis situation, the material politics of perpetual neoliberal capitalist crisis intersects with the cultural politics of innocence. This politics of innocence is fundamental to the dialectical production of global whiteness and the human material and symbolic hierarchisation on which it depends. The disproportionate impact of the pandemic on black people is enabled by a neoliberal politics of white innocence, which shifts blame onto the hyper-individualised subject. According to Jackie Wang:

> The politics of innocence and the politics of safety and comfort are related in that both strategies reinforce passivity. Comfort and innocence produce each other when people base their demand for comfort on the innocence of their location or subject position. Perhaps it goes without saying there is no innately ethical subject position. … When considering safety, we sometimes fail to ask critical questions about the co-constitutive relationship between safety and violence. We need to consider the extent to which racial violence is the unspoken and necessary underside of security, particularly white security. Safety requires the removal and containment of people deemed to be threats. White civil society has a psychic investment in the erasure and abjection of bodies onto which they project hostile feelings, allowing them peace of mind amidst the state of perpetual violence. *(Wang 2018: 286–287)*

Racialised patterns of imprisonment and other forms of social containment and expulsion, along with the assault on welfare and the urban poor so visible in the current moment, are not regarded as racist state violence because those on the receiving end are understood to be 'guilty', unworthy of support and therefore 'deserving' of their fate. Liberal discourses of fairness, deservedness and merit fuel racism and Islamophobia and justify the disposability of racialised others. The institutionalisation of this politics is elided through the discourse of white innocence.

Those figured through the projection of guilt are understood to be individually failing, responsible for and deserving of their own predicaments. Thus, blameworthiness is one aspect of the construction of racial others needed for systemic racial reproduction. Another aspect is the repetition of the figuration of *certain* racialised bodies and subjects as disproportionately failing and therefore as guilty. Intersections of gender, gender representation, sexuality, able-bodiedness, and politicised religious identity render some subjects more at risk in the white-dominated states of the Global North.[2] Increased vulnerability is interpreted as increased threat. Failure, whether supposedly due to vulnerability or malevolence or a toxic mix of both, is located *in* the individual. Under pandemic conditions, in a new twist on Social Darwinist biopolitics, neoliberalism's failing racialised subject bears the brunt of the historical individualisation of illness as due to inherent weakness or malevolence (Sontag 1978) and the related metaphoric conflation of blackness with contagion (Swanson 1977). In the geopolitics of the twenty-first century, with the United States under pressure because of its dependence on Chinese capital, the supposed origin of SARS-CoV-2 in China is used opportunistically to expand these historical constructions in a xenophobic discourse. Neoliberal blameworthiness meets historical racialisation of disease.

While neoliberalism re-legitimises hyper-visibilisation of racialised subjects with a strategic 'celebratory' discourse of diversity, it invisibilises racism through the individualisation process. This individualising process divorces matters of race from the public domain and politics. Matters of race then become matters of ethics or morals, of personal offence or interpersonal expressions

of race hate, or overt expressions of randomly targeted racism. Where these matters are legislated for, the framing is in terms of the state as the guardian of, and protector against moral aberration. South Africa's much debated Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill currently before parliament could be read as an example of the function of hyper-individualisation to paper over the continuation of a highly extractive racial capitalism in the democratic era.

> When individual acts, driven by hateful 'sentiments' and 'beliefs', are presented as the primary motivators of violence, the social and historical conditions by which particular individuals and groups are rendered more, or less, vulnerable to violence, can be easily eclipsed. It is thus necessary to problematise the socially disconnecting hate crime discourse, in particular how it reduces prejudice to discrete and disconnected identity-based acts …
>
> *(Judge 2018: 111)*

The constitutive violence necessary for the capital accumulation of coloniality and therefore fundamental to the development of nation states is denied through this individualising process. The advent of hyper or 'neo-neoliberalism' only extends this denial through individualisation:

> If neoliberalism concerns the intensification of privatised preference and experience, *neo-neoliberalism* is the hyper-extenuation of the neoliberal, its decoupling from any conscious modesty or humility, from any finitude. … Neo-neoliberalism is the reach for the perfect replica and the perfectionism of the momentary, of making the everywhere and anywhere, any and every moment open to financialised investment, immediate and instantly mediated experience. It commits, where it commits to anything at all, to remaking and replication as the locally Same, as the particular instantiation of the unchanging Universal and therefore recognisable. Its trick it to be anywhere by going nowhere. A culture of pure replicability via a culture of cloning.
>
> *(Goldberg 2009: 363–364)*

This hyper-individualisation has the effect of bolstering the politics of whiteness as an epistemic-ontological process which enacts the forms of 'cultural cloning' (Essed 2005; Puwar 2004) able to contain the contradictions of race within a 'constrained mixture' (Goldberg 2009) of racialising articulations. Thus,

> *[n]eo*liberal whiteness comes to be [biopolitically] through its micromanagement of information, bodies; objects in general, via ever more complicated techniques for rendering the world of difference knowable in order to manage the threat to life (material, social and affective) that it presents. It works by the careful management and containment of difference, *bringing difference into sameness*, gathering allies as it does so. Therefore, an important consequence of the ability to define the world is the ability to bring difference inside to create inclusion. Normative (neo)liberal whiteness is extended through its silent *benevolent* outreach; through the very power to reach out and to offer inclusion to its excluded Others (women, older or queer subjects, for example); and thus through the power to make decisions about which groups come into its purview on the basis of which form of inclusionary/exclusionary bargains. Whiteness becomes civilisational and untouchable in its promotion of the general 'good'. Invitations to come into the human race operate as invitations into neoliberal whiteness.
>
> *(Hunter 2015a: 12)*

In this formulation, neoliberalism has the effect of flipping responsibility for violence and exclusion onto its victimised other, enabling whiteness to own the means by which morality and goodness are defined and responsibility and blame apportioned, located elsewhere with the guilty.

Disturbed whiteness: Invisible/unknowing/innocent no more

Epistemology is central to white supremacy, as it is with the systemic forms of domination of heteropatriarchy and capitalism. The legitimation of some knowledges, experiences and voices at the expense of others serves to validate some subjects while disqualifying others from the status of 'fully human'. Critical whiteness studies' conceptual mainstays of invisibility, ignorance, and innocence, which speak to epistemologies of whiteness, need to be rethought in relation to the unique conditions of this historical moment. Peggy McIntosh's 1989 essay titled 'White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack' was one of the impactful early works that provided impetus to the fledgling field at that time, and framed subsequent thinking. While the idea of the invisibility of whiteness as a structural phenomenon has been productive, it becomes problematic when one brings in history, location, and politics. In short, whiteness has not been invisibilised everywhere, either today or in the past, and in those places where it was previously invisibilised, this is arguably no longer the case. At the intersections with gender, class, and ethnicity, 'degraded' or 'inferior' forms of whiteness have been very much visibilised – in co-constructive opposition to global 'whiteness incognito' or the 'Invisible Empire' – to justify violence, war, colonialism and apartheid, or to render internally othered or tainted whites available for disciplining and domestication into respectability and race purity regimes (Van der Westhuizen 2017; Wemyss 2009; Willoughby-Herard 2010; Wray 2006). Feminist studies of national colonial, and class formations expose particularly the investment in gender, sexual, and class corralling of female bodies as boundary of whiteness (McClintock 1995; Skeggs 1997; Stoler 1989). We regard a reassessment of what could be called 'the invisibility consensus' also as necessary in light of the work of black thinkers such as Fanon and Du Bois on hypervisibilisation and invisibilisation, respectively. When invisibilised, whiteness seems to find its co-constitution in the hypervisibilisation of racial others, especially at the intersections with gender and ethnicity. Concurrently, the invisibilisation of whiteness stands in tension with the social invisibilisation of the understandings and experiences of people racialised as black. Indeed, it is vital to assert the vantage point from which whiteness is deemed to be operating invisibly: The white gaze is 'a racialised way of seeing that proceeds through the carefully cultivated refusal to see and acknowledge certain things and the suppression of other ways of seeing and experiencing the world' (Medina 2018: 248; see also Ahmed 2004). Whiteness involves a mind trick universalising itself as a pre-given norm to the extent that the foundational Western binarism of white/black is obscured. But subjects racialised by the operations of whiteness have no option but to see whiteness, its modes and effects, as in the work of Ralph Ellison (1952), Frantz Fanon (1963, 2006), and Steve Biko (1978). This necessary conspicuousness of whiteness is also true for subjects racialised as 'lesser' whites within intra-white hierarchies. Similar to masculinities, whiteness works in the plural to establish an order of whitenesses, arranged within boundaries that are continuously adapted in accordance with the vagaries of power, as seen historically with the shifting positions of Jewish, Irish, Italian, and Afrikaner whites (Brodkin 2002; Ignatiev 2009 [1995]; Painter 2010; Van der Westhuizen 2021).

Moving to innocence, the denial of violence implied in human disposability – upon which the notion of race rests – enables a politics of white virtue. This politics sustains white passivity in a range of ways, through its association with civility, nobility, goodness, forbearance, and/or feminine immaturity (Hunter 2010; McClintock 1995; Stoler, 2002; Van der Westhuizen

2016). All these articulations are linked to what has long been posited as one of the fundamentals of whiteness: Its wilful ignorance as a not-knowing accompanied by absolution of responsibility for racism and its effects (Dyer 1997; Ware 1992, 2015; Wekker 2016). The politics of white innocence is infused with an 'epistemology of ignorance' (Mills 1997), functioning as part of an active white defence of passivity in the face of implication in systemic racism. These machinations are oiled by (neo)liberal individualism, which obscures the systemic nature of racism by fixing racism onto individual white subjects as agentic racists. Thus, the politics of innocence and guilt fixes a global racialised hierarchy whereby white innocence feeds off black guilt justified through the supposed equation of blackness with violence, sexual permissiveness, criminality, indolence and a range of other (white defined) vices. This politics of innocence produces institutional stasis, a stuck-ness within a racialised human hierarchy, which is in reality actively produced. This stasis is dependent on ignorance about the unspoken marker in racialising practices, which is whiteness.

The mythology of perpetual crisis plays into the active reproduction of racial ignorance. In the Global North, a narrative is created around the extraordinary spectacle of abhorrent individually perpetrated racism whilst hiding the intersecting everyday relational cumulations, which enact a racially hierarchical order defined through whiteness. Visibilising certain racist enactments works to hide this systematic nature, associating them with certain forms of whiteness or certain expressions of white violence whilst maintaining the general definitional power of whiteness. This is part of the particularising power of whiteness identified by Robin Wiegman (1999) in her classic *Boundary2* essay whereby white liberalism obfuscates its violence through the positioning of racism 'out there'. Therefore, it has been important in anti-racist analysis to keep the everyday and the extraordinarily violent life-snuffing analytically connected. This creates a chance at disarticulating the 'fixed and material truth' of the racist white imaginary which is an imaginary in which *all bodies* are folded into the hierarchy of race in their everyday (Yancy 2017). In recent times, with the rise of Trumpism in the United States and Radical Right movements elsewhere, the spectacle of racist enactment has spawned a whiteness that is obvious, but we need to keep in mind the contextual conditions of systemic and institutionalised racism that have been invisibilised by such performance. What is the purpose of the performance and what are its effects?

The recent emergence of an obvious whiteness is here read as a reaction against the anti-racist and anti-colonial activisms of the past 400 years: These political, intellectual and artistic impetuses have forced whiteness into a political clearing. Most recently, this activism has been in the form of global #BlackLivesMatter civil society movements. Whiteness is left with no choice but to declare itself. At this historical juncture, where whiteness and its violences are being made apparent, the claim to innocence paradoxically requires the visibilisation of whiteness. It requires the active construction of whiteness within the racial imaginary – we might say, in the current moment, a *hypervisibilisation*. This hypervisibilisation appears to go against the grain of the earlier-described insights on whiteness, of invisibility, ignorance, and innocence. However, this apparent contradiction between hypervisibilisation in the context of invisibilisation/not-knowing serves as a reminder that whiteness works as a differentiated power geometry, with divergences and convergences across different contexts.

Currently, a political tide is on the rise in nation states in the Global North that seeks to violently reassert the national body politic as white. This is whiteness as an 'evolutionary terror', as Boucher and Matias describe this phenomenon in their chapter in this volume. Intensified by the pandemic, this politics is buoyed by a discourse not unlike tropes of illness (Sontag 1978) in its aim to purify the nation of all foreign objects, whether external or internal others. The past four centuries' rationalisations of race – with religion, biology, nationalism, culture – have all

been mobilised in a cacophonic throng. Racialised others are deemed invaders infecting the white nation biologically and diverting it from its culturally ordained or scientifically verified course of natural superiority and domination. Others internal to whiteness (anti-racists, feminists, and queers) are deemed to be weakening the resplendent white nation from the inside: Biologically if they are women committing 'race suicide' by not keeping their bodies for white men only, and politically if they commit 'white treason' by siding with racial others. The politics of violent expulsion is also a politics of gathering those subjects true to whiteness, hence the rise of fascism with its object of the unity of a pure people, to be achieved by any and all means but especially violence. In Alt-Right versions of this politics, the racist colour-blind subterfuge of liberalism and the diversity-toting selective inclusivity of neoliberalism are overlaid with a politics cribbed from the struggles of the excluded, marginalised, and dehumanised. White people and particularly white men are centred as the new victims, in an opportunism claiming pain and victimhood in an attempt to displace the actually wronged. Intersectionality as the powerful theoretical and political tool that shifted feminist and anti-racist politics into a multi-pronged attack on interlinking dominations has been appropriated (see the chapters by Gray and Mattheis in this volume).

In the diversion from systemic racism to so-called 'identity politics', whiteness must reveal itself and state who its subject is, as constructed against its abjectified other. Peering closely at this whiteness, it is exposed in a form that repels even the suggestion of otherness, in contrast to both liberalism and neoliberalism's incorporation of selected others. This politics of abjection should be named for what it is: White supremacism, which must be brought back front and centre analytically as a vital section of the scaffolding of modern power that also comprises patriarchy, heteronormativity, and capitalism. After invading, dominating and extracting from indigenous peoples, legitimised by racialising, gendering and classing 'them' as inferior, and then opening Northern borders to augment demographically faltering local populations, whiteness in a *volte face* movement has increasingly in recent times sought to withdraw into its own otherless universe. To be exact, whiteness now seeks to withdraw into apartheid. As seen in the Nazi appropriation of colonial concentration camps, or in the contemporary relationship between the United States and Israel, the metropole learns from the colony, or at least, reproduces or emulates modes of expulsion and extermination first practised in colonial settings (see also Pappé in this volume). Apartheid returns as imaginary and practice, in Israel and elsewhere. To start with, apartheid was a colonial reboot of nineteenth-century forms of British colonial segregation. Further inspired by Jim Crow laws in the United States, it was cobbled together in South Africa in the mid-twentieth century at the very moment when the metropoles were withdrawing from their African colonies to shift into indirect colonialism, or coloniality. Here it comes again, global racism as Apartheid 2.0 for the twenty-first century. Reflecting on whiteness as a global power formation that is differentially operationalised according to contextual contingencies, it is useful to pay attention to its apartheid or colonial form to trace its current convolutions and possible futures (see also Money and Van Zyl-Hermann 2020).

Apartheid 2.0

In understanding white people's variable wielding of invisibility, ignorance, and innocence, it is worth pausing at the country of apartheid, South Africa, as an unusual settler state. This volume contains several contributions that attend to South Africa as an exemplar illuminating structural, institutionalised, and identitarian dimensions of whiteness. While we note the caution against exceptionalising South Africa (Alexander 2003), it does serve as a microcosm of longevities in

racial colonialities and also of anti-racist resistances and solidarities. Indeed, South Africa can be read as a harbinger of the many modes of deployment of race and racism, of the ways and means of whiteness and, crucially, of how to challenge racism and whiteness. As coloniality adjusted its grip globally to indirect or neo-colonialism from the mid-twentieth century onwards, South Africa at that very time deepened white domination and racial extraction with its brutal system of apartheid, a modernised and more minutely designed and enforced set of colonial technologies. Almost half a century later, amid the historical upheavals of the end of Communism, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the global hegemonisation of neoliberalism, South Africa again offered the unusual, as its white minority relinquished power in a transition to a constitutional democracy (Hyslop 2000):

> [M]any thought that South Africa's overthrow of institutionalised racism and its attempt to build a truly non-racial, modern and cosmopolitan society was the best gift Africa had ever given to the world. [It held the promise of] generat[ing] an alternative meaning of what our world might be, or to become a major centre in the global south.
>
> *(Mbembe 2006: np)*

Today, it is the only postcolonial African state that retains a sizeable white population. However, it is also unique among former British settler states in that white people form a demographic, political and, increasingly, cultural *minority*.

The varying functionality of invisibility to whiteness becomes apparent in the internal hierarchical differentiation of multiple whitenesses. The power contestations between two settler classes, which included the South African War of 1899–1902, partly explains the perennial re-entrenchment of whiteness through the intersectional wielding of other categories of differences – in this case, ethnicity and class. After the settling of a refreshment trading post at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company in 1652, increasing racialisation by the predominantly Dutch colonists was further exacerbated when the Cape colony shifted into the hands of Britain in 1806. British colonial authorities' violent geographical enforcement of racial segregation and movement control against the indigenous Khoi and Xhosa laid the groundwork for twentieth century colonial segregation and, between 1948 and 1994, apartheid. British imperialism sparked the counter-politics of African and Afrikaner nationalism at the fin-de-siècle before and after the war. Apartheid can be read as a culmination of the Afrikaner nationalist project to achieve an apparently contradictory move, by rising to unmarked whiteness while asserting ethnic particularity. However, when reading Britishness as an ethnicity transparent to itself but seeking to position all other ethnicities (Hall 1997), this emerges as a co-constitutive dynamic: British imperialists positioned Dutch or Boer whiteness as a degraded whiteness from especially the nineteenth century onwards. 'The Afrikaner' was a political counter-invention seeking to amplify European descent and, hence, the claim to whiteness for colonists to counter their sizeable slave ancestry due to significant miscegenation during the years of Dutch control. In a signature act of whiteness, both the moniker 'Afrikaner' and the language Afrikaans were appropriated from those designated to the newly constructed 'coloured' (mixed-race) identity on the basis of skin colour and phenotype. Contriving 'The Afrikaner' during the first half of the twentieth century was specifically to purge from the identity those racialised as 'coloured'. The racial expulsion was also a class project: Shifting from a large class of 'poor whites' to the embourgeoisement of the Afrikaner, in an aspirational relationship with white English-speaking South Africans (WESSAs). Here, gender and sexuality became crucial instruments of control. Installing female subjects to delimit this whiteness by reproducing the white nation or *volk* in body and morals is an essential plank in the scaffolding.

Internal sexual and gender others had to be subsumed or ejected. At first, the idea of apartheid in 1948 was ill-defined but eventually the Afrikaner nationalists sought to remake South Africa into the Afrikaner's own image, by projecting claimed racial and ethnic particularism onto others. While the intra-white ethnic division was reaffirmed at first, racial and ethnic divisions in the 'coloured' and the native/Bantu/black brackets, respectively, were multiplied many times over.

Apartheid's instatement of Afrikaners to whiteness was done, counter-intuitively, through the hyper-visibilisation of whiteness with apartheid geographies and spatialisation. Unmissably noticeable were ubiquitous sign boards directing the movement of bodies racialised as, at first, 'Europeans' and 'Non-Europeans' and, later, 'Whites' and 'Non-Whites', to demarcated sites. Spaces were hence racially reserved down to the microlevel, determining which doors could be entered, which seats sat on. Apartheid spatialisation was derived from Jim Crow laws and shared the mode of hyper-visibilisation, also in the form of white supremacist violence and spectacle. Jim Crow was part of white supremacist strategy against post-slavery Restoration in the United States (1865–1877), while apartheid was similarly (and partially) a reaction against the colonial liberalism of Jan Smuts' United Party government, which in the 1940s was considering some relaxation of segregation to allow for the creation of a category of colonial black insiders.

The spatial differentiations were class differentiations, to render whiteness equivalent to affluence and blackness to poverty, both ostensibly deserved. Apartheid was a biopolitics that intruded into minute bodily intimacies, with laws forbidding inter-racial and gay sex, and a necropolitics determining which bodies were disposable, especially in a racial capitalism dependant on black male bodies to perform deep-level mining. The creation of *Blank Suid-Afrika* was an everywhere representation of whiteness, to use Dyer's term (1997). But, different to Dyer's analysis of whiteness in the North, in this 'everywhere' whiteness, white subjects were not transparent to themselves – they understood themselves as white. Hence South African philosopher Samantha Vice's (2010: 326) contention: 'that one is white rather than black is always present to oneself and others'. The obvious macro and micro racialisations of apartheid created the presentness of whiteness to white and black people that Vice speaks of. In this sense, apartheid's hallowed object of *Blank Suid-Afrika* was aspirational, as is also revealed by the Afrikaans word 'blank', usually translated as 'white'. Similar to the English word 'blank', however, it suggests colourlessness, unmarkedness or transparency, rather than simply white. Afrikaners could not just assume whiteness. With bourgeois whiteness finally mostly achieved by the 1960s, the Afrikaner objective shifted in the 1970s to active rapprochement with WESSAs. As intra-white class interests dovetailed, the Afrikaner nationalist focus moved to ridding 'The Afrikaner' of its particularity and disappearing into globally hegemonic Anglo whiteness (Van der Westhuizen 2021). The transition to democracy and concomitant globalisation of Afrikaner capital in the 1990s, after years of anti-apartheid isolation and sanctions, accelerated this disappearing trick.

In further unpacking the white triad of invisibility–ignorance–innocence as wilful manoeuvres, South Africa shows how highly visibilised production of racial spatialities went hand-in-hand with a knowing that racial inequality had to be enforced, with concomitant violence, as it was not a 'natural' state of affairs (see also Steyn 2001; Willoughby-Herard 2015). To state it simply, the makers of apartheid knew that white people were not naturally superior. J.G. Strijdom, who became the second apartheid prime minister, acknowledged in a letter in 1946 to D.F. Malan, the first apartheid prime minister, that urbanisation and education would allow black people to become 'civilised', which would make racist discrimination impossible and lead to equality. In 1954, the same Strijdom admitted that 'merit alone' was not enough to secure white domination and that racially exclusive franchise for white people was essential, whereafter

the last people of colour who could vote were deprived of the right (Van der Westhuizen 2007: 57). Casting the timeline back to a century before, Boer and British settlers in the Cape Colony recognised the extreme injustice perpetrated against the Khoi and Xhosa peoples, with some admitting that colonial actions amounted to pillage and genocide (Mostert 1992). Whiteness in its settler mode was visibilised and intensely aware of its precariously constituted domination, partly because of its manifest injustice. But these facts have been subject to 'unremembering', Pumla Gqola's (2010: 8) phrase for 'a calculated act of exclusion and erasure'. Past racist violations of black people and people of colour's humanity are suppressed to normalise current white privilege and preclude corrective action – what Mills (2007: 31) calls 'the mystification of the past [that] underwrites a mystification of the present'. What can be called 'white unknowing' is an active turning away so as not to know the injustice on which white privilege is founded (Van der Westhuizen, forthcoming). But Afrikaner whiteness only shifted into the invisibility–ignorance–innocence triad as its subjects' affluence increased. In postapartheid South Africa, the lack of meaningful redistribution of wealth opened the door to 'a white opportunism of denial', which reactivates discourses of dehumanisation (Van der Westhuizen 2016). This mode fits with racial liberalism (Mills 2008), which refuses the past through 'cultivated amnesia, a set of constructed deafnesses and blindnesses' (p. 1391; also see Majavu in this volume) to proclaim innocence and hence invisibility, whether of whiteness or of the lived experiences of black people.

South Africa, as an exemplar of newly visibilised whiteness within global coloniality, shows how whiteness has historically alternated between strategies of hyper-visibilisation and invisibilisation of both white subjects and those positioned as racial others. As co-constituted power formation, the recent visibilisation of whiteness has been forced by newly impactful struggles against racism, in a sweeping confrontation especially in the Global North and in places such as South Africa. The invisibility–ignorance–innocence triad being historically contingent, it has been wielded by and large by what can be broadly called a liberalism-inflected whiteness. It is currently augmented with, if not supplanted by, rising global white supremacism, mirroring the replacement in government of 'softer' colonial liberalism in 1948 by apartheid's hardline racists. With the tearing away of Du Bois's veil through concerted anti-racist struggles, whiteness is confronted with its subsumed black other and knee-jerks into an attacking posture and mode. Racial liberalism's quietening violences are inadequate to the anti-racist groundswell, as can be seen in South Africa and in the Trumpist, neo-Nazi, and fascist reactionary upsurge in the Global North. White defiance has exploded in racist verbal and physical attacks ranging from social and mainstream media outbursts to killing sprees. The reversion is to the open and hostile drawing of a frontier with the assertion of white superiority.

White reaction emanates from whiteness' internally stratified others, another resonance traceable from the South African exemplar. Whiteness preys as much on internal differentiation as on external differentiation for its reproduction, underlining the importance of bringing in ethno-nationalism, class, gender, and sexuality. Differential class positions can provoke intensified efforts at reinforcing whiteness, especially when ethnically inflected. The intra-Afrikaner cross-class pact crumbled in the 1970s and was replaced by a cross-ethnic middleclass and elite pact with WESSAs, leading to the reform and official end of apartheid. This pushed a minority of 'losing whites', who were unable to achieve middleclass status, to reassert apartheid in original form. In the contemporary context of globalised neoliberal capitalism's necropolitical abjection of vast groups of people as disposable, including rendering 'the worker' increasingly superfluous, ethno-nationalism and class are again mobilised to buttress whiteness, as is discussed in the chapters by Thobani, Marston, Pappé and Begum, Mondon and Winter. Gender and sexuality are, similar to the orchestration of apartheid, again essential plains of control. More

pressure is placed on female subjects to remain within the white fold, whether by reactivating biological destiny and the trope of woman/wife-as-mother, as seen in the chapter by Mattheis, or by unleashing negative affect against black women, as in Marston's chapter. Meanwhile, the (neo)liberal text continues running, as postfeminist white femininity and neoliberal 'global gayness' still accord some women sexual 'freedoms' and some queers respectability, as in the chapters by Deliovsky and Scott, respectively.

To conclude this section, whiteness has convulsed into a new permutation due to effective global anti-racist activisms. Alongside (neo)liberal whiteness with its invisibility–ignorance–innocence triad, a reactionary, more explicitly violent whiteness rears its head in the form of a globalised Apartheid 2.0: A self-emboldening that amounts to terror (see Boucher and Matias in this volume), drawing on histories of white racist extermination politics that underpins persistent global coloniality.

Commodifying whiteness: Declaring denying and dematerialising whiteness

In the midst of the Global Pandemic came the global outpouring of grief and rage, the mass of protests and uprisings, thousands of newspaper column inches devoted to the need for anti-racist change and justice over the globe in response to the mass witnessing on social media of the death of George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black American man from Fayetteville North Carolina killed by a white police officer, suffocated in a choke hold for 9 minutes recorded and witnessed globally on social media. In the aftermath of Floyd's killing, the British writer and cultural commentator Otegha Uwagba finally felt moved to write her long planned personal essay on racism, 'Whites: On Race and Other Falsehoods', which despite her best intentions became an essay about white privilege (Uwagba 2020). The main thrust of her analysis of white privilege comes out of her lived experiences as a Black woman of the 'colossal burden' co-existing with white people, and how the outpouring of white emotion as part of the aftermath of this killing worked oppressively as part of the broader declarative mode of liberal and anti-racist whitenesses (Ahmed 2004). This burden is one that extends to the control exerted over her writing of the essay itself.

> [A]lthough I didn't want to write an essay where white people took centre stage … that's exactly what I've done. It became clear to me that to write about navigating racism and not place white people at the centre of that narrative would be to elide the very thing I was trying to write about, because navigating racism really is a matter of navigating white people. Perhaps that conclusion seems obvious, but it took me a little while to get there, and to work through my competing desires about how to approach this essay. On reflection, that push and pull – between what I wanted to do, and what racism necessarily requires of me – seems strangely apt, a facsimile of whiteness itself and the way it compels, overrides, distorts, and ultimately controls.
>
> *(Uwagba 2020: 4–5)*

What is implied by Uwagba, is the difficulty of resisting the serviceability of her work to whiteness and her black body to the anti-racist development of white people. The problem she articulates, demonstrates precisely the constitutive nature of whiteness as a consumptive, possessive *colonial dynamic* (Moreton-Robinson 2015) achieved through racism and its requirements. And which puts white and black people within a certain sort of relation, framed by whiteness. Much writing is resistant to but implicated in the fantasy of race whereby whiteness is operating as the 'master signifier' (Sashedri-Crooks, 2000) to establish the structure of meaning and chain of signification which organises human difference. And as Zimitri Erasmus

(2017) reminds us, none of us can be outside, above, or beyond race. Nevertheless, as she also notes together with Toni Morrison (1997), this does not mean that we should stop figuring out ways to struggle for race-specificity without the race prerogative. Living this tension is what it means to be a 'race critical anti-racist' (Lentin 2020): Neither repressed, nor beguiled by race.

Critical writing and communication about whiteness can never be understood from outside of the global coloniality which inaugurates this position of whiteness as mastery. From the point of view of attempting to write 'out' of the global coloniality of whiteness an important shift is to be made in understanding the epistemic and ontological power of whiteness as co-constitutive. This *co-constitutive* onto-epistemic power of whiteness has been underplayed in much of the earlier studies of whiteness. The focus tended to fall on privileging epistemic power over ontological power. This was done in an attempt to reject the biological and social essentialism so necessary in producing race and its master signifier white supremacy. Much of the work leading the significant recent developments in the empirically oriented critical analysis of whiteness situates itself from within a frame of critical race theorising. This includes the work of Sara Ahmed (2006, 2007, 2012), Yasmin Gunaratnam and Gail Lewis (Gunaratnam and Lewis 2001), Lewis 2000, Cheryl Matias (2016), Jasbir Puar (2007, 2017), Shirley Anne Tate (2014) and Arun Saldanha (2007) – to name a few of those influencing our approach. Given the challenges in communicating the experience of being racialised from outside of the terms set by whiteness, it is no accident that these works are developing a broader range of theoretical and methodological tools than is offered through critical whiteness studies' mainstay social constructionism. They are rooted instead in new understandings of affect and the body. One of the most notable contributions to the empirical corpus of the past 20 years is Nirmal Puwar's (2004) *Space Invaders* in which she elaborates the multiple impacts of racialised/gendered bodies *out of place* in the white somatic institutional norm which produces 'an encounter that causes disruption, necessitates negotiation and invites complicity' (p.1). Similar to Uwagba's intervention above, this varied body of work starts from the point of resisting the definitional power of whiteness. It asserts and reinforces Black agencies in a such a way that the micro-aggressive nature of race and racialising practice cannot be ignored. This is in contrast to the way that this can sometimes be when the starting point for an analysis is whiteness. It is a point demonstrated in different ways in chapters by Ahluwalia and Shah in this volume. The point is that Black bodies refuse and destabilise whiteness by their very presence. They produce an ontological disturbance which refuses the possessive dynamic of coloniality. They have to be engaged with or suppressed. Whilst it is arguably the work by Black people which has had at least as much if not the much bigger present and historical impact on the broader conversations on whiteness in the public sphere, the return is always to whiteness. This is precisely the dynamic so important to Reni Eddo-Lodge's *Why I'm no longer talking to White People about Race* (2017), which is one of the more important British-located texts inaugurating the recent rise in conversation on whiteness globally.

This brings us back to the point raised by Robin Wiegman (1999, 2012) about the problematic of particularity in any field, volume, collection or activity announcing itself through a debt to whiteness studies. This particularisation serves in the end to return itself to whiteness. This dynamic is exacerbated in the case of antiracist whiteness which is never an antithesis to white racial formation but only ever legible through it (Wiegman 2012: 196). The most commonly engaged social constructionist approach to highlighting, excavating and outlining white specificity shows that whiteness is not universal; it is contextual and produced relationally, interpersonally. It is something that white people do as a relational achievement, an enactment of power and across all spheres of life. However, the social constructionist approach does not necessarily show that whiteness, or indeed blackness as its foil, are not natural, nor are

they reducible to white and black bodies. Much of the work in this area, generative as it has been, continues to fail to learn this *methodological* 'object lesson' (Wiegman 2012). It often stops short of an analysis that captures the full import of the fact that 'whiteness is the historical context in which modern Euro American culture is embedded' (Martinot 2010: 29) and therefore the one that *creates* the modernist idea of the self-contained liberal individual to support this. This means that it is whiteness *as an onto-epistemic relation,* a 'somatic norm' as Nirmal Puwar (2004) puts it, rather than an object in itself which belongs only to white people, which makes this inter-personal dialectical relation possible and intelligible in the first instance. This means dismantling the very notion of personhood as individual sovereignty which implies the conscious, knowing, and self-knowing, self-reflexive being which is of course the sort of being that could know and resist its own whiteness should that fancy or earnest goal take it. This is the quandary that much of whiteness studies finds itself in. As it seeks to deconstruct its object whiteness, it appears to destroy the means to resist it. As a social constructionist project the study of whiteness meets the impossibility of disestablishing whiteness without destroying itself. As such a project:

> Whiteness Studies was founded on an inescapable contradiction: its project to particularise whiteness was indebted to the very structure of the universal that particularisation sought to undo. This was the case because particularisation required an emphasis on the body and on reconstituting the linkage between embodiment and identity that universalism has so powerfully disavowed for the white subject. To particularise was to refuse the universal's disembodied effect. And yet the destination of the dominant theoretical trajectories in Whiteness Studies were never toward the white body but away from it in such a way that consciousness emerged as the methodological fix to the white body's universal authority – the very means to forge an antiracist white subject. One *saw* whiteness by *knowing* what whiteness had come to mean.
>
> *(Wiegman 2012: 160)*

Knowing the meaning of whiteness was, however, without knowing *how* it had come to be 'inside' the body.

This shift away from the body to sovereign consciousness reinstates the key problematic of race. This is because it continues to work from the basic position of privileging epistemology over ontology that supports the idea of race in its modern invention, where white people are subjects, black people are objects and indigenous peoples are absent. If we expand the imaginary of an analysis of whiteness to explore its globality as we must, learning from indigenous studies, we are able to better understand the importance of the fundamental rupture *of being* necessary to sustaining white supremacy *in general*; and then the importance of ignoring this globality of coloniality to sustaining this rupture in being. Summarising from Aileen Moreton-Robinson's devastating critique of the socio-discursive operation of patriarchal white sovereignty to settler coloniality (Moreton-Robinson 2015: 49–50; see also Majavu in this volume): 'Taking possession of Indigenous people's lands was a quintessential act of colonisation and was tied to the transition from Enlightenment to modernity, which precipitated the emergence of a new [white property owning] subject into history within Europe'. This is the process through which possessiveness became embedded in everyday discourse as 'a firm belief that the best in life was the expansion of self through property and property began and ended with possession of one's body' and the means by which it became fundamental to whiteness 'to be able to assert "this is mine" requires a subject to internalise the idea that one has property rights that are part of normative behaviour rules of interaction and social engagement'.

It is this dynamic of ownership established through violent dispossession which puts the subject and object in *violent* relation, whereby the black subject exists as a foil for whiteness. Furthermore, because *dispossession* cannot provide the requisite recognition of ownership required for the legitimation of white subjectivity, it also establishes the basic onto-pathology of whiteness. This is because, following Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos (2004: 41–42), 'modern Western subjectivity requires unmediated possession to ground itself securely, this sort of violence constitutes a fundamental disturbance of its ontological structure. Outwardly directed violence thus corresponds to an inwardly directed self-violation'. This is the lived mechanism through which global colonial whiteness is enacted materially, symbolically and affectively through the repressed violence of the possessive. This is a dynamic which is dependent on the idea of a whole subject which, once established, must be worked on to be maintained. This dynamic is at the root of the *violent* split in the relationality of being produced through colonisation, maintained through coloniality and increasingly through the public debate on the idea of institutional racism. It belies the fundamental split which is so significant in the reproduction of whiteness as a lived relation whereby the 'desire for whiteness' (Sashedri-Crooks 2000) operates as a protection against the fundamental anxiety related to the relationality of being. This is because exposing whiteness means challenging *white identification,* which in turn exposes the fundamental lack of wholeness in whiteness, due to the incomplete nature of human identity itself. Whiteness depends on the fantasy of wholeness, authority, and control of others as a way of controlling and understanding the self. Identification with whiteness is a way of guarding against the fundamental anxiety of being, of human vulnerability, of failure. Thus, the dismantling of race implies a fundamentally different way of thinking about identity and power which are fundamentally relational and *outside* of liberal narratives of the sovereign individual. This is a significant part of the explanation as to why whiteness maintains its power, because *all* of those subjects bound up in its chain of signification, whether 'white, black, yellow or brown' (Sashedri-Crooks 2000: 4–5; see also Thobani's chapter in this volume) have the promise of access to absolute wholeness. Disinvesting in the ideal of whiteness is a disinvestment in the possibility of the whole subject for everyone within the chain, not only for those racialised as white.

The (neo)liberal rise of white fragility

From within the context of understanding the fundamentally repressive dynamic of coloniality at play in the enactment of whiteness, the rise of the notion of 'white fragility' popularised by the diversity consultant turned academic Robin DiAngelo (2018) makes sense as a 'better way' of thinking about white privilege. 'Better' in the sense that it appears to have the possibility of conceiving of the dynamic and relational nature of whiteness and the role of the possessiveness within this. The concept can certainly be powerful as a conceptual tool in highlighting and confronting a lack of white accountability for present and past racial injustices. It highlights the role of affect in these forms of social defence against the recognition of whiteness as a form of innocence. It is a powerful tool for rendering this in the context of interpersonal relationships and in the context of institutional life. The focus on 'white progressives' appears to respond to the contemporary manifestations of racism being experienced by people racialised as other to white (Ahmed 2012; Lewis 2000; Puwar 2004) in the context of their arrival into positions of leadership within the corridors of power. The concept speaks to 'everyday racism' (Essed 1991) concerns over repressive tolerance, blocked agency and progression within an ostensibly inclusive and supposedly benign liberal institutional context. White fragility is therefore a concept

that appears to speak to the new antiracist terrain on which to fight racism and to be aware of and engaged with the agency of Black people in this, and in leading antiracist resistance.

However, developed in the US context, its direct transportability to different social realities is questionable, tied as it continues to be to the 'ground zero' history of America in the context of colonial expansion via slavery, as well as the difficulties produced through its thin concept of the (white) subject. Similar to earlier forms of racism awareness training (Katz 1978) it can work to re-essentialise identities, entrapping subjects into racial circuits of being, thinking and doing. A significant part of the problem is the reductive focus on 'how one aspect of white sensibility continues to hold racism in place: White fragility' (DiAngelo 2018: 2). Therefore, one of the reasons it is so popular is that it gets at the violence of the everyday experience of being racialised as other to white in liberal institutional spaces, and it gets that this experience relates to a denial of world view and to the related denial of the experience of racism as a fundamental part of that; and that this works even and *especially* where substantial inclusion appears to have been achieved. But the problems arising are similar to the training and work undertaken with reference to Peggy Macintosh's much earlier influential work on privilege. It has little of the necessary historical, philosophical or even psychological scaffolding necessary to understanding the psychic dynamic of ownership as socio-discursive phenomenon identified by Moreton-Robinson in her work. Furthermore, its rendering of white emotion as fragility also lends itself to the creation of a hierarchy of emotion, in which affect is rendered invalid if expressed by subjects racialised as white. White and Black subjects are understood to be in different affective universes. White subjects operate through 'emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and behaviours such as argumentation, silence, and withdrawal from the stress inducing situation' (DiAngelo 2018: 2). Affect is, alongside other modes, powerfully formative of subjectivity. The idea of 'white fragility' operating as a shorthand for whiteness raises the question whether white subjects may still 'be' at all, if all forms of affective enunciation are necessarily void when emanating from a white subject. The root of the problem is the subject-object binary that remains in play, if in a reversed manner.

Part of the criticism here is directed at what can be called a 'whiteness industry', akin to the 'diversity industry' (Ahmed and Swan 2006; Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Swan 2010), which papers over complexities of subjectification as a socio-discursive historical process. This is a decomplexifying process which coincides with and is abetted by the postmodern narcissism of online life (Michel 2020). It facilitates 'handwringing whiteness', 'best whiteness' and 'essential whiteness', which all work to re-centre whiteness despite stated aims to do the opposite. 'Handwringing whiteness' refers to overly self-conscious, frequently autobiographical writing and other performances of 'awakenings' to whiteness. 'Best whiteness' refers to those white subjects who, through decontextualising hyper-individualisation and enactments of self-immolation, signal race traitorship for admission into opportunistic politics of advancement of select black others, a process that leaves systemically unequal power relations otherwise intact. 'Essential whiteness' is where the politics of subjects is read off skin pigmentation and phenotype, with racialisation as white rendered a political and even ontological dead-end that obviates any possibility for ethical existence or inter-racial solidarities that pursue anti-racism. All of these show the extent of the destabilisation of whiteness, but also serve as strategies of co-option into, and re-entrenchment of, race thinking.

The concept of white fragility and others popularised in diversity training contexts, such as 'micro-aggressions' and 'unconscious bias', dilute the power and complexity such phrases may have had when they were first conceived (Ahmed and Swan 2006; Hunter 2015a; Swan 2010; Tate and Page 2018). This sort of superficial activity can impede moves to a more complicated struggle to become, such as the struggle that Erasmus (2017) identifies in her work in *Race*

Otherwise. Such a superficiality reinforces the process of speaking *about* whiteness rather than speaking *through* it (Hunter 2009, 2015a, 2015b). Speaking *about* whiteness manifests when people racialised as white are speaking in the declarative mode identified by Ahmed (2004), recognising their categorical positioning as a white person as though white privilege and the advantages accrued can be identified, objectified and understood in order to be disposed of (see also Shih 2014). Speaking *through* whiteness is the much more contested and messy activity where people racialised as white speak *through* relationships with others, from the context of those relationships, from within their bodies and intimacies together, through the living of their embodied histories (Hunter 2015b). A flattening of history is at play in concepts like white fragility which requires a related flattening out of affect and the expulsion of the body. There is little ability to see the complex intersections of whiteness: Not as a way to see the internal diversity with a view to establishing equivalences between experiences of oppression, but as a way of considering the connections and interplay which produce whiteness as supremacy (Bilge 2014; Levine-Rasky 2011; see also the Intersectionalities section contributions in this volume as well as the chapters by Ahluwalia, Gray, and Marston). There are, therefore, a number of problems with the way this translation of knowledge around white defence is occurring and the ways it is being translated into anti-racist practice.

Conclusion: Rehumaning out of whiteness

What would it look like if subjects racialised as white were to be able to begin to speak, act, write, edit *through* whiteness rather than about it? Where 'speaking through' is not an endorsement, but an acceptance of the lived experience of the struggle to become more fully humanly connected to the world, and a rejection of the anti-relational divided self of global colonial whiteness. Writing well before the killing of George Floyd, George Yancy (2017) reflects on the process of 'white gazing' as 'a deeply historical accretion that normalises the making of Black bodies through a relationship to white power' (2017: 243; see also Fanon 2006). He is interested in the role of the gaze to produce the Black body as 'aesthetically deformed, morally disabled … excessive, monstrous, disgusting, … *distasteful*' (2017: 243). Yancy is interested in the transmogrification of Black bodies achieved through whiteness not because of what it tells about blackness, but for what this tells us about the ways in which white people are understandable from *within* a relational ontology. As Fanon wrote, and as Mbembe (2017: 44) elaborates, 'Blackness did not exist any more than Whiteness did', meaning that both categories refer to an absence, to a lack. In writing of Eric Garner's cries for breath during his killing, Yancy says:

> It is a call for help, crying out to others, a call that says 'Please hear me'. It implicates the white other. 'I can't breathe' challenges white perceptual practices, ones that have become sutured, held intact, seemingly impregnable. … the white police officers at the scene have seemingly closed off the possibility of self-interrogation. Garner's cries for help were absorbed into an 'established white ontology'. To have heard his cries should have solicited (etymologically, to disturb) an urgent response from the police. [… But … instead] Bearing upon their white bodies is effective white history, white systemic interpellative forces, white implicit alliances, white discursive regimes, white iterative processes of habituation, and white power and privilege. Baldwin argues that 'it is with great pain and terror' that one begins to realise that history has shaped, in this case, those white police officers, and those self-appointed white protectors of all things white and pure. It is with great pain and terror that they will come to see that they have inherited and continue to perpetuate their *white* frames of reference. Yet those … white bodies avoided pain and terror. I would argue

> that they remained sutured; sewn up and sealed, unable or unwilling to understand their relationship to white effective history; to understand the ways in which they have already been dispossessed by history, which already presupposes sociality and therefore vulnerability. More accurately, they fled from (covered over) their vulnerability; they refused to come to terms with the unsutured selves that they are: corporeal selves that are already exposed and beyond mastery.
>
> *(Yancy 2017: 253–254)*

What is at stake here is what is at the root of the terror identified by Yancy and the difference between that terror and the fragility identified by DiAngelo. DiAngelo suggests that the loss of power is what is feared by white people, but without understanding the relationship of this loss of power to vulnerability. Yancy, on the other hand, is crystal clear about this link and the fact that the terror and pain provoked at the risk of losing power as a form of domination is about the exposure to the self as vulnerable, as fundamentally unfinished, as only ever in relation, as 'always already beyond ourselves, dispossessed by forces of interpellation, where the idea of automatic self and self-mastery is deeply problematic' (Yancy 2017: 256). The key to re-humaning through whiteness is coming to realise that the white subject was never the site of mastery in the first place. By attempting to practise livedness outside of this aspiration to mastery, a different orientation to the white body may be possible (Hunter, forthcoming 2021). This 'unsuturing' is not about returning whiteness and white subjects to comfort or innocence. Instead, the contrary: This 'unsuturing' relates to remaining open to threat and pain that potentially produces change. Because the recognition of subjective vulnerability implies the resistance to the idea of human self-determination. It places whiteness and whitened subjects in their fullest responsibility with themselves *and* others. This relationality also disrupts the idea of change as coming from within the white body. Social change is not in the gift of 'the white master' but achieved through a relationality where subjectivity is enacted by (at the very least) both in relation. It is this relationality which means that it is possible to resist whiteness. This does not mean that all white people are only ever defined through their implication in racism, but it does mean understanding that they have to work very hard not to be. This is why decolonising the mind is so important, where the meaning of this is not decolonising as a deep cleaning in another manoeuvre to control the body, but an understanding of the way of opening the mind (back) out to the body as the 'fractured locus' (Lugones 2010) for action. The starting point of such a move is coalitional because 'the fractured locus is in common, the histories of resistance at the colonial difference are where we need to dwell, learning about each other' (Lugones 2010: 753; see also Hook et al. 2013).

From this perspective it is no accident, nor any surprise that George Floyd's killing becomes a locus for the expression of white anger, anxiety and desire for solidarity or allyship with Black people. Importantly, this is *in the context of a global pandemic* that is daily exposing both the necropolitical nature of global colonial whiteness, as well as its hubris and complete failures to mastery. Police violence and individual death is conceivable from within a frame of coloniality because, as we argued earlier, a) crime can be understood as a site of violence, it is already the abject and b) the act of the killing itself is *ultra vires*, it is outside of the rules of liberal policing. This act is conceivable and therefore challengeable from within the liberal frame because there is blame to be apportioned, easily locatable within the perpetrating individual or individuals. These are the 'bad apples', bringing violence into 'our space', the root of 'our failure'. To understand this as aberrant is not difficult from within a liberal frame. The attachment of the violence to a racist dynamic supports the connection between racism, violence and irrationality. It is therefore challengeable from within a liberal frame whereby the efforts of white people still

work to resist the violence of racism, resolve the pandemic and 'save the world'. It does not produce an ontological disturbance to whiteness as human mastery. This event and its re-cognition and the outpouring of emotionality around it *keeps whiteness in place*, not only at the felt level so immediately of concern to Uwagba (2020), but at the structural, systemic level. The black body works as a foil for whiteness to reproduce itself. As noted earlier, and as Alana Lentin (2020: 128) reinforces, '[c]olonisers reserve the right both to reduce Indigenous, Black, or migrant demands to performances of victimhood and to cast themselves as victimised in the face of these demands'. This is the ongoing repeated re-traumatisation necessary for the possessive dynamic to continue. The reversal of violence enables innocence. The outpouring of grief and emotion can be understood as the displacement of very real emotion onto the racialised other in the service of whiteness. George Floyd, yet another of the 'serviceable ghosts' (Cheng 2000) consumed in the bolstering of violent whiteness as a defence against the vulnerability of being human, sacrificed to the saviour dynamic of whiteness (see Kherbaoui and Aronson in this volume). The globality of analysis becomes all the more important here when trying to understand the intimate subjectification of whiteness. This is precisely because sustaining this mythology of mastery has to happen on a world scale whereby the violence of coloniality is forever exportable, elsewhere, to other lands, other people, other times.

But this lesson about the fundamental relationship between whiteness and violence is a lesson which is more difficult to learn from the position of the Global North. Race is experienced from within a context whereby racism as aberration is always already rendered other to the institutionalised quotidian day to day – losing a job, not getting a job, not being listened to, not being allowed to frame the terms of a meeting or conversation, experiencing other micro-aggressions, cultural mis-recognition and denial as 'non'-traumatic outside of the realm of 'real' life and death violence experienced by the real Other others, out there, over there temporally and geographically distant. Race, split off from itself, its history, the history of its embodiment. To be heard and to be seen, racism has to be deathly traumatising. Whiteness demands this sort of constant re-traumatisation of racialised others for its periodic catharsis. Within a hyper-possessive consumptive *neo*liberal context like the one we are living through now it is this feeding frenzy which provides its energy. This is what is at stake when whiteness is under threat: It feeds vampirically off the energy of Blackness and depletes the energy required to do hard anti-racist work (see Michel 2020). As Mbembe (2017) puts it,

> [the] fantasy of Whiteness draws part of its self-assurance from structural violence and the ways in which it contributes on a planetary scale to the profoundly unequal redistribution of the resources of life and the privileges of citizenship. But that assurance comes also from technical and scientific prowess, creations of the mind, forms of political organisation that are (or at least seem to be) relatively disciplined, and, when necessary, from cruelty without measure, from what Césaire identified as a propensity for murder without reason.
>
> *(2017: 46; see also the chapters by Matolino and Majavu in this volume)*

Before the current historical juncture, in which anti-racist struggles have forced the white supremacist underbelly of liberalism to the surface in retaliatory defence of whiteness, a white person in the Global North could go about their whole life almost never having any sort of obvious racially ontological disturbance. In the Global Southern context, as in South Africa, that is not possible. The embodiedness of the white subject is not deniable: Even if her quest is to combat racism and live an ethical life, she still cannot disinvest from whiteness. Instead, like what Samantha Vice (in this volume and in her previous work, 2010) is grappling with, she needs to learn to live through it as a human. This is where connecting the global dots is

fundamental because the repression constitutive of whiteness is no longer possible. Whiteness here is related to whiteness there, as Aluwhalia (in this volume) shows at the subjective level. This is a lesson from the volume as a whole.

Ugandan scholar Mahmood Mamdani (2020) captures this in his interpretation of global coloniality, in which the Western nation-state is not a creation *apart* from colonialism but the *co-constituted* result of colonialism and the modern state. Ethnic cleansing is the primary mode through which both the modern state and the postcolonial state formed themselves, producing permanent majorities and permanent minorities by excluding 'those who would introduce pluralism' (p. 4). For Mamdani, democratic South Africa points a way out of this colonial division of 'settler/native'. This followed the realisation that racial identities are products of political processes and not eternal, as whiteness would have subjects believe. It enabled a vision that broke with apartheid to open the way to a new, politically forged community through a 'triple shift': The first shift was from seeking the end of apartheid, to offering an alternative to apartheid. The second was to replace anti-apartheid majoritarianism with non-racial democracy representing all South Africans. The third was to redefine the terms for governing South Africa to terms that denied apartheid's logic. Hence, the anti-apartheid movement 'internalised a novel political identity when it re-defined its target from white people to white power' (p. 346). Instead of substituting white rule with black rule, as South Africans could justly have done, a non-racial democracy was created. Following Erasmus (2017) and Satgar (2019), non-racialism is South Africa's unique contribution to the global war against racism. The principle, as entrenched in the country's democratic constitution (1996), has a century-long genealogy. Two strands must be distinguished, in order to avoid neoliberal 'post-race' colour-blindness (see Majavu's criticism in this volume). The liberal interpretation demands 'assimilation into dominant whiteness', while the anti-colonial or radical version 'defies colonial racial codification' and 'refuses to forget the ways in which race was used by colonists and what this meant for the struggles of and among the colonised' (Erasmus 2017: 37, 39). The latter has as its subject 'the anti-colonial non-racial subject' (p. 44). For Erasmus, radical non-racialism opens the possibility for 'political affinity as the foundation of political solidarity' (p. 42).

Reading Wynter, Erasmus argues for a human that is not 'always and inevitably racialised'. Even if racialisation will likely continue into the future, this fact should not 'absolve' us from working against race (pp. 44–45). Similarly, Mbembe (2017: 183) argues for 'a world freed from the burden of race, from resentment, and from the desire for vengeance that all racism calls into being'. This calls to mind the work of Gobodo-Madikizela (2004: 15), also with reference to South Africa, who asks: 'How can we transcend hate if the goal is to transform human relationships in a society with a past marked by violent conflict between groups? […] Not closing the door to understanding may be one of the ways in which people can redefine their understanding of atrocities and see them as something that is, like evil in the self, always a possibility in any political system that has emerged from a violent past' (pp. 15–16). Her work speaks of the mobilisation of affect towards humaning ends, focusing on the productive possibilities of remorse and forgiveness.

Understanding begins with listening to one another's narratives (Gobodo-Madikizela 2014). But this should happen with the purposive inclusion of subaltern and marginalised voices – 'voicing' – which allows for the decolonising re-examination of racialised histories and opens the possibilities for alternative subjectivities, communal identities and futures (Stevens et al. 2010). Mbembe (2017) argues for restitution and reparation for those whose humanity was stolen through their subjection 'to processes of abstraction and objectification', to restore their intrinsic humanity. Similarly, Gobodo-Madikizela (2004: 125) insists that '[p]hilosophical questions can and should give way and be subsumed to human questions, for in the end we are

a society of people and not of ideas, a fragile web of interdependent humans, not of stances'. She raises two points of significance. The first is that humans should be seized with ending the dehumanisation of others as something that can and has emerged in diverse human societies. The second is related to the first, in that ideas should not hold sway over human lives, which was and is the error of the Western paradigm (Mills 2007: 27; see also Matolino in this volume). Rehumaning here would speak to the concern that the actualisation of personhood depends on the restoration of both material and symbolic resources (Van der Westhuizen 2016) – the restitution of what Gobodo-Madikizela (2010) calls 'the necessities of life'.

Our approach in editing this Handbook builds out of this sort of point of view on rehumaning the subject of race. It is subtly, but significantly different from a social constructionist approach. We explore at multiple levels the global coloniality within which we are all positioned, re-spatialising and reorienting our discussions on how whiteness comes to be as part of a broader racial formation. This shift is what has informed our editing of this collection in bringing together authors who are pushing beyond representation, from various vantage points. What is holding the various contributions together is the interest in understanding the production of whiteness as lived, troubling the binaries of mind–body, structure–agency, rationality–emotion, past–present, truth–interpretation, and ontology–epistemology. This troubling enables a different set of questions about whiteness to those about how it can be known, to capture and control it. The more powerful questions come from people interested in disestablishing the substantial truth of whiteness as a means to becoming more fully human.

Notes

1 From the expansionist vantage point of this volume, this crisis represents and exposes deep and extensive continuities of this global racial attack (Willoughby-Herard 2015), experienced and playing out differently through locally distinct intersections of power analysable in many flashpoints. This racial attack involves multiple racialisations in relation to the white centre, with the 'Muslim terrorist' and the Yellow Peril in reaction to Japan's and China's economic rise in the 1970s and 1990s, already noted, alongside the frontiers set against 'the African-American criminal' and the 'disposable African'. For example, the democratic-era Marikana massacre in South Africa of 34 black migrant worker miners by black police officers on the instruction of black office bearers in 2012 happens in the context of the co-option of a black political elite by a rapacious racial capitalism wrought during apartheid and colonialism, and which ensures that South Africa retains the ignominious status of most unequal country in the world. Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank continues to be legitimised with colonial-racial discourses of dehumanisation of Palestinian people advancing the systematic seizure of Palestinian land, resources and homes, backed up by multiple assaults and killings in everyday interactions and activities like walking home, driving around town, going to the shops, to school or to work (Davis 2016; Spangenberg and Van der Westhuizen 2018). As Jasbir Puar (2017) elaborates on the Palestinian context, the right to maim exemplifies the most intensive practice of the biopolitics of debilitation, where maiming is a sanctioned tactic of settler colonial rule and an important source of value extraction from populations that would otherwise be disposable. In the United States, with its disproportionate levels of police killing and penal incarceration of African-American men, black social and physical death is primarily achieved through coded discourses of 'criminality' and mediated forms of state violence carried out by an impersonal carceral apparatus, consisting of a matrix of police, prisons, the legal system, prosecutors, parole boards, prison guards, probation officers, and so forth (Wang 2018: 266). So-called 'natural disasters' like the 2005 Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana expose the hierarchy of human life in the United States as starkly racially ordered through the inadequate and violent response to the hurricane's victims and the longer-term impacts of the flood destruction, as well as the neglect of flood protection and environmental erosion of wetlands by the oil industry which produced such disastrous impact of the winds and the rains. Similarly, the 2017 Grenfell Tower fire in London, England, where at least 72 people were killed, 70 injured and over 200 displaced and traumatised must be contextualised in terms of the intersection between neoliberalism and neo-coloniality. This intersection produced the neglect of the building and dangerously unsuitable external

cladding creating pre-disposability to burning, the racialisation of the collection of people living within it and the shambolic governmental response to the fire itself in terms of providing care and supporting those seeking justice for the survivors via the Public Inquiry (Bulley et al. 2019). Following El-Enany, we can conceive the 'epicentre of the fire to be located in European colonialism and transatlantic slavery' (2019: 51) – another example of collective colonially created precarity leading to the premature death, further impoverishment and displacement of racialised people. 'We are here because you were there' goes the rallying call popularised through the internationalist anti-colonial left struggles of Black communities in Europe in 1970s and 1980s (Kushnick 1993; Lewis 2017; Srilangarajah 2018). Srilangarajah (2018) identifies this call as the personal aphorism of the long-time Director of the British Institute for Race Relations and founding editor of the Journal *Race & Class,* Ambalavaner Sivanandan.

2 Examples of the figure of the 'black woman' include Sarah Reed suffering from mental ill health and dying in prison custody (in 2016); and Cynthia Jarret (in 1985) and Joy Gardner (in 1993) who were gendered 'deficient', 'ball-breaking' and 'aggressive' (Lewis 2017: 13), or of the criminalised 'young black man' like Trayvon Martin (died 2012, shot by vigilantes). Eric Garner (died 2014, suffocated during arrest) was caught at the intersections of threatening hypermasculinity, race and dis/ability (Aronson and Boveda 2017). Layleen Polanco died in 2020 without necessary medical care for epilepsy in solitary confinement, and Tony McDade was a victim of transphobic assault (shot dead by police as a murder suspect in 2020). Shemina Begum was recruited as a child by ISIS to travel to Syria and stripped of her citizenship as an adult on her attempt to return to Britain, while Talha Ahsan, a young British Asian poet with Asperger's syndrome, was denied citizenship, rendered without charge and extradited to the United States to be held in solitary confinement for three years.

References

Ahmed, S. 2004. Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. *Borderlands e-Journal*, 3 (2), viewed 10 December 2018, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20050616083826/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm

Ahmed, S. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. London: Duke.

Ahmed, S. 2007a. A Phenomenology of Whiteness. *Feminist Theory*, 8 (2):149–168.

Ahmed, S. 2007b. The Language of Diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (2):235–236.

Ahmed, S. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. London: Duke.

Ahmed, S. and Swan, E. 2006. Introduction. Doing Diversity. *Policy Futures in Education*, 4 (2): 96–100.

Alexander, N. 2003. *An Ordinary Country: Issues in Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa*. Berghahn Books.

AMP Research Lab Staff. 2020. The Color of Coronavirus: COVID-19 Deaths by Race and Ethnicity in the U. S. *AMP Research Lab*, 5 March, viewed 8 August 2020, https://www.apmresearchlab.org/covid/deaths-by-race.

Anderson, W. 2002. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Aronson, B. A. and Boveda, M. (2017) The Intersection of White Supremacy and the Education Industrial Complex: An Analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and the Criminalization of People with Disabilities. *Journal of Education Controversy*, 12 (1): Article 6. https://cedar.wwu.edu/jec/vol12/iss1/

Baderoon, G. 2014. *Regarding Muslims. From Slavery to Post-Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Bashford, Alison (2000). 'Is White Australia possible?' Race, colonialism and tropical medicine. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23, 248–271. 10.1080/014198700329042.

BBC, 2020. Coronavirus: France Racism Row Over Doctors' Africa Testing Comments, *BBC*, 3 April, viewed 28 January 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-52151722.

Biko, S. 1978. *I Write What I Like*. London: Bowerdean Press.

Bhattacharyya, G. 2018. *Rethinking*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Bilge, S. 2014. Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 10 (2): 405–424.

Brodkin, K. 2002. *How Jews Became White Folks and What that Says about America*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Butler, J. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

Butler, J. 2009. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* London: Verso.

Cheng, A. A. 2000. *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Davis, A. Y. 2016. *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
DiAngelo, R. 2018. *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*. Massachusetts: Beacon Press.
Doyal, L. and Pennell, I. 1994 [1979]. *The Political Economy of Health*. London: Pluto Press.
Dyer, R. 1997. *White*. London: Routledge.
Eddo-Lodge, R. 2017. *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People about Race*. London: Bloomsbury.
El-Enany, N. 2019. Before Grenfell: British Immigration Law and the Production of Colonial Spaces. In *After Grenfell: Violence, Resistance and Response*, ed. D. Bulley, J. Edkins and N. El-Enany, pp. 50–61. London: Pluto Press.
Ellison, R. 1952. *Invisible Man*. New York: Modern Library.
Erasmus, Z. 2017. *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Essed, P. 1991. *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*. London: Sage.
Essed, P. 2005 Gendered Preferences in Racialized Spaces: Cloning the Physician. In *Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice*, ed. K. Murji and J. Solomos, pp. 227–247 Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Fanon, F. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.
Fanon, F. 2006. The Fact of Blackness. In *The Fanon Reader*, ed. A. Haddour, pp. 127–148. London: Pluto Press.
Farmer, P. E. 2005. *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*. 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Gilroy, P. 2000. *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*. London: Allen Lane Penguin.
Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2004. *A Human Being Died That Night*. Cape Town: David Philip.
Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2010. A Call to Reparative Humanism. In *In the Balance. South Africans Debate Reconciliation*, ed. F. Du Toit and E. Doxtader, pp. 101–109. Auckland Park: Jacana.
Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2014. *Dare We Hope? Facing our Past to Find a New Future*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
Godlee, F. 2020. Racism: The Other Pandemic. *British Medical Journal*, 369: m2303. DOI: 10.1136/bmj.2303.
Goldberg, D. T. 2009. *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Gqola, P. D. 2010. *What Is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Grosfoguel, R. 2002. Colonial Difference, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist World-System. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 25 (3): 203–224.
Gunaratnam, Y. and Lewis, G. 2001. Racialising emotional labour and emotionalising racialised labour: Anger, fear and shame in social welfare. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 15 (2):131–148.
Hall, S. 1996. New Ethnicities. In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. D. Morley and K.-H. Chen, pp. 441–449. London: Routledge.
Hall, S. 1997. The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In *Culture, Globalisation and the World-System*, ed. A. D. King, pp. 19–39. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Hook, D., Stevens, G. and Duncan, N. 2013. *Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive. Towards a Psychosocial Praxis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Hunter, S. 2009. Feminist Psychosocial Approaches to Relationality, Recognition and Denial. In *Theory and Scholarship in Equality and Diversity, Inclusion and Work: A Research Companion*, ed. M. F. Ozbilgin, pp. 179–192. London: Edward Elgar.
Hunter, S. 2010. What a White Shame: Race, Gender, and White Shame in the Relational Economy of Primary Health Care Organisations in England. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 17 (4): 450–476.
Hunter, S. 2015a. *Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance*. London: Routledge.
Hunter, S. 2015b. Being Called to 'By the Rivers of Birminam': The Relational Choreography of White Looking. *Critical Arts*, 29 (S1): 43–57.
Hunter, S. forthcoming 2021. Decolonizing Care: Relational Reckoning with the Violence of [White] Power. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 15 (4).
Hunter, S., Swan E. and Grimes, D. (2010) Reproducing and Resisting Whiteness in Organisations, Policies and Places, *International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 17 (4): 407–422.
Hyslop, J. 2000. Why Did Apartheid's Supporters Capitulate? 'Whiteness', Class and Consumption in Urban South Africa, 1985–1995. *Society in Transition*, 31 (1): 36–44.

Ignatiev, N. 2009. *How the Irish Became White*. New York/London: Routledge.
Judge, M. 2018. *Blackwashing Homophobia. Violence and the Politics of Sexuality, Gender and Race*. Oxon: Routledge.
Katz, J. H. 1978. *White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Kandola, R. and Fullerton, J. 1998. *Diversity in Action: Managing the Mosaic*, 2nd edn. London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.
Kushnick, L. 1993. 'We're Here Because You Were There': Britain's Black Population. *Trotter Review*, 7 (2):17–19.
Laurencin, C. T. and Walker, J. M. 2020. A Pandemic on a Pandemic: Racism and COVID-19 in Blacks. *Cell Syst*, 11 (1): 9–10.
Lentin, A. 2020. *Why Race Still Matters*. Cambridge: Policy.
Levine-Rasky, C. 2011. Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 17 (2):239–253.
Lewis, G. 2000. *Race, Gender, Social Welfare: Encounters in a Postcolonial Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Lewis, G. 2017. Questions of Presence. *Feminist Review*, 117: 1–19.
López, A. J. 2005. *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
Lugones, M. 2010. Toward a Decolonial Feminism. *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, 25 (4):742–759.
Makau, W. M. 2021. The Impact of COVID-19 on the Growing North-South Divide. *E-International Relations*, March 15, viewed 10 April 2021, https://www.e-ir.info/2021/03/15/the-impact-of-covid-19-on-the-growing-north-south-divide/.
Mamdani, M. 2004. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim. America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. New York: Doubleday.
Mamdani, M. 2020. *Neither Native nor Settler. The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Martinot, S. 2010. *The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Racialization*. Ithaca: Temple University Press.
Matias, C. E. 2016. *Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
Mbembe, A. 2017. *Critique of Black Reason*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Mbembe, A. 2019. *Necropolitics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Mbembe, A. 2015. Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive, online lecture, viewed 17 March 2016, https://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/Achille%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge%20-and%20the%20Question%20of%20the%20Archive.pdf
Mbembe, A. 2006. 'South Africa's second coming: the Nongqawuse syndrome', 14 June, viewed 12 January 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/southafrica_succession_3649jsp/.
McClintock, A. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race: Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge.
Medina, J. 2018. Epistemic Injustices and Epistemologies of Ignorance. In *Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Race*, ed. P. Taylor, L. Alcoff and L. Anderson, pp. 247–260. New York/Oxon: Routledge.
Michel, N. 2020. Doing Good in Black Face: A Consuming Story. *Darkmatter Hub* (Beta) (15) Retrieved from <https://darkmatter-hub.pubpub.org/pub/0aclt8cj> 20.05.2021
Mills, C. W. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
Mills, C. W. 2007. White Ignorance. In *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, ed. S. Sullivan and N. Tuana, pp. 11–38. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Mills, C. W. 2008. Racial Liberalism. *PMLA*, 123 (5): 1380–1397.
Moreton-Robinson, A., ed. 2004. *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
Moreton-Robinson, A. 2015. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, And Indigenous Sovereignty*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
Morning, A. 2011. *The Nature of Race: How Scientists Think and Teach about Human Difference*. London: University of California Press.
Morrison, T. 1992. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press.
Mostert, N. 1992. *Frontiers. The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People*. New York: Knopf.
Morrison, T. 1997. Home. In *The House that Race Race Built: Original Essays by Toni Morrison, Angela Y. Davis, Cornel West, and others on Black Americans and Politics in America Today*, ed. W. Lubiano. New York: Vintage.

Moton, F. and Harney, S. 2013. *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study*. New York: Minor Compositions.

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019a. Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. viewed 12 April 2021, https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019b. A Legal Analysis of Genocide Supplementary Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. viewed 12 April 2021, https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Supplementary-Report_Genocide.pdf

Nazroo, J. Y. 2003. The Structuring of Ethnic Inequalities in Health: Economic Position, Racial Discrimination, and Racism. *Public Health Matters*, 93 (2): 277–284.

Nazroo, J. Y. and Bécares, L. 2020. 'Racism is the key to understanding ethnic inequalities in COVID-19 – despite what UK government says', *The Conversation*, October 27, viewed 12 April 2021, https://theconversation.com/racism-is-the-key-to-understanding-ethnic-inequalities-in-covid-19-despite-what-uk-government-says-1488.

Nazroo, J. Y., Bhui, K. S. and Rhodes, J. 2020. Where next for understanding race/ethnic inequalities in severe mental illness? Structural, interpersonal and institutional racism. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 42 (2): 262–276.

Nicolacopoulos, T. and Vassilacopoulos, G. 2004. Racism, Foreigner Communities and the Onto-pathology of White Australian Subjectivity. In *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, ed. A. Moreton-Robinson, pp. 32–47.

Painter, N. I. 2010. *The History of White People*. New York: Norton.

Puar, J. K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Puar, J. K. 2017. *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Puwar, N. 2004. *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. Oxford: Berg.

Qureshi, K. *et al*. 2020. 'Submission of evidence on the disproportionate impact of COVID-19, and the UK government response, on ethnic minorities in the UK', *Global Public Health Unit at the University of Edinburgh*, 24 April, viewed 12 April 2021, https://ghpu.sps.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Qureshi-Kasstan-Meer-Hill_working-paper_COVID19-ethnic-minorities_240420.pdf.

Richardson, E. T. 2020a. *Epidemic Illusions: On the Coloniality of Global Public Health*. London: MIT Press.

Richardson, E. T. 2020b. Pandemicity, COVID-19 and the Limits of Public Health 'Science'. *BMJ Global Health*, 5: e002571. DOI:10.1136/BMJGH-2020-002571.

Richardson, E. T. *et al*. 2021. Reparations for Black American Descendants of Persons Enslaved in the U. S. and Their Potential Impact on SARS-CoV-2 Transmission. *Social Science & Medicine*, 276: 113741.

Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Saldanha, A. 2007. *Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscocity of Race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sashedri-Crooks, K. 2000. *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race*. London: Routledge.

Satgar, V. 2019. Seven Theses on Radical Non-Racialism, the Climate Crisis and Deep Just Transitions: From the National Question to the Eco-cide Question. In *Racism After Apartheid - Challenges for Marxism and Anti-Racism*, ed. Satgar V., pp. 194–216. DOI: 10.18772/22019033061.14.

Schellekens, P. and Sourrouille, D. 2020. 'The unreal dichotomy in COVID-19 mortality between high-income and developing countries', *Brookings Blog*, 5 May, viewed 10 April 2021, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2020/05/05/the-unreal-dichotomy-in-covid-19-mortality-between-high-income-and-developing-countries/.

Shih, D. 2014. What Happened to White Privilege? Stanford University Arcade: Literature, the Humanities & the World. Viewed August, 30. 2018. http://professorshih.blogspot.com/2014/12/what-happened-to-white-privilege.html

Skeggs, B. 1997. *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*. London: SAGE.

Sontag, S. 1978. *Illness as Metaphor*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Spangenberg, I. J. J. and Van der Westhuizen, C. 2018. Kritiese besinnings oor die Israelse eiendomsaansprake op Palestina/Critical Reflections on Israel's Claims on Palestine. *Litnet Akademies*, 15 (3). https://www.litnet.co.za/critical-reflections-on-israels-claim-to-land-in-palestine/. Viewed 21 February 2021.

Srilangarajah, V. 2018. 'We Are Here Because You Were With Us: Remembering A. Sivanandan (1923-2018)', *CEASEFIRE*, 4 February, viewed 15 June 2019, Ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/us-remembering-a-sivanandan-1923-2018.

Stevens, G., Duncan, N. and Sonn C. 2010. The Apartheid Archive: Memory, Voice and Narrative as Liberatory Praxis. *Psychology in Society*, 40: 8–28.
Steyn, M. 2001. *'Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
Stoler A. L. 1989. Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures. *American Ethnologist*, 16 (4): 634–660.
Stoler, A. L. 2002. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. London/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Swan, E. 2010. Commodity Diversity: Smiling Faces as a Strategy of Containment. *Organization*, 17 (1):77–100.
Swanson, M. W. 1977. The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909. *Journal of African History*, 18 (3): 387–410.
Tate, S. A. 2014. Racial Affective Economies, Disalienation and 'Race Made Ordinary'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37 (13): 2475–2490.
Tate, S. and Page, D. Whiteliness and Institutional Racism: Hiding Behind (Un)conscious Bias(2108) *Ethics and Education*, 13 (1):141–155.
Uwagba, O. 2020. *Whites: On Race and Other Falsehoods*. London: 4th Estate.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2007. *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2016. Race, Intersectionality, and Affect in Postapartheid Productions of the 'Afrikaans White Woman'. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 4 (2): 221–238.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2021. *Reconstructed? White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Van der Westhuizen, C. Forthcoming. Apology as Pathway Out of White Unknowing. In *Making Sense of Sorry: Thinking Through Apology in Contemporary South Africa*, ed. M. Judge and D. Smythe.
Vice, S. 2010. How do I Live in this Strange Place? *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 41 (3): 323–342.
Wallace, S., Nazroo, J. and Bécares, L. 2016. Cumulative Effect of Racial Discrimination on the Mental Health of Ethnic Minorities in the United Kingdom. *American Journal of Public Health*, 106 (7): 1294–1300.
Wang, J. 2018. *Carceral Capitalism*. South Pasadena: Semiotext(e).
Ware, V. 1992. *Beyond the Pale, White Women, Racism and History*. London: Verso.
Weber, B. 2016. Whiteness, WiG, and Talking about Race. *Women in German Yearbook*, 32: 189–202.
Weheliye, A. G. 2014. *Habeus Viscus. Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wekker, G. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wemyss, G. 2009. *The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging*. Farnham: Ashgate.
West, C. 1993. The New Cultural Politics of Difference. In *The Cultural Studies Reader,* 2nd edn, ed. S. During, pp. 256–267.
Wiegman, R. 1999. Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity. *Boundary 2*, 26 (3):115–150.
Wiegman, R. 2012. *Object Lessons*. London: Duke.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2010. 'I'll Give You Something to Cry About': The Intraracial Violence of Uplift Feminism in the Carnegie Poor White Study Volume, The Mother and Daughter of the Poor Family. *South African Review of Sociology*, 41 (1): 78–104.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2015. *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*. Oakland: University of California Press.
World Health Organisation. 2020. Children: Improving Survival and Well-Being, Viewed 30 April 2021 https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/children-reducing-mortality
Wray, M. 2006. *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wynter, S. 1994. No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues. *Forum N.H.I. Knowledge for the 21st Century*, 1 (1): 42–73.
Yancy, G. 2017. *Black Bodies: White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race in America*. Washington: Rowman Littlefield.

Viral whiteness: Twenty-first century global colonialities

Ahmed, S. 2004. Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. Borderlands e-Journal, 3 (2), viewed 10 December 2018, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20050616083826/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm

Ahmed, S. 2006. Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others. London: Duke.

Ahmed, S. 2007a. A Phenomenology of Whiteness. Feminist Theory, 8 (2):149–168.

Ahmed, S. 2007b. The Language of Diversity. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30 (2):235–236.

Ahmed, S. 2012. On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life. London: Duke.

Ahmed, S. and Swan, E. 2006. Introduction. Doing Diversity. Policy Futures in Education, 4 (2): 96–100.

Alexander, N. 2003. An Ordinary Country: Issues in Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa. Berghahn Books.

AMP Research Lab Staff . 2020. The Color of Coronavirus: COVID-19 Deaths by Race and Ethnicity in the U. S. AMP Research Lab, 5 March, viewed 8 August 2020, https://www.apmresearchlab.org/covid/deaths-by-race.

Anderson, W. 2002. The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Aronson, B. A. and Boveda, M. (2017) The Intersection of White Supremacy and the Education Industrial Complex: An Analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and the Criminalization of People with Disabilities. Journal of Education Controversy, 12 (1): Article 6. https://cedar.wwu.edu/jec/vol12/iss1/

Baderoon, G. 2014. Regarding Muslims. From Slavery to Post-Apartheid. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Bashford, Alison (2000). 'Is White Australia possible?' Race, colonialism and tropical medicine. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23, 248–271. 10.1080/014198700329042.

BBC , 2020. Coronavirus: France Racism Row Over Doctors' Africa Testing Comments, BBC, 3 April, viewed 28 January 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-52151722.

Biko, S. 1978. I Write What I Like. London: Bowerdean Press.

Bhattacharyya, G. 2018. Rethinking. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Bilge, S. 2014. Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies. Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race, 10 (2): 405–424.

Brodkin, K. 2002. How Jews Became White Folks and What that Says about America. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Butler, J. 2004. Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence. London: Verso.

Butler, J. 2009. Frames of War: When is Life Grievable? London: Verso.

Cheng, A. A. 2000. The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davis, A. Y. 2016. Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

DiAngelo, R. 2018. White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism. Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Doyal, L. and Pennell, I. 1994 [1979]. The Political Economy of Health. London: Pluto Press.

Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.

Eddo-Lodge, R. 2017. Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People about Race. London: Bloomsbury.

El-Enany, N. 2019. Before Grenfell: British Immigration Law and the Production of Colonial Spaces. In After Grenfell: Violence, Resistance and Response, ed. D. Bulley , J. Edkins and N. El-Enany , pp. 50–61. London: Pluto Press.

Ellison, R. 1952. Invisible Man. New York: Modern Library.

Erasmus, Z. 2017. Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Essed, P. 1991. Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory. London: Sage.

Essed, P. 2005 Gendered Preferences in Racialized Spaces: Cloning the Physician. In Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice, ed. K. Murji and J. Solomos , pp. 227–247 Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fanon, F. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. 2006. The Fact of Blackness. In The Fanon Reader, ed. A. Haddour , pp. 127–148. London: Pluto Press.

Farmer, P. E. 2005. Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor. 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilroy, P. 2000. Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race. London: Allen Lane Penguin.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2004. A Human Being Died That Night. Cape Town: David Philip.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2010. A Call to Reparative Humanism. In In the Balance. South Africans Debate Reconciliation, ed. F. Du Toit and E. Doxtader , pp. 101–109. Auckland Park: Jacana.
Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2014. Dare We Hope? Facing our Past to Find a New Future. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
Godlee, F. 2020. Racism: The Other Pandemic. British Medical Journal, 369: m2303. DOI:10.1136/bmj.2303.
Goldberg, D. T. 2009. The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism. Oxford: Blackwell.
Gqola, P. D. 2010. What Is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-apartheid South Africa. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Grosfoguel, R. 2002. Colonial Difference, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist World-System. Review (Fernand Braudel Center), 25 (3): 203–224.
Gunaratnam, Y. and Lewis, G. 2001. Racialising emotional labour and emotionalising racialised labour: Anger, fear and shame in social welfare. Journal of Social Work Practice, 15 (2):131–148.
Hall, S. 1996. New Ethnicities. In Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies, ed. D. Morley and K.-H. Chen , pp. 441–449. London: Routledge.
Hall, S. 1997. The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In Culture, Globalisation and the World-System, ed. A. D. King , pp. 19–39. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Hook, D. , Stevens, G. and Duncan, N. 2013. Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive. Towards a Psychosocial Praxis. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Hunter, S. 2009. Feminist Psychosocial Approaches to Relationality, Recognition and Denial. In Theory and Scholarship in Equality and Diversity, Inclusion and Work: A Research Companion, ed. M. F. Ozbilgin , pp. 179–192. London: Edward Elgar.
Hunter, S. 2010. What a White Shame: Race, Gender, and White Shame in the Relational Economy of Primary Health Care Organisations in England. Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society, 17 (4): 450–476.
Hunter, S. 2015a. Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance. London: Routledge.
Hunter, S. 2015b. Being Called to 'By the Rivers of Birminam': The Relational Choreography of White Looking. Critical Arts, 29 (S1): 43–57.
Hunter, S. forthcoming 2021. Decolonizing Care: Relational Reckoning with the Violence of [White] Power. Ethics and Social Welfare, 15 (4).
Hunter, S. , Swan E. and Grimes, D. (2010) Reproducing and Resisting Whiteness in Organisations, Policies and Places, International Studies in Gender, State and Society, 17 (4): 407–422.
Hyslop, J. 2000. Why Did Apartheid's Supporters Capitulate? 'Whiteness', Class and Consumption in Urban South Africa, 1985–1995. Society in Transition, 31 (1): 36–44.
Ignatiev, N. 2009. How the Irish Became White. New York/London: Routledge.
Judge, M. 2018. Blackwashing Homophobia. Violence and the Politics of Sexuality, Gender and Race. Oxon: Routledge.
Katz, J. H. 1978. White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
Kandola, R. and Fullerton, J. 1998. Diversity in Action: Managing the Mosaic, 2nd edn. London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.
Kushnick, L. 1993. 'We're Here Because You Were There': Britain's Black Population. Trotter Review, 7 (2):17–19.
Laurencin, C. T. and Walker, J. M. 2020. A Pandemic on a Pandemic: Racism and COVID-19 in Blacks. Cell Syst, 11 (1): 9–10.
Lentin, A. 2020. Why Race Still Matters. Cambridge: Policy.
Levine-Rasky, C. 2011. Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness. Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture, 17 (2):239–253.
Lewis, G. 2000. Race, Gender, Social Welfare: Encounters in a Postcolonial Society. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Lewis, G. 2017. Questions of Presence. Feminist Review, 117: 1–19.
López, A. J. 2005. Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
Lugones, M. 2010. Toward a Decolonial Feminism. Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy, 25 (4):742–759.
Makau, W. M. 2021. The Impact of COVID-19 on the Growing North-South Divide. E-International Relations, March 15, viewed 10 April 2021, https://www.e-ir.info/2021/03/15/the-impact-of-covid-19-on-the-growing-north-south-divide/.
Mamdani, M. 2004. Good Muslim, Bad Muslim. America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror. New York: Doubleday.
Mamdani, M. 2020. Neither Native nor Settler. The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Martinot, S. 2010. The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Racialization. Ithaca: Temple University Press.
Matias, C. E. 2016. Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
Mbembe, A. 2017. Critique of Black Reason. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Mbembe, A. 2019. Necropolitics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Mbembe, A. 2015. Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive, online lecture, viewed 17 March 2016, https://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/Achille%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge%20and%20the%20Question%20of%20the%20Archive.pdf
Mbembe, A. 2006. 'South Africa's second coming: the Nongqawuse syndrome', 14 June, viewed 12 January 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/southafrica_succession_3649jsp/.
McClintock, A. 1995. Imperial Leather: Race: Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest. London: Routledge.
Medina, J. 2018. Epistemic Injustices and Epistemologies of Ignorance. In Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Race, ed. P. Taylor , L. Alcoff and L. Anderson , pp. 247–260. New York/Oxon: Routledge.
Michel, N. 2020. Doing Good in Black Face: A Consuming Story. Darkmatter Hub (Beta) (15) Retrieved from <https://darkmatter-hub.pubpub.org/pub/0aclt8cj> 20.05.2021
Mills, C. W. 1997. The Racial Contract. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
Mills, C. W. 2007. White Ignorance. In Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance, ed. S. Sullivan and N. Tuana , pp. 11–38. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Mills, C. W. 2008. Racial Liberalism. PMLA, 123 (5): 1380–1397.
Moreton-Robinson, A. , ed. 2004. Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
Moreton-Robinson, A. 2015. The White Possessive: Property, Power, And Indigenous Sovereignty. London: University of Minnesota Press.
Morning, A. 2011. The Nature of Race: How Scientists Think and Teach about Human Difference. London: University of California Press.
Morrison, T. 1992. Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press.
Mostert, N. 1992. Frontiers. The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People. New York: Knopf.
Morrison, T . 1997. Home. In The House that Race Race Built: Original Essays by Toni Morrison, Angela Y. Davis, Cornel West, and others on Black Americans and Politics in America Today, ed. W. Lubiano . New York: Vintage.
Moton, F. and Harney, S. 2013. The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study. New York: Minor Compositions.
National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls , 2019a. Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. viewed 12 April 2021, https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/
National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls , 2019b. A Legal Analysis of Genocide Supplementary Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. viewed 12 April 2021, https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Supplementary-Report_Genocide.pdf
Nazroo, J. Y. 2003. The Structuring of Ethnic Inequalities in Health: Economic Position, Racial Discrimination, and Racism. Public Health Matters, 93 (2): 277–284.
Nazroo, J. Y. and Bécares, L. 2020. 'Racism is the key to understanding ethnic inequalities in COVID-19 – despite what UK government says', The Conversation, October 27, viewed 12 April 2021, https://theconversation.com/racism-is-the-key-to-understanding-ethnic-inequalities-in-covid-19-despite-what-uk-government-says-1488.
Nazroo, J. Y. , Bhui, K. S. and Rhodes, J. 2020. Where next for understanding race/ethnic inequalities in severe mental illness? Structural, interpersonal and institutional racism. Sociology of Health and Illness, 42 (2): 262–276.
Nicolacopoulos, T. and Vassilacopoulos, G. 2004. Racism, Foreigner Communities and the Onto-pathology of White Australian Subjectivity. In Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, ed. A. Moreton-Robinson , pp. 32–47.
Painter, N. I. 2010. The History of White People. New York: Norton.
Puar, J. K. 2007. Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Puar, J. K. 2017. The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Puwar, N. 2004. Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place. Oxford: Berg.
Qureshi, K. *et al* . 2020. 'Submission of evidence on the disproportionate impact of COVID-19, and the UK government response, on ethnic minorities in the UK', Global Public Health Unit at the University of

Edinburgh, 24 April, viewed 12 April 2021, https://ghpu.sps.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Qureshi-Kasstan-Meer-Hill_working-paper_COVID19-ethnic-minorities_240420.pdf.
Richardson, E. T. 2020a. Epidemic Illusions: On the Coloniality of Global Public Health. London: MIT Press.
Richardson, E. T. 2020b. Pandemicity, COVID-19 and the Limits of Public Health 'Science'. BMJ Global Health, 5: e002571. DOI:10.1136/BMJGH-2020-002571.
Richardson, E. T. *et al* . 2021. Reparations for Black American Descendants of Persons Enslaved in the U. S. and Their Potential Impact on SARS-CoV-2 Transmission. Social Science & Medicine, 276: 113741.
Said, E. 1978. Orientalism. New York: Pantheon Books.
Saldanha, A. 2007. Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscocity of Race. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Sashedri-Crooks, K. 2000. Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race. London: Routledge.
Satgar, V . 2019. Seven Theses on Radical Non-Racialism, the Climate Crisis and Deep Just Transitions: From the National Question to the Eco-cide Question. In Racism After Apartheid - Challenges for Marxism and Anti-Racism, ed. Satgar V. , pp. 194–216. DOI: 10.18772/22019033061.14.
Schellekens, P. and Sourrouille, D. 2020. 'The unreal dichotomy in COVID-19 mortality between high-income and developing countries', Brookings Blog, 5 May, viewed 10 April 2021, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2020/05/05/the-unreal-dichotomy-in-covid-19-mortality-between-high-income-and-developing-countries/.
Shih, D. 2014. What Happened to White Privilege? Stanford University Arcade: Literature, the Humanities & the World. Viewed August, 30. 2018. http://professorshih.blogspot.com/2014/12/what-happened-to-white-privilege.html
Skeggs, B. 1997. Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable. London: SAGE.
Sontag, S. 1978. Illness as Metaphor. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
Spangenberg, I. J. J. and Van der Westhuizen, C. 2018. Kritiese besinnings oor die Israelse eiendomsaansprake op Palestina/Critical Reflections on Israel's Claims on Palestine. Litnet Akademies, 15 (3). https://www.litnet.co.za/critical-reflections-on-israels-claim-to-land-in-palestine/. Viewed 21 February 2021.
Srilangarajah, V. 2018. 'We Are Here Because You Were With Us: Remembering A. Sivanandan (1923-2018)', CEASEFIRE, 4 February, viewed 15 June 2019, Ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/us-remembering-a-sivanandan-1923-2018.
Stevens, G. , Duncan, N. and Sonn C. 2010. The Apartheid Archive: Memory, Voice and Narrative as Liberatory Praxis. Psychology in Society, 40: 8–28.
Steyn, M. 2001. 'Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
Stoler A. L. 1989. Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures. American Ethnologist, 16 (4): 634–660.
Stoler, A. L. 2002. Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule. London/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Swan, E. 2010. Commodity Diversity: Smiling Faces as a Strategy of Containment. Organization, 17 (1):77–100.
Swanson, M. W. 1977. The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909. Journal of African History, 18 (3): 387–410.
Tate, S. A. 2014. Racial Affective Economies, Disalienation and 'Race Made Ordinary'. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37 (13): 2475–2490.
Tate, S. and Page, D. Whiteliness and Institutional Racism: Hiding Behind (Un)conscious Bias(2108)Ethics and Education, 13 (1):141–155.
Uwagba, O. 2020. Whites: On Race and Other Falsehoods. London: 4th Estate.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2007. White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2016. Race, Intersectionality, and Affect in Postapartheid Productions of the 'Afrikaans White Woman'. Critical Philosophy of Race, 4 (2): 221–238.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2021. Reconstructed? White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Van der Westhuizen, C. Forthcoming. Apology as Pathway Out of White Unknowing. In Making Sense of Sorry: Thinking Through Apology in Contemporary South Africa, ed. M. Judge and D. Smythe .
Vice, S. 2010. How do I Live in this Strange Place? Journal of Social Philosophy, 41 (3): 323–342.
Wallace, S. , Nazroo, J. and Bécares, L. 2016. Cumulative Effect of Racial Discrimination on the Mental Health of Ethnic Minorities in the United Kingdom. American Journal of Public Health, 106 (7): 1294–1300.

Wang, J. 2018. Carceral Capitalism. South Pasadena: Semiotext(e).
Ware, V. 1992. Beyond the Pale, White Women, Racism and History. London: Verso.
Weber, B. 2016. Whiteness, WiG, and Talking about Race. Women in German Yearbook, 32: 189–202.
Weheliye, A. G. 2014. Habeus Viscus. Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wekker, G. 2016. White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wemyss, G. 2009. The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging. Farnham: Ashgate.
West, C. 1993. The New Cultural Politics of Difference. In The Cultural Studies Reader, 2nd edn, ed. S. During , pp. 256–267.
Wiegman, R. 1999. Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity. Boundary 2, 26 (3):115–150.
Wiegman, R. 2012. Object Lessons. London: Duke.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2010. 'I'll Give You Something to Cry About': The Intraracial Violence of Uplift Feminism in the Carnegie Poor White Study Volume, The Mother and Daughter of the Poor Family. South African Review of Sociology, 41 (1): 78–104.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2015. Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability. Oakland: University of California Press.
World Health Organisation . 2020. Children: Improving Survival and Well-Being, Viewed 30 April 2021 https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/children-reducing-mortality
Wray, M. 2006. Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wynter, S. 1994. No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues. Forum N.H.I. Knowledge for the 21stCentury, 1 (1): 42–73.
Yancy, G. 2017. Black Bodies: White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race in America. Washington: Rowman Littlefield.

Emerging whiteness in early-modern India: A Nietzschean reading of Jan Huygen van Linschoten

Bonnett, A. 2000. White Identities: Historical and International Perspectives. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
Boxer, C. R. 1948. Fidalgos of the Far East, 1550–1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Boxer, C. R. 1963. Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire, 1425–1825. Oxford: Clarendon.
Burton, R. F. 1851. Goa, and the Blue Mountains, or Six Months of Sick Leave. London: Richard Bentley.
Foucault, M. 1977. 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History'. In Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, ed. D. F. Bouchard . Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Foucault, M. 2003 [1997]. "Society Must Be Defended" Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76, trans. D. Macey . New York: Picador.
McClintock, A. 1995. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest. New York: Routledge.
Pyrard de Laval, F. 1888 [1619]. The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, 2 Vols., trans. and ed. A. Gray and H. C. P. Bell . London: Hakluyt Society.
Saldanha, A. 2006. Reontologising Race: The Machinic Geography of Phenotype. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 24 (1): 9–24.
Saldanha, A. 2007. Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscosity of Race. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Saldanha, A. 2011. The Itineraries of Geography: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* and Dutch Expeditions to the Indian Ocean, 1594–1602. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 101 (1): 149–177.
Scott, J. and Franklin, A. T. , eds. 2006. Critical Affinities: Nietzsche and African American Thought. New York: State University of New York Press.
Smith, M. M. 2006. How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses. Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press.
Stoler, A. L. 1995. Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Turner, J. 2004. Spice: The History of a Temptation. New York: Vintage.
Van Linschoten, J. H. 1885 [1598]. The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, 2 Vols., eds. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele . London: Hakluyt Society.

ACT for America . 2011. Education or indoctrination? The treatment of Islam in 6th through 12th grade American textbooks, viewed 20 November 2020, http://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/themes/57365ca5cd0af55ea6000001/attachments/original/1483921270/Education_or_Indoctrination_Executive_Summary.pdf?1483921270.

ACT for America . 2020. Viewed 20 November 2020, https://www.actforamerica.org/.

Bail, C. 2019. Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bjork-James, S. 2018. Training the Porous Body: Evangelicals and the ExGay Movement. American Anthropologist, 120 (4): 647–658. DOI:10.1111/aman.13106.

Blum, E. J. 2007. W.E.B. Du Bois, American Prophet. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Blum, E. J. , Fessenden, T. , Kurien, P. and Weisenfeld, J. 2009. Forum: American Religion and 'Whiteness'. Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation, 19 (1): 1–35. DOI:10.1525/rac.2009.19.1.1.

Bonnett, A. 1998. Who Was White? The Disappearance of Non-European White Identities and the Formation of European Racial Whiteness. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21 (6): 1029–1055. DOI:10.1080/01419879808565651.

Burlein, A. 2002. Lift High the Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Cimino, R. 2005. 'No God in Common': American Evangelical Discourse on Islam after 9/11. Review of Religious Research, 47 (2): 162–174. DOI:10.2307/3512048.

Clark, V. 2007. Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1999 [1920]. Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil. New York: Dover Publications.

Eklund v. Byron Union School District . 154 Fed. Appx. 648 (9th Circuit 2005), cert. denied, 549 U.S. 942. 2006. https://www.scribd.com/document/266923198/Eklund-v-Byron-Union-School-District.

Enemy Judge : No. 1 – Phyllis J. Hamilton. Free Republic, 2 June 2004, viewed 20 November 2020, http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1146555/posts.

Frankenberg, R. 1993. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hage, G. 2017. Is Racism an Environmental Threat? Cambridge: Polity Press.

Han, J. H. J. 2018. Shifting Geographies of Proximity: Korean-led Evangelical Christian Missions and the U.S. Empire. In Ethnographies of U.S. Empire, ed. C. McGranahan and J. F. Collins , pp. 194–213. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Handy, T. 1991. Islam: A Simulation of Islamic History and Culture, 610-1100. El Cajon: Interaction Publishers Inc.

Harris, C. I. 1993. Whiteness as Property. Harvard Law Review, 106 (8): 1707–1791. DOI:10.2307/1341787.

Lipsitz, G. 2006. The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Marty, M. E. 2013. Foreword. In More Desired than Our Owne Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism, ed. R. O. Smith , pp. xi–xiii. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mountain States Legal Foundation . 2020. 'About Us: The Spirit of the American West', viewed 20 November 2020, https://mslegal.org/about/.

Pieterse, J. N. 1993. Aesthetics of Power: Time and Body Politics. Third Text, 7 (22): 33–42. DOI:10.1080/09528829308576398.

Pinar, W. F. 2001. The Gender of Racial Politics and Violence in America: Lynching, Prison Rape, and the Crisis of Masculinity. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Pipes, D. 2002. 'Become a Muslim Warrior', Jerusalem Post, July 3, viewed 20 November 2020, https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=news/110B05BA2F16FA38.

President and Chief Counsel . 2019. Thomas More Law Center, viewed 20 November 2020, https://www.thomasmore.org/president-chief-counsel/.

Smith, R. O. 2013. More Desired Than Our Owne Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thomas More Law Center . 2019a. About the Thomas More Law Center, viewed 20 November 2020, https://www.thomasmore.org/about-the-thomas-more-law-center-1/.

Thomas More Law Center . 2019b. 'Thomas More Law Center Uncovers Taxpayer-funded Islamic Propaganda Forced on Teachers – A SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE REPORT', Thomas More Law Center, 22 August, viewed 20 November 2020, https://www.thomasmore.org/news/thomas-more-law-center-uncovers-taxpayer-funded-islamic-propaganda-forced-on-teachers-a-special-investigative-report/.

Trotter, A. 2006. ‘Justices decline case about public school's Islamic-themed unit’, Education Week, 10 October, viewed 20 November 2020, https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2006/10/11/07scotus.h26.html.
Tyree, E. and Metzgar, K. 2017. ‘"I think it's defamatory": Christian Action Network fighting back against hate group label’, ABC 13 News, 23 August, viewed 20 November 2020, https://wset.com/news/local/i-think-its-defamatory-christian-action-network-fighting-back-against-hate-group-label.

Affects in making white womanhood

Ahmed, S. 2002. Racialized Bodies. In Real Bodies. A Sociological Introduction, ed. M. Evans and E. Lee , pp. 46–63. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
Ahmed, S. 2004a. The Cultural Politics of Emotion. New York: Routledge.
Ahmed, S. 2004b. Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. Borderlands e-journal, 3 (2), viewed 10 July 2020, http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm.
Ahmed, S. 2007. A Phenomenology of Whiteness. Feminist Theory, 8 (2): 149–168.
Berg, U. and Ramos-Zayas, A. Y. 2015. Racializing Affect: A Theoretical Proposition. Current Anthropology, 56 (5): 654–677.
Blackman, L. 2008. The Body: Key Concepts. Oxford and New York: Berg.
Blickstein, T. 2019. Affects of Racialization. In Affective Societies. Key Concepts, ed. J. Slaby and C. von Scheve , pp. 152–166. London and New York: Routledge.
Brah, A. 1996. Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities. London and New York: Routledge.
Butler, J. 1993. Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex. London and New York: Routledge.
Byrne, B. 2006. White Lives. The Interplay of 'Race', Class and Gender in Everyday Life. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
Chen, M. Y. 2012. Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Davis, A. Y. 1981. Women, Race and Class. Visalia, CA: Vintage.
Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.
Foucault, M. 1977. Discipline and Punish. London: Tavistock.
Frankenberg, R. 1993. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Goldberg, D. T. 1997. Racial Subjects. Writing on Race in America. London: Routledge.
Grosz, E. 1994. Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
Gunaratnam, Y. 2003. Researching Race and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge, and Power. London: SAGE.
Hall, C. 1992. White, Male and Middle-Class. Explorations in Feminism and History. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Hall, S. 2013. The Spectacle of the ‘Other’. In Representation, 2nd edn, ed. S. Hall , J. Evans and S. Nixon , pp. 215–280. London: The Open University and SAGE.
Harris, H. 2000. Failing ‘White Woman’: Interrogating the Performance of Respectability. Theatre Journal, 52: 183–209.
hooks, B. 1984. Ain’t I a Woman? Boston: South End Press.
Hunter, S. 2010. What a White Shame: Race, Gender, and White Shame in the Relational Economy of Primary Health Care Organisations in England. Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society, 17 (4): 450–476.
Hunter, S. 2015. Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance? London: Routledge.
Hunter, S. , Swan, E. and Grimes, D. 2010. Introduction: Reproducing and Resisting Whiteness in Organization, Policies, and Places. Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society, 17 (4): 407–422.
Knowles, C. and Alexander, C. , eds. 2005. Making Race Matter. Bodies, Space and Identity. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Lewis, G. 2000. ‘Race’, Gender, Social Welfare: Encounters in a Postcolonial Society. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press.
McClintock, A. 1995. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest. New York: Routledge.
Minh-Ha, T. T. 1989. Difference: A Special Third World Woman Issue. In Feminism and Visual Culture Reader, ed. A. Jones . Oxon and New York: Routledge.
Nava, M. 2007. Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference. New York, NY: Berg.

Ngai, S. 2005. Ugly Feelings. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Palmer, T. 2017. ‘What Feels More Than Feeling?’ Theorizing the Unthinkability of Black Affect. Critical Ethnic Studies, 3 (2): 31–56.
Saldanha, A. 2007. Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscosity of Race. London and Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
Schuller, K. 2018. The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Shilling, C. 1993. The Body and Social Theory. London Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: SAGE.
Shotwell, A. 2011. Knowing Otherwise. Race, Gender and Implicit Understanding. Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
Skeggs, B. 1997. Formations of Class and Gender. London: SAGE.
Slaby, J. and Mülhoff, R. 2019. Affect. In Affective Societies. Key Concepts, ed. J. Slaby and C. von Scheve , pp. 27–42. London and New York: Routledge.
Sullivan, S. 2014. Good White People: The Problem with Middle-Class White Anti-Racism. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Wallace, M. 1978. Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman. New York: The Dial Press.
Ware, V. 1992. Beyond the Pale. White Women, Racism and History. London and New York: Verso.
Yancy, G. 2008. Black Bodies, White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race in America. New York and London: Rowman and Littlefield.
Yancy, G. 2017. Black Bodies, White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race in America. New York and London: Rowman and Littlefield.

What do cultural figurations know about global whiteness?

Aanerud, R. 1997. Fictions of Whiteness: Speaking the Names of Whiteness in U.S. Literature. In Displacing Whiteness: Essay in Social and Cultural Criticism, ed. R. Frankenberg , pp. 35–59. Durham: Duke University Press.
Ahmed, S. 2007. A Phenomenology of Whiteness. Feminist Theory, 8 (2): 149–168. DOI:10.1177/1464700107078139.
Bailey, M. , Clarke, B. and Walton, J. K. 2012. Understanding Richard Hoggart: A Pedagogy of Hope. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
Bal, M. 2009. Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, 3rd edn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Castañeda, C. 2002. Figurations: Child, Bodies, Worlds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Child, B. 2015. ‘Roger Moore denies racist comments about Idris Elba playing James Bond’, The Guardian Online, 30 Mar 2015, viewed 31 July 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/mar/30/roger-moore-denies-racist-comments-about-idris-elba-playing-james-bond.
Cleaver, E. 1999. Soul on Ice. Reprint. New York: Delta.
Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.
Eddo-Lodge, R. 2017. Why I’m No Longer Talking to White People About Race. London: Bloomsbury.
Everett, A. 2020. Shaken, Not Stirred Britishness: James Bond, Race, and the Transnational Imaginary. In The Cultural Life of James Bond: Spectres of 007, ed. J. Verheul , pp. 187–206. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Fleming, I. 2012. Live and Let Die. London: Vintage.
Frankenberg, R. 1993. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Halberstam, J. 2011. The Queer Art of Failure. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Hall, S. 1996. New Ethnicities. In Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies, ed. D. Morley and K.-H. Chen , pp. 441–449. London: Routledge.
Hall, S. 1999. ‘Whose heritage? un-settling “The Heritage”, re-imagining the post-nation’, Reading the periphery.org, n.d., viewed 31 July 2020, http://readingtheperiphery.org/hall2/.
Hartigan Jr., J. 2005. Odd Tribes: Toward a Cultural Analysis of White People. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Hoggart, R. 1971. Speaking to Each Other II: About Literature. London: Chatto and Windus.
Korte, B. and Zipp, G. 2014. Poverty in Contemporary Literature: Themes and Figurations on the British Book Market. Houndsmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Levine-Rasky, C. 2019. Foreword. In The Intersections of Whiteness, ed. E. Kindinger and M. Schmitt , pp. 11–22. London: Routledge.

Lipsitz, G. 2018.The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Marx, H. and Milton, V. C. 2011. Bastardised Whiteness: 'Zef'-Culture, *Die Antwoord* and the Reconfiguration of Contemporary Afrikaans Identities. Social Identities, 17 (6): 723–745.
Moreton, C. 2015. '"This is something I have wanted to do all my life": James Bond is back with Pussy Galore for a steamy sequel to Goldfinger… Anthony Horowitz on his dazzling 007 debut Trigger Mortis', Daily Mail Online, 29 August, viewed 31 July 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-3212827/James-Bond-new-book-Trigger-Mortis-written-Anthony-Horowitz-wanted-life.html.
Morrison, T. 1992. Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Schmitt, M. 2018a. British White Trash: Figurations of Tainted Whiteness in the Novels of Irvine Welsh, Niall Griffiths and John King. Bielefeld: Transcript.
Schmitt, M. 2018b. The Whites Have Become Black': Plan B's and George Amponsah's Representations of the 2011 English Riots and the Echoes of Stuart Hall's 'New Ethnicities. Coils of the Serpent: Journal for the Study of Contemporary Power, 3: 43–61.
The Guardian . 2017. 'Joanna Lumley: Idris Elba should not play James Bond as he doesn't fit description', The Guardian Online, 9 May, viewed 31 July 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/may/09/idris-elba-james-bond-joanna-lumley-colour-blind-casting.
Tyler, I. 2008. Chav Mum Chav Scum. Feminist Media Studies, 8 (1) 17–34.
Tyler, I. 2013. Revolting Subjects. Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain. London: Zed.
Tyler, I. 2020. Stigma. The Machinery of Inequality. London: Zed.
Ware, V. 2001. Perfidious Albion: Whiteness and the International Imagination. In The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness, ed. B. B. Rasmussen et al. , pp. 184–213. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Welsh, I. 1993. Trainspotting. London: Vintage.
Wiegman, R. 1999. Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity. Boundary 2, 26 (3) 115–150.
Wray, M. 2006. Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Trans/nationalist convergences: Hindu nationalism, Trump's America and the many shades of whiteness

Bakhle, J. 2010. Country First? Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966) and the Writing of Essentials of Hindutva. Public Culture, 22 (1): 149–186.
Ball, D. 2019. America's 'Whiz Kids'? Ambivalence and the Model Minority Stereotype. Sociological Spectrum, 39 (2): 116–130.
Bhalla, V. 2006. The New Indians: Reconstructing Indian Identity in the United States. American Behavioural Scientist, 50 (1): 118–136.
Bhatt, C. 2001. Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths. Oxford: Berg.
Bhatt, C. and Mukta, P. 2000. Hindutva in the West: Mapping the Antinomies of Diaspora Nationalism. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23 (3): 407–441.
Buck, J. 2017. 'The world's best minority': Parsis and Hindutva's ethnic nationalism in India. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40 (15): 2806–2822.
Burlet, S. 2001. Reawakenings? Hindu Nationalism Goes Global. In Asian Nationalism in an Age of Globalisation, ed. R. Starrs , pp. 1–18. London: Routledge.
Fanon, F. 1986 [1952]. Black Skin, White Masks. Charles Lam Markmann (Trans.). London: Pluto Press.
Fanon, F. 2004 [1963]. The Wretched of the Earth. Richard Philcox (Trans.). New York: Grove Press.
Figueira, D. 2002. Aryans, Jews, Brahmins: Theorizing Authority through Myths of Identity. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Harris, C. 1993. Whiteness as Property. Harvard Law Review, 106 (8): 1707–1791.
Jaffrelot, C. 1998. The Idea of the Hindu Race in the Writings of Hindu Nationalist Ideologues in the 1920s and 1930s: A Concept Between Two Cultures. In The Concept of Race in South Asia, ed. P. Robb , pp. 327–354. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
King, R. 1999. Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mythic East'. London: Routledge.
Koshy, S. 1998. Category Crisis: South Asian Americans and Questions of Race and Ethnicity. Diaspora, 7 (3): 285–320.
Kumar, A. 2020. 'India rolls out the MAGA carpet for Trump', Politico, 24 February, viewed 17 August 2020, https://www.politico.com/news/2020/02/24/donald-trump-india-spectacle-117112.

Kumar, R. 2019. ‘The network of Hindu nationalists behind Modi's “Diaspora Diplomacy” in the U.S.’, The Intercept, 25 September, viewed 17 August 2020, https://theintercept.com/2019/09/25/howdy-modi-trump-hindu-nationalism/.
Kumar, S. 2017. ‘Trump's new alliance to end Islamic Terrorism’, Breitbart, 21 February, viewed 17 August 2020, http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2017/02/21/kumar-trumps-new-alliance-end-islamic-terrorism/.
López, I. H. 1996. White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race. New York: New York University Press.
Lowe, L. 1996. Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Ramakrishnan, S. K. , Lee, J. , Lee, T. and Wong, J. 2017. National Asian American Survey (NAAS) Post-Election Survey, [United States], 2016. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], viewed 17 August 2020, https://naasurvey.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/NAAS16-post-election-report.pdf.
Republican Hindu Coalition . n.d. Viewed 17 August 2020, https://rhc-usa.org.
Thapar, R. 1993. Interpreting Early India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Thobani, S. 2019. Alt-Right with the Hindu-Right: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Perfection of Hindutva. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 42 (5): 745–762.
United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204. 1923. Viewed 17 August 2020, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/261/204/.
Viswanathan, I. 2020. ‘Lost in Conflation: Calling in Indian Hindu Americans to talk about Black Lives Matter’, Medium: The Faculty, 3 June 2020, viewed 17 August 2020, https://medium.com/the-faculty/lost-in-conflation-calling-in-indian-hindu-americans-to-talk-about-black-lives-matter-ff583a850acc.
Zavos, J. 2010. Situating Hindu nationalism in the UK: Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the development of British Hindu identity. Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 48 (1): 2–22.

#TradCulture: Reproducing whiteness and neo-fascism through gendered discourse online

Almeida, S. 2015. Race-Based Epistemologies: The Role of Race and Dominance in Knowledge Production. Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies, 13 (Summer): 79–105.
Budgeon, S. 2015. Individualized Femininity and Feminist Politics of Choice. European Journal of Women's Studies, 22 (3): 303–318.
Christou, M. 2020. #Tradwives: Sexism as a Gateway to White Supremacy. Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right Blog, viewed 1 April 2020, https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2020/03/23/.
Collins, P. H. 2000. Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.
Crenshaw, K. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. Stanford Law Review, 43 (6): 1241–1299.
Davis, A.Y. 1971. Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves. In Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought, ed. B. Guy-Sheftall , pp. 200–218. New York: The New Press.
De Grand, A. 1976. Women under Italian Fascism. The Historical Journal, 19 (4): 947–968.
Deliovsky, K. 2008. Normative White Femininity: Race, Gender and the Politics of Beauty. Atlantis, 33 (1): 49–59.
Durham, M. 2007. White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics. New York: Routledge.
Ebner, J. 2020. Going Dark: The Secret Social Lives of Extremists. New York: Bloomsbury.
Foster, T. A. 2011. The Sexual Abuse of Black Men Under American Slavery. Journal of the History of Sexuality, 20 (3): 445–464.
Guy-Sheftall, B ., ed. 1995. Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought. New York: The New Press.
Higginbotham, E. B. 1992. African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race. Signs, 17 (2): 251–274.
Hobson, K. and Margulies, S. B. 2019. A Forgotten History of Eugenics: Reimagining Whiteness and Disability in the Case of Carrie Buck. In Interrogating the Communicative Power of Whiteness, ed. D. M. McIntosh , D. G. Moon and T. K. Nakayama , pp. 133–151. New York: Routledge.
hooks, b. 1981. Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism. Boston: South End Press.
Irving, K. 2000. Immigrant Mothers: Narratives of Race and Maternity, 1890–1925. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Jones-Rogers, S. E. 2019. They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Judd, B. 2020. ‘Tradwives have been labelled “subservient”, but these women reject suggestions they're oppressed’, ABC.net, 23 February 2020, viewed 1 April 2020, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-02-24/tradwives-women-say-the-movement-is-empowering-not-oppressive/11960910.
Kline, W. 2001. Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom. Berkley: University of California Press.
Leidig, E. 2020. ‘From incels to tradwives: Understanding the spectrum of gender and online extremism’, Impakter, *21 May*, viewed 21 May 2020, https://impakter.com/from-incels-to-tradwives-understanding-the-spectrum-of-gender-and-online-extremism/.
Lorde, A. 2007. Sister Outsider, 2nd edn. Berkley: Crossing Press.
Loroff, N. 2011. Gender and Sexuality in Nazi Germany. Constellations, 3 (1): 49–61.
Marwick, A. E. 2013. Online Identity. In A Companion to New Media Dynamics, ed. J. A. Hartley , J. Burgess and A. Bruns , pp. 355–364. Malden, MA: Blackwell. DOI:10.1002/9781118321607.
Mattheis, A. A. 2018. Shieldmaidens of Whiteness: (Alt)Maternalism and Women Recruiting for the Far/Alt-Right. Journal for Deradicalization, 17: 128–161.
Mattheis, A. A. 2019. Disrupting the Digital Divide: Extremism's Integration of Offline/Online Practice. Interventionen, 14: 4–17.
McRae, E. G. 2018. Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy. New York: Oxford University Press.
McRobbie, A. 2008. The Aftermath of Feminism. London: SAGE.
Merish, Lori . 2000. Sentimental Maternalism: Gender Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2020. Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far-Right Became Mainstream. New York: Verso.
Petitt, A. K. 2020. The Darling Academy, viewed 15 January 2020, https://www.thedarlingacademy.com/.
Scales-Trent, J. 2001. Racial Purity Laws in the United States and Nazi Germany: The Targeting Process. Human Rights Quarterly, 23 (2): 260–307.
Schiebinger, L. 1990. The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science. Eighteenth-Century Studies, 23 (4): 387–405.
Stewart, A. 2020. ‘Tradlife: The Restoration and Preservation of Traditional Family Values. Wife with a Purpose’, viewed 15 January 2020, https://wifewithapurpose.com/.
Temples, A. June 2020 ‘Connect With an Ambassador, Revive Our Hearts’, viewed 1, https://www.reviveourhearts.com/ambassadors/connect/.
The Trad Wife . 2020. ‘The Trad Wife Blog’, viewed 15 January 2020, https://thetradwife.wordpress.com/.
Truth, S. 1851. 'Arn’t I a Woman', BlackPast.org, An Online Reference Center for African American History, viewed 1 June 2020, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/speeches-african-american-history/1851-sojourner-truth-arnt-i-woman/.
Sue, D. W. *et al* . 2007. Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice. American Psychologist, 62 (4): 271–286. DOI:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2016. Race, Intersectionality, and Affect in Postapartheid Productions of the ‘Afrikaans White Woman’. Critical Philosophy of Race, 4 (2): 221–238.
Vera, A. and Ly, L. 2020. ‘White woman who called police on a black man bird-watching in Central Park has been fired’, CNN.com, *26 May*, viewed 3 June 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/05/26/us/central-park-video-dog-video-african-american-trnd/index.html.
Waltman, M. S. and Mattheis, A. A. 2016. Understanding Hate Speech. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication, 1–27. DOI:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.422.
Wells-Barnett, I. 1892. Lynch Law in America. In Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought, ed. B. Guy-Sheftall , pp. 70–76. New York: The New Press.
Whitehead, A. L. and Perry, S. L. 2019. Is a ‘Christian America’ a More Patriarchal America?: Religion, Politics, and Traditionalist Gender Ideology. Canadian Review of Sociology, 56 (2): 151–177.
Whitman, J. Q. 2017. Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hating Meghan Markle: Drawing the boundaries of British whiteness against postfeminist femininity

Ahmed, S. 2014. The Cultural Politics of Emotion, 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

All About Eve. 1950. Film. Directed by J. L. Mankiewicz . USA: 20th Century Fox.

Berlant, L. 2011. Cruel Optimism. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Blott, U. , Wheeler, O. and Linning, S. 2018. '"I'm celebrating Britain … my new home!" Duchess of Sussex STUNS onlookers in surprise appearance to honour wedding dress designer at Fashion Awards', MailOnline, 11 December, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-6481215/Meghan-Markle-British-Fashion-Awards.html.

Brennan, S. 2019. 'Meghan channels tennis whites in a pleated skirt while Kate re-wears a green £2,150 D&G dress – as "duelling duchesses" quash feud rumours by sharing jokes as they watch Serena LOSE Wimbledon final', MailOnline, 13 July, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-7243641/Kate-Meghan-end-feud-rumours-attend-Wimbledon.html-comments.

Butler, J. 2013. For White Girls Only? Postfeminism and the Politics of Inclusion. Feminist Formations, 25 (1): 35–58.

Dosekun, S. 2015. For Western Girls Only? Post-feminism as Transnational Culture. Feminist Media Studies, 15 (6): 960–975.

Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.

Elson, J. 2019. 'Sick online trolls are claiming Meghan's baby bump is a FAKE prosthetic in bizarre conspiracy theory', MailOnline, 8 April, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6896153/Sick-online-trolls-claiming-Meghan-Markles-baby-bump-FAKE-prosthetic.html.

English, R. and Robinson, M. 2019. '"They could've moved next door!" Fury as it emerges Harry and Meghan spent 2.4 million of YOUR cash on Frogmore Cottage "to escape rift with Kate and William" – and final bill could hit 3m', MailOnline, 25 June, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7176813/How-Meghan-Harry-splashed-2–4m-taxpayers-cash-new-bathrooms-bedrooms-kitchen.html.

Feigin, S . 2019. 'Meghan Markle Tatler Survey: Nearly Half of Brits don't think Duchess of Sussex has been good for Royal Family', Evening Standard, 25 October, viewed 18 August 2021, https://www.standard.co.uk/insider/royals/meghanmarkletatlersurveynearlyhalfofbritsdontthinkduchessofsussexhasbeengoodforroyalfamilya4271076.html

Gilbert, A. 2019. Hatewatch with Me: Anti-Fandom as Social Performance. In Anti-Fandom: Dislike and Hate in the Digital Age, ed. M. Click , pp. 62–80. New York: New York University Press.

Gill, R. 2007. Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility. European Journal of Cultural Studies, 10 (2): 147–166.

Gill, R. 2016. Post-postfeminism? New Feminist Visibilities in Postfeminist Times. Feminist Media Studies, 16 (4): 610–630.

Hage, G. 2000. White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society. New York: Routledge.

Harry and Meghan: An African Journey . 2019. Documentary. Directed by N. Lippiett . UK: ITV.

Harry and Meghan: The Royals in Crisis . 2020. Documentary. USA: Fox.

Hooks, B . 2014. Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.

Kearney, M. C. 2015. Sparkle: Luminosity and Post-girl Power Media. Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies, 29 (2): 263–273.

Lipsitz, G. 1998. The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Littler, J. 2017. Against Meritocracy: Culture, Power, and Myths of Mobility. London: Routledge.

McRobbie, A. 2009. The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change. London: SAGE Publications.

McRobbie, A. 2015. Notes on the Perfect: Competitive Femininity in Neoliberal Times. Australian Feminist Studies, 30 (83): 3–20.

Morgan, C. 2019. 'Meghan is joined by two old friends at Wimbledon as she makes surprise appearance to cheer pal Serena Williams to victory (so they could be Archie's secret godparents?)', MailOnline, 5 July, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-7214133/Duchess-Sussex-makes-surprise-appearance-Wimbledon-cheer-pal-Serena.html-comments.

Morton, A. 2018. Meghan: A Hollywood Princess. New York: Grand Central Publishing.

Ngai, S. 2005. Ugly Feelings. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. 2001. Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Projansky, S. 2001. Watching Rape: Film and Television in Postfeminist Culture. New York: New York University Press.

Randell-Moon, H. 2017. Thieves Like Us: The British Monarchy, Celebrity, and Settler Colonialism. Celebrity Studies, 8 (3): 393–408.
Richardson, H. 2019. ‘Meghan Markle is “aware” she is being “pitted against” future queen Kate Middleton and finds the situation “challenging”, a source tells People magazine’, MailOnline, 25 November, viewed 3 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-7722387/Meghan-Markle-aware-pitted-against-future-queen-Kate-Middleton-source-claims.html-reader-comments>.
Rowbottom, A. 2020. Subject Positions and ‘Real Royalists:’ Monarchy and Vernacular Civil Religion in Great Britain. In British Subjects: An Anthropology of Britain, ed. N. Rapport , pp. 31–47. Oxon: Routledge.
Sandvoss, C. 2019. The Politics of Against: Political Participation, Anti-fandom, and Populism. In Anti-Fandom: Dislike and Hate in the Digital Age, ed. M. Click , pp. 125–147. New York: New York University Press.
Shome, R. 2001. White Femininity and the Discourse of the Nation: Re/membering Princess Diana. Feminist Media Studies, 1 (3): 323–342.
Single White Female . 1992. Film. Directed by B. Schroeder . USA: Columbia Pictures.
Squall18 . 2010. ‘Do you agree with this saying: Megan Fox is the poor man's Angelina Jolie’, Gamespot, viewed 17 May 2020, https://www.gamespot.com/forums/offtopic-discussion-314159273/do-you-agree-with-this-saying-quot-megan-fox-is-th-27331281/.
Styles, R. 2016. ‘EXCLUSIVE: Harry's girl is (almost) straight outta Compton: Gang-scarred home of her mother revealed – so will he be dropping by for tea?’, Daily Mail, 2 November, viewed 17 May 2020, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3896180/Prince-Harry-s-girlfriend-actress-Meghan-Markles.html.
Suits . 2011-2019. USA Network. TV, Netflix.
Tasker, Y. and Negra, D. , eds. 2007. Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the Politics of Popular Culture. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Toolan, M. 2016. Peter Black, Christopher Stevens, Class and Inequality in the Daily Mail. Discourse & Society, 27 (6): 642–660.
u/diamond9 . 2009. ‘Megan Fox: The poor man's version of Angelina Jolie’, Reddit, viewed 17 May 2020, https://www.reddit.com/r/offbeat/comments/8ufgs/megan_fox_the_poor_mans_version_of_angelina_jolie/.
Weidhase, N. 2021. The Feminist Politics of Meghan Markle: Brexit, Femininity and the Nation in Crisis. European Journal of Cultural Studies [Online]. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1367549420980010
The Wedding Planner . 2001. Film. Directed by A. Shankman. USA. Sony Pictures.

Colour-blind ideologies: The whiteness of liberalism and socialism

Ahmed, S. 2009. Embodying Diversity: Problems and Paradoxes for Black Feminists. Race, Ethnicity and Education, 12 (1): 41–52.
Ash, J. 1775. The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language. London: Printed for Edward Dilly Charles Dilly and R. Baldwin.
Badenhorst, C. M. 1992. ‘Mines, Missionaries and the Municipality: Organised African Sport and Recreation in Johannesburg c1920–1950’, PhD thesis, Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University
Bannister, S. 1830. Humane Policy: Or, Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements Essential to a Due Expenditure of British Money, and to the Best Interests of the Settlers. With Suggestions how to Civilize the Natives by an Improved Administration of Existing Means. London: Thomas and George Underwood, Fleet Street.
Bateman, F. 2008. Defining the Heathen in Ireland and Africa: Two Similar Discourses a Century Apart. Social Sciences and Missions, 21 (1): 73–96.
Biko, S. 2004. I Write What I Like. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.
Blind, K. 1896. Problems of the Transvaal. The North American Review, 162 (473): 457–472.
Bolt, C. 1984. Race and the Victorians. In British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century, ed. C. C. Eldridge , pp. 126–147. London: Macmillan.
Clark, G. B. 1881. British Policy Towards the Boers: An Historical Sketch, 4th edn. London: William Ridgway, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Cleall, E. 2012. Missionary Discourses of Difference Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900. Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Cole, W. E. 1943. The Role of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in War and Peace. Social Forces, 21 (4): 456–463.
Cooper, J. 2002. ‘Invasion in Writing: London Missionary Society Missionaries, the Civilizing Mission, and the Written Word in Early Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa’, MA thesis, Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University.

Crais, C. C. 1992. White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
Curtin, P. D. 1964. The image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850. London: MacMillan.
Daut, M. L. 2012. The 'Alpha and Omega' of Haitian Literature: Baron de Vastey and the U.S. Audience of Haitian Political Writing. Comparative Literature, 64 (1): 49–72.
Daut, M. L. 2015. Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Davis, R. H. 2003. Up from Slavery for South Africans: C.T. Loram's Abridged Edition of Booker T. Washington's Classic Autobiography. In Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later, ed. F. W. Brundage . University Press of Florida.
Doyle, A. C. 2001. Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: The Electric Book Company.
Drew, A. 1991. 'Social Mobilization and Racial Capitalism in South Africa, 1928–1960', PhD thesis, Los Angeles: University of California
Drew, A. (2003). Will the Real Sidney Bunting Please Stand Up? Constructing and Contesting the Identity of a South African Communist. The English Historical Review, 118 (479), 1208–1241. 10.1093/ehr/118.479.1208.
Dubow, S. 2006. A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820–2000. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
Erasmus, Z 2017, Rearranging the Furniture of History: Non-Racialism as Anticolonial Praxis. Critical Philosophy of Race, 5 (2): 198–222.
Everatt, D. 2009. The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Everatt, D. 2012. Non-Racialism in South Africa: Status and Prospects. Politikon, 39 (1): 5–28.
Gladstone, W. E. 1910. 'Lord Gladstone on Racialism', Rhodesia Herald, 23 September, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Goldberg, D. T. 2002. The Racial State. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
Haines, R. J. 1991. 'The Politics of Philanthropy and Race Relations: Joint Councils of South Africa c.1920–1955', PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
Harris, S. 2020. 'A conversation with Caitlin Flanagan', Sam Harris, podcast, 13 May, viewed 15 May 2020, https://samharris.org/podcasts/203-may-13–2020/.
Heng, G. 2018. The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Heyman, R. D. 1972. C. T. Loram: A South African Liberal in Race Relations. The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 5 (1): 41–50.
Hoquet, T. 2014. The Genealogy of Race in the Eighteenth Century: Biologization of Race and Racialization of the Human: Bernier, Buffon, Linnaeus. In The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations, ed. N. Bancel , T. David and D. Thomas , pp. 41–71. New York, NY and Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
Hughey, M. 2014. The White Savior Film: Content, Critics and Consumption. Temple University Press: Philadelphia.
Jacottet, E. 1904. The Ethiopian Church and the Missionary Conference of Johannesburg: An Open Letter from the Rev. E. Jacottet, of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, to the Assistant Secretary of the Special Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church held at Pretoria in August, 1904. The Christian Express, December, 34 (411).
Johnson, S. 1765. A Dictionary of the English Language: In which The Words are deduced from their Originals, and Illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the best Writers, vol. 1, 3rd edn. London: Longmans, Green, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
Kiernan, V. 2015. The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes to Other Cultures in the Imperial Age. London: Zed Books.
Lake, M. and Reynolds, H. 2008. Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lester, A. 2009. Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century. In Mission and Empire, ed. N. Etherington . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Magubane, Z. 1997. 'From Noble Savage to Native Problem: Images of South Africans in British Colonial Discourse, 1806–1910', PhD thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Mangcu, X. 2015. Preface. In The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?, ed. X. Mangcu . Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Marable, M. 1976. 'African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube', PhD thesis, Maryland: University of Maryland
Maylam, P. 2001. South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation, and Apartheid. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mills, C. W. 1997. The Racial Contract. Cornell University Press: New York.
Nauright, J. 1996. Colonial Manhood and Imperial Race Virility: British Responses to Post-Boer War Colonial Rugby Tours. In Making men: Rugby and Masculine Identity, ed. J. Nauright and T. J. L. Chandler , pp. 121–139. London: Routledge.
Pitts, J. 2005. A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Rich, P. 1980. 'The Dilemmas of South African Liberalism: White Liberals, Racial Ideology and the Politics of Social Control in the Period of South African Industrialisation, 1887 to 1943', PhD thesis, University of Warwick, United Kingdom.
Rodriguez, J. and Freeman, K. J. 2016. 'Your Focus on Race is Narrow and Exclusive': The Derailment of Anti-racist Work Through Discourses of Intersectionality and Diversity. Whiteness and Education, 1 (1): 69–82.
Satgar, V. 2019. Seven Theses on Radical Non-racialism, the Climate Crisis and Deep Just Transitions: From the National Question to the Eco-cide Question. In Racism After Apartheid: Challenges for Marxism and Anti-Racism, ed. V. Satgar , pp. 194–216. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Sauer, H. 1910. 'Speech by Mr Sauer, His Views on Racialism: More Anti-Dutch Feeling than Anti-English, The Future of South Africa', Diamond Fields Advertiser, 16 February, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Seely, J. 1908. 'Racialism Dead', Rhodesia Herald, 13 November, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Simons, H. J. and Simons, R. E. 1969. Class and Colour in South Africa 1850–1950. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Smith, T. 1848a. 'Sketches of South Africa', The Wesleyan-Methodist magazine, 4 August, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Smith, T. 1848b. 'Sketches of South Africa', The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, 4 September, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.
Song, M. 2018. Why We Still Need to Talk About Race. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41 (6): 1131–1145.
Soudien, C. 2019. Cape radicals: Intellectual and political thought of the New Era Fellowship, 1930s–1960s. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Spenser, E. 1763. A View of the State of Ireland as it was in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Dublin: Laurence Flin, in Castle-Street, and Ann Watts, in Skinner-Row, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
Suttner, R. 2012. Understanding Non-racialism as an Emancipatory Concept in South Africa. Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory, 59 (130): 22–41.
Templin, J. A. 1968. God and the Covenant in the South African Wilderness. Church History, 37 (3): 281–297.
Templin, J. A. 1999. The Ideology of a Chosen People: Afrikaner Nationalism and the Ossewa Trek, 1938. Nations and Nationalism, 5 (3): 397–417.
The Christian Express . 1911. 'Nation Union from Mlomo oa Bantho the New Native Paper Published at Johannesburg We Take the Following', The Christian Express, XLI (493).
Ticktin, D. 1973. 'The Origins of the South African Labour Party 1888-1910', PhD thesis, Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
Trapido, S. 1964. The Origins of the Cape Franchise Qualifications of 1853. Journal of African History, 5 (1): 37–54.
Watson, R. L. 2012. Slave Emancipation and Racial Attitudes in Nineteenth-Century South Africa. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Wilburn, K. 2013. 'Friend of the Native?': James Sivewright and the Cape Liberal Tradition. South African Historical Journal, 65 (2): 271–292.
Williams, R. 1983. Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. London: Fontana.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2015. Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability. Oakland: University of California Press.
Wilson, F. 2011. Historical Roots of Inequality in South Africa. Economic History of Developing Regions, 26 (1): 1–15.
Wright, H. M. 1980. The Burden of the Present and Its Critics. Social Dynamics, 6 (1): 36–48.
Yellin, E. S. 2002. The (White) Search for (Black) Order: The Phelps-Stokes Fund's First Twenty Years, 1911–1931. Historian, 65 (2): 319–352.

Zionism as a movement of whiteness: Race and colour in the Zionist project

Abulhawa, S. 2017. ‘Invention of the Mizrahim’, Al-Jazeera Online, 20 September, viewed 15 March 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/invention-mizrahim-170920103701750.html.

Arbel, E. 2013. Adam v. The Knesset. Supreme Court of Israel, 16 September.

Ben-Eliezer, U. 2004. Becoming a Black Jew: Cultural Racism and Anti-Racism in Contemporary Israel. Social Identities, 10 (2): 245–266.

Bhabha, H. 1998. The White Stuff (Political Aspects of Whiteness). Arts Forum International, 36: 21–23.

Blum, E. 2011. Arthur Rupin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture. Leiden: Brill.

Bonilla-Silva, E. 1997. Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. American Sociological Review, 62 (3): 465–480.

Boyd, R. 2003. Were Black Entrepreneurs Displaced From the Retail Trade by White Immigrant Merchants? A Study of Northern Cities in the Early Twentieth Century. Journal of SocioEconomics, 32 (2003): 447–455.

Brodkin, K. 1998. How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Chetrit, S. S. 2005. The Neo-Mizrahim: The Mizrahi Radical Discourse and the Democratic Rainbow Coalition. In Mizrahi Voices: Toward a New Discourse on Israeli Society and Culture, ed. G. Abutbul et. al. , pp. 131–152. Tel-Aviv: Masada [Hebrew].

Chinski, S. 2002. ‘Eyes Wide Shut’: On Acquired Balkan Syndrome in the Israeli Arts. Theory and Criticism, 20 (Spring): 57–86.

Cohen Y. *et al*. 2019. Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Educational Gaps in the Third Generation. Research on Social Stratification and Mobility, 59: 25–33.

Dyer, R. 1997. White: Essays on Race and Culture. London and New York: Routledge.

Fanon, F. 1967. Black Skin, White Masks. New York: Grove Press.

Frankenberg, R. 1997. Local Whiteness, Localizing Whiteness. In Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism, ed. R. Frankenberg , pp. 1–35. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gileman, S. L. 1991. The Jew's Body. London and New York: Routledge.

Ginzburg, K. *et al*. 2013. Perceived Racism, Emotional Responses, Behavioral Reponses and Internalized Racism among Ethiopian Adolescent Girls in Israel. In *Proceeding of the 14 th Facet Theory Conference: Searching for Structure in Complex Social, Cultural and Psychological Phenomena*, 501–518.

Lavie, S. 1991. ‘Arrival of the new cultured tenants’, The Times Literary Supplement, London, 14 June: no. 4602.

Lentin R. 2009. Traces of Racial Exception: Racializing Israeli Settler Colonialism. London: Bloomsbury.

LevineRasky, C. 2020. 'Jewish Whiteness and its Others'. The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies, 19 (3): 362–381.

Lewis, A. E. 2004. ‘What Group?’ Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of ‘Color-Blindness’. Sociological Theory, 22 (4): 623–646.

Lissak, M. 1999. The Great Aliya of the 1950s: The Failure of the Melting Pot. Jerusalem: Bialik Publishing [Hebrew].

Mula, S. 2018. ‘I am totally Normal’. Judaism, Israelism and Whiteness as Identity Anchors in the way Ethiopian Pupils Cope with Racism. In Israel. Gilui Da’at: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Education, Society and Culture, 14: 13–42 [Hebrew].

Raz, Y. 2004. Marked: The Construction of Ashkenazi Whiteness in Zionist Cinema. In Eastern Appearances/Mother Tongue: A Present that Stirs the Thickets of Its Arab Past, ed. Y. Nizri , pp. 132–152. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publication [Hebrew].

Roediger, D. R. 2007. The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class. London: Verso.

Rosaldo, R. 1993. Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Rotbad, S. 2015. White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Salamon, H. 2003. Blackness in Transition: Decoding Racial Constructs Through Stories of Ethiopian Jews. Journal of Folklore Research, 40 (1): 3–32.

Sasson-Levy, O. 2013. A Different Kind of Whiteness: Marking and Unmarking of Social Boundaries in the Construction of Social Ethnicity. Sociological Forum, 28 (1) (March).

Shenhav, Y. 2006. The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion and Ethnicity. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Shohat, E. 2006. Taboo Memories, Diasporic Views. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Shohat E. 2017. The Invention of Judeo-Arabic. Interventions, International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 19 (2): 153–200.

Waters, M. C. 1990. Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yadgar, Y. 2011. Jewish Secularism and Ethno-National Identity in Israel: The Traditionist Critique. Journal of Contemporary Religion, 26 (3): 467–481.

How (not) to become white

Ahmed, S. 2013. ‘Making Feminist Points’, Feministkilljoys, September 11, viewed 1 June 2020, https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1917. Castes in India. Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development. Indian Antiquary, May, XLVI: 3–22, viewed 1 June 2020, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt_ambedkar_castes.html.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1935. Untouchables or the Children of India's Ghetto. In Writings and Speeches, Vol. 5, ed. B. Ambedkar , 1989. Bombay: Government of Maharashtra.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1947. Who were the Shudras? How they came to be the Fourth Varna in Indo-Aryan Society? In Writings and Speeches, Vol. 7, ed. Babasaheb Ambedkar Dr , 1990. Bombay: Government of Maharashtra.

Bairy, R. 2010. Being Brahmin, Being Modern. New Delhi: Routledge.

Chakravarti, U. 2018. Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Chandra, S. 2011. Whiteness on the Margins of Native Patriarchy: Race, Caste, Sexuality and the Agenda of Transnational Studies. Feminist Studies, 37 (1): 127–153.

Chandra, S. 2012. The Sexual Life of English: Languages of Caste and Desire in Colonial India. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Chandra, S. 2020. Decolonizing the Orgasm: Caste, Whiteness and Knowledge Production at the ‘End of Empire’. South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 43 (6): 1179–1195.

Cohn, B. S. 1996. Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gauba, K. L. 1929. Uncle Sham: A Strange Tale of a Civilization Run Amok. Lahore: Times Press.

Gauba, K. L. 1974. Friends and Foes. New Delhi: Indian Book Company.

Gupta, C. 2001. Sexuality, Community, Obscenity: Women, Muslims and the Hindu Public in Colonial India. New Delhi: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hofmeyer, I. 2016. Foreword. In Africa in the Indian Imagination: Race and the Politics of Postcolonial Citation, ed. A. Burton . Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Horne, G. 2008. The End of Empires: African Americans and India. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Koshy, S. 2001. Morphing Race into Ethnicity: Asian Americans and Critical Transformations of Whiteness. Boundary 2, 28 (1): 153–194.

Langer, W. L. 1929. Some Recent Books on International Relations: Uncle Sham. Foreign Affairs, 8 (1): 156–168.

Mayo, K. 1927. Mother India. London: Harcourt Brace and Co.

Mazumdar, S. 1989. Racist Responses to Racism: The Aryan Myth and South Asians in the United States. South Asia Bulletin, 9 (1): 47–55.

Mitra, D. 2020. Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Morgan, J. L. 1997. ‘Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder’: Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770. The William and Mary Quarterly, 54 (1): 167–192.

n.a. 1884. Strishikshan. Poona Vaibhav [The Glory of Poona]: 24 August: 1–2.

Pandey, G. 2013. A History of Prejudice: Race, Caste and Difference in India and the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Patel, S. 2016. Complicating the Tale of ‘Two Indians’: Mapping ‘South Asian’ Complicity in White Settler Colonialism Along the Axis of Caste and Anti-Blackness. Theory & Event, 19 (4). muse.jhu.edu/article/633278

Prashad, V. 2001. Everybody was Kung Fu Fighting: AfroAsian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity. Boston: Beacon Press.

Prashad, V. 2007. The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World. New York City, NY: New Press.

Sedgwick, E. 2003. Touching, Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Sinha, M. 2006. Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Slate, N. 2012. Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Yule, H. and Burnell, A. C. 1903. Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive. The Anglo-Indian Dictionary, 2nd edn. London: J. Murray.

‘Good Sweden’: Transracial adoption and the construction of Swedish whiteness and white antiracism

Brännström, L. 2016. ‘Ras’ i efterkrigstidens Sverige. Ett bidrag till en mothistoria [‘Race’ in post-war Sweden. A contribution to a counter-history]. In Historiens hemvist. 2. Etik, politik och historikerns ansvar [The home of history. 2. Ethics, politics and the responsibility of the historian], ed. P. Lorenzoni and U. Manns , pp. 27–55. Göteborg: Makadam.

Broberg, G. and Roll-Hansen, N. , eds. 2005. Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Burton, A. M. 1994. Burdens of History. British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Duedahl, P. 2017. Fra overmenneske til UNESCO-menneske. Racebegrebet i Danmark 1890–1965 [From Super Humans to UNESCO Humans. The Concept of Race in Denmark 1890–1965]. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

Ericsson, M. 2016. Historisk forskning om rasism och främlingsfientlighet i Sverige. En analyserande kunskapsöversikt [Historical Research on Racism and Xenophobia in Sweden. An Analysing Knowledge Review]. Stockholm: Forum för levande historia.

Goldberg, D. T. 2009. The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gondouin, J. 2012. Adoption, Surrogacy and Swedish Exceptionalism. Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies ejournal, 8 (2). Viewed 21 February 2020, https://acrawsa.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/CRAWS-Vol-8-No-2012.pdf.

Gondouin, J. 2016. Feminist Global Motherhood: Representations of Single-Mother Adoption in Swedish Media. In Critical Kinship Studies, ed. C. Kroløkke , L. Myong , S. Adrian and T. Tjørnhøj-Thomsen , pp. 101–116. Landham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Hage, G. 1998. White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society. Annandale: Pluto Press.

Hoffmann, P. 1971. Adoptive Parents, at Milan Conference, Tell of Fighting National Barriers and Ask World Standards. New York Times. 19 September, 27.

Högbacka, R. and Ruohio, H. 2020. Black and White Strangers: Adoption and Ethnic Hierarchies in Finland. In Adoption and Multiculturalism. Europe, the Americas, and the Pacific, ed. J. H. Wills , T. Hübinette and I. Willing , pp. 177–198. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Howell, S. 2006. The Kinning of Foreigners. Transnational Adoption in a Global Perspective. Oxford: Berghahn.

Hübinette, T. 2003. The Adopted Koreans of Sweden and the Korean Adoption Issue. Review of Korean Studies, 6 (1): 251–266.

Hübinette, T. 2007. Sverige unikt som adoptionsland [Sweden – a unique adoption country]. Välfärd, 7 (2): 3–5.

Hübinette, T. 2020. Transnational Adoption and the Emergence of Sweden's Progressive Reproduction Policy. A Contribution to the Biopolitical History of Sweden. In Adoption and Multiculturalism. Europe, the Americas, and the Pacific, ed. J. H. Wills , T. Hübinette and I. Willing , pp. 223–238. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hübinette, T. and Lundström, C. 2014. Three Phases of Hegemonic Whiteness. Understanding Racial Temporalities in Sweden. Social Identities. Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture, 20 (6): 423–437. DOI:10.1080/13504630.2015.1004827.

Kjellman, U. 2013. A Whiter Shade of Pale. Visuality and Race in the Work of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology. Scandinavian Journal of History, 38 (2): 180–201. DOI:10.1080/03468755.2013.769458.

Klein, C. 2003. Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kyllingstad, J. R. 2014. Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway, 1890–1945. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

Lindgren, C. 2010. Internationell adoption i Sverige. Politik och praktik från sextiotal till nittiotal [International Adoption in Sweden. Policy and Practice from the 1960s to the 1990s]. Stockholm: Myndigheten för internationella adoptionsfrågor.

Link, R. 1971. The New Swedes. Chocolate Children Are Melting into the Swedish Vanilla. Sweden Now, 5 (11): 50, 51–55.

McKee, K. D. 2016. Monetary Flows and the Movements of Children: The Transnational Adoption Industrial Complex. Journal of Korean Studies, 21 (1): 137–178. DOI:10.1353/jks.2016.0007.

Moberg, E. 1964. Vill ni rädda ett barn [Do you want to save a child]. Idun-Veckojournalen. September 11, 24–25, 57.

Myong, L. and Andersen, N. T. 2015. From Immigration Stop to Intimizations of Migration: Cross-Reading the Histories of Domestic(ated) Labor Migration and Transnational Adoption in Denmark 1973-2015.

Retfærd: Nordisk Juridisk Tidsskrift, 38 (3): 62–79.
Naum, M. and Nordin, J. M. , eds. 2013. Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena. New York, NY: Springer.
Norocel, C. , Saresma, T. , Lähdesmäki, T. and Ruotsalainen, M. 2020. Discursive Constructions of White Nordic Masculinities in Rightwing Populist Media. Men and Masculinities, 23 (3–4): 425–446. DOI:10.1177/1097184X18780459.
Oh, A. 2005. A New Kind of Missionary Work: Christians, Christian Americanists, and the Adoption of Korean GI Babies, 1955-1961. Women's Studies Quarterly, 33 (3–4): 161–188.
Pitcher, B. 2014. Consuming Race. New York, NY: Routledge.
Selman, P. 2002. Intercountry Adoption in the New Millennium: The'Quiet Migration' Revisited. Population Research and Policy Review, 21 (3): 205–222. DOI:10.1023/A:1019583625626.
Shome, R. 2011. 'Global Motherhood': The Transnational Intimacies of White Femininity. Critical Studies in Media Communication, 28 (5): 388–406. DOI:10.1080/15295036.2011.589861.
Statistiska centralbyrån . 2019. 'Folkmängd efter födelseland 1900-2018 [Population number according to birth country 1900–2018]', viewed 25 March 2020, https://www.scb.se/contentassets/2b133080e48d4f5ba012947e5dc6b79e/be0101-folkmangd-fodelselander-1900-2018.xlsx.
Weiss, H. , ed. 2016. Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World During the Era of the Slave Trade. Boston, MA: Brill.
Wekker, G. 2016. White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Wieslander, A. 1963. De har ljusare framtid här [They have a better future here]. Stockholms-Tidningen, 3 April, 3.
Wyver, R. 2018. Mimicry, Mockery and Menace in Swedish International Adoption Narratives. Borderlands e-Journal, 17 (2), viewed 25 February 2018, http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol17no2_2018/wyver_mimicry.pdf.
Wyver, R. 2019. Eating the (M)Other. Exploring Swedish Adoption Consumption Fantasies. Genealogy, 3 (3), viewed 25 February 2020, https://www.mdpi.com/2313-5778/3/3/47. DOI:10.3390/genealogy3030047.
Wyver, R. 2020. From Flat-Packed Furniture to Fascism: Exploring the Role of the Transracial Adoptee in Fantasies of Swedish Goodness. Interventions. International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 22 (7): 897–915. DOI:10.1080/1369801X.2020.1718534.
Yngvesson, B. 2010. Belonging in an Adopted World. Race, Identity and Transnational Adoption. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
Yngvesson, B. 2012. Transnational Adoption and European Immigration Politics: Producing the National Body in Sweden. Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, 19 (1): 327–345.

Japan's modernisation and self-construction between white and yellow

Azuma, E. 2005. Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Bureau of the Census . 1914. Chinese and Japanese in the U.S. 1910. Dept. of Commerce.
Demel, W. and Kowner, R. 2013. Early Modern European Divisions of Mankind and East Asians, 1500-1750. In Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Western and Eastern Constructions, ed. R. Kowner and W. Demel , pp. 41–57. Leiden: Brill.
Dower, J. 1986. War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
Frankenberg, R. 1993. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Fukuzawa, Y. 1869. 'Sekai kunizukushi' [All the Countries of the World, for children written in verse]. Tokyo: Keio gijuku-zōhan. Digital Collection of Keio University Libraries, viewed 25 January 2021, https://dcollections.lib.keio.ac.jp/en/fukuzawa.
Goldsmith, J. 1868. A Grammar of Geography for the Use of Schools, with the Maps and Illustrations. London: William Tegg.
Hirobe, I. 2017. Jinshu Sensō toiu Gūwa [An Allegory of the Race War]. Nagoya: Nagoya University Press.
Horn, G. 2004. Race War: White Supremacy and the Japanese Attack on the British Empire. New York: New York University Press.
Ignatiev, N. 1995. How the Irish Became White. New York: Routledge.
Keevak, M. 2011. Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kowner, R. 2014. From White to Yellow: The Japanese in European Racial Thought, 1300-1935. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Majima, A. 2012. Skin Color Melancholy in Modern Japan: Male Elites' Racial Experiences Abroad, 1880s–1950s. In Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Western and Eastern Constructions, ed. R. Kowner and W. Demel , pp. 391–410. Leiden: Brill.
Ministry of Education . 1872. 'Shōggakō Kyōsoku Gaihyō: Meiji 5 nen 11gatsu 10ka Ministry of Education futatsu bangai' [Chart of Regulations for Elementary Education: Addendum to the Ministry of Education Notification of November 10, 1872], viewed 25 January 2021, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318006.htm.
Ministry of Education . 1891. Fundamental Principles of Education. Tokyo: Ministry of Education.
Ministry of Education . 1900. 'Shōgakkōrei, Shōgakkōrei-shikō-kisoku, Shōgakkōrei-kaisei-no-yōshi oyobi sono shikōjō chūijikō Yoryō' [Elementary Education Edict/Elementary Education Edict Implementation Regulations/Summary of Amendments to the Elementary Education Edict and Guidelines for Implementation]. Tokyo: Ministry of Education, viewed 25 January 2021, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992598/16.
Ministry of Education . 1912. 'Kōtō Shōgaku chiri Kan-ni' [Higher Elementary School Geography, Vol. 2]. Tokyo: Nihonshoseki.
Ministry of Education . 1929. 'Jinjō Shōgaku chiri-sho' [Standard Elementary Geography]. Tokyo: Tokyo shoseki.
Ministry of Education . 1943. 'Shōtōka chiri' [Elementary School Geography]. Tokyo: Nihonshoseki.
Nakamura K. 1984. Kyōkasho monogatari: Kokka to kyōkasho to minshū. (A Story on Textbooks: Nation, Textbook and People). Tokyo: Horupu shuppan.
Noguchi, Y. 1896. Chūgaku bankokuchishi jōkan [Middle School World Geography, volume 1]. Tokyo: Seibidō.
Roediger, D. 2002. Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Sakai, K. 2005. 'Dominanto na hakujinsei' wo koete: Kindai Nihon no futatsu no kao [Beyond the 'Dominant Whiteness': Double Faces of Modern Japan]. In Hakujinsei towa nanika [White is whiteness?], ed. T. Fujikawa , pp. 147–156. Tokyo: Tōsui shobō.
Sakamoto, M. , ed. 2008. Nanban byōbu shūsei [The Nanban Byobu Collection]. Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan .
Satō, D. 1901. Chūgaku honpō chiri kyōkasho (Middle School Textbook of Japanese Geography). Tokyo: Rokumeikan.
Stoddard, L. 1920. The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy. New York: Scribner.
Takezawa, Y. 2016. Shifting Grounds in Japanese American Studies, In Trans-Pacific Japanese American Studies: Conversations on Race and Racializations, ed. Y. Takezawa and G. Y. Okihiro , pp. 13–35. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Takezawa, Y. 2020. Racialization and Discourses of 'Privileges' in the Middle Ages: Jews, 'Gypsies', and Kawaramono. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 43 (16): 193–210.
Takezawa, Y. 2021. Race, Civilization and the Japanese: Textbooks During the Meiji Period. Politika. https://www.politika.io/en/article/race-civilisation-and-the-japanese-textbooks-during-the-meiji-period
Uchida, M. 1871. Yochishiryaku (Condensed Geography). Tokyo: Daigakunankō.
U.S. Reports . 1922. Takao Ozawa v. United States, 260.
Wagatsuma, H. 1967. The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan. Daedalus, 96 (2): 407–443.
Wang, P. 2004. Nihonjin no Chūgokukan no rekishiteki hensen ni tsuite [On the Historical Changes of the Japanese 'China Perception']. Hiroshima Daigaku Management Kenkyū, 4: 261–269. DOI:10.15027/18007.
Watanabe, K. 1971 [1838]. Shinkiron [A Private Proposal]. In Nihon shisō taikei 55 [Japanese Thought System 55], compiled with notes by S. Satō et al. , pp. 66–72. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten.
Watanabe, K. 1971 [1839]. Gaikoku jijōsho [On Matters Foreign]. In Nihon shisō taikei 55, ed. S. Satō et al ., pp. 18–42. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten.
Yamamuro, S. 2001. Shisō kadai toshiteno Ajia [Asia as a Subject of Intellectual Thought]. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

The evolution of whiteness in Zimbabwe: Any white will do?

Arnesen, E. 2001. Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination. International Labor and Working-Class History, 60: 3–32.
Blake, R 1966. A History of Rhodesia. London: Metheun.

Brownell, J. 2008. The Hole in Rhodesia's Bucket: White Emigration and the End of Settler Rule. Journal of Southern African Studies, 34 (3): 591–610.
Brownell, J. 2011. The Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and The Politics of Race. London: I. B. Tauris.
Caute, D. 1983. Under The Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia. London: Allen Lane.
Chennells, A. 1982. 'Settler Myths and the Southern Rhodesian Novel', PhD thesis, Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
Chennells, A. 2004. The Mimic Women: Early Women Novelists and White Southern African Nationalisms. Historia, 49 (1): 71–88.
Cohen, A. 2017. The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation. London: I. B. Tauris.
Colson, E. 1971. The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement Upon the Gwembe Tonga. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Cooper, F. 2002. Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Duffy, R. 2000. Killing for Conservation: Wildlife Policy in Zimbabwe. London: James Currey.
Fisher, J. 2010. Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe. Canberra: ANUE Press.
Godwin, P. and Hancock, I. 1996. 'Rhodesians Never Die': The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970–1980. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hall, S. 1997. The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In Culture, Globalization, and the World-System, ed. A. D. King , pp. 19–39. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Hammar, A. 2012. Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and the Problem of Belonging. Journal of Peasant Studies, 39 (1): 216–221.
Hancock, I. 1984. White Liberals, Moderates and Radicals in Rhodesia, 1953–1980. New York: St. Martin.
Hartnack, A. 2015. Whiteness and Shades of Grey: Erasure, Amnesia and the Ethnography of Zimbabwe's Whites. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 33 (2): 285–299.
Hughes, D. M. 2006. Whites and Water: How Euro-Africans Made Nature at Kariba Dam. Journal of Southern African Studies, 32 (4): 823–838.
Hughes, D. M. 2010. Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape, and the Problem of Belonging. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hughes, D. M. 2015. To Lump or to Split: Perils of Portraying Zimbabwe's Whites. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 33 (2): 300–304.
Kennedy, D. 1987. Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1939. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Kenrick, D. W. 2019. Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964–1979. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kosmin, B. A. 1981. Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community of Zimbabwe. Gweru: Mambo Press.
Laurie, C. 2016. The Land Reform Deception: Political Opportunism in Zimbabwe's Land Seizure Era. New York: Oxford University Press.
Law, K. 2012. Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Rhodesia, 1950–1980. Abington: Routledge.
Marks, S. 1980. 'The Myth of Empty Land', History Matters, viewed 2 December 2020, https://historymatters.co.za/content/south-africa-myth-empty-land-shula-marks-1-january-1980-south-africa.
McGregor, J. 1995. Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe. Environment and History, 1 (3): 257–279.
Mlambo, A. S. 2002. White Immigration into Rhodesia: From Occupation to Federation. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.
Mlambo, A. S. 2009. From the Second World War to UDI, 1940–1965. In Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008, ed. B. Raftopoulos and A. S. Mlambo , pp. 75–114. Harare: Weaver Press.
Moreton-Robinson, A. 2015. The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
Phimister, I. 1988. An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle. London: Longman.
Phimister, I. and Pilossof, R. 2017. Wage labor in historical perspective: A study of the de-proletarianization of the African working class in Zimbabwe, 1960–2010. Labor History, 58 (2): 215–227.
Pilossof, R. 2009. The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Land, Race and Belonging in the Memoirs of White Zimbabweans. South African Historical Journal, 61 (3): 621–638.
Pilossof, R. 2012. The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Farmers' Voices from Zimbabwe. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Pilossof, R. 2014. Reinventing Significance: Reflections on Recent Whiteness Studies in Zimbabwe. Africa Spectrum, 49 (3): 135–148.
Pilossof, R. and Boersema, J. 2017. Not All Whites are Farmers: Privilege, the Politics of Representation, and the Urban–rural Divide in Zimbabwe. Africa, 87 (4): 702–719.
Pilossof, R. and Rivett, G. 2019. Imagining Change, Imaginary Futures: ‘Conditions of Possibility’ in Pre-Independence Southern Rhodesia, 1959–1963. Social Science History, 43: 243–267.
Roos, N. 2005. Ordinary Springboks: White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939–1961. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Rubert, S. 1998. A Most Promising Weed: A History of Tobacco Farming and Labor in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890–1945. Athens, OH: University of Ohio Press.
Selby, A. 2006. ‘Commercial Farmers and the State: Interest Group Politics and Land Reform in Zimbabwe’, PhD thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford.
Shutt, A. and King, T. 2005. Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia. Journal of Southern African Studies, 31: 357–379.
Sylvester, C. 1986. Zimbabwe's 1985 Elections: A Search for National Mythology. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 24 (2): 229–255.
Tischler, J. 2013. Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. Afrikaners in Post-apartheid South Africa: Inward Migration and Enclave Nationalism. HTS Theological Studies, 72 (4).
Van Zyl-Hermann, D. 2014. Baas or Klaas? Afrikaner Working-Class Responses to Transformation in South Africa, ca. 1977–2002. International Labor and Working-Class History, 86: 142–158.
Van Zyl-Hermann, D. and Boersema, J. 2017. Introduction: The Politics of Whiteness in Africa. Africa, 87 (4): 651–661.
White, L. 2015. Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Wylie, D. 2012. Not Quite a Refutation: A Response to David Mcdermott Hughes's *Whiteness in Zimbabwe* . Safundi, 13 (1–2): 181–194.

‘Africa is not for sissies’ 1 : The race for dominance between white masculinities in South Africa

Allen, D. 2003. Beating Them at Their Own Game: Rugby, the Anglo-Boer War and Afrikaner Nationalism, 1899–1948. The International Journal of the History of Sport, 20 (3): 37–57.
Anderson, C. E. 2008. Red Coats and Black Shields: Race and Masculinity in British Representations of the Anglo-Zulu War. Critical Survey, 20 (3): 6–28.
Baines, G. 2014. Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign: War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 32 (4): 508–510.
Barris, K. 2014. The Afrikaner Grotesque: Mediating Between Colonial Self and Colonised Other in Three Post-Apartheid African Novels. English in Africa, 41 (1): 91–107.
Blaser, T. 2012. ‘I Don’t Know What I Am’: The End of Afrikaner Nationalism in Post-apartheid South Africa. Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, 80 (1): 1–21.
Botma, G. J. 2008. Paying the Field: The Cultural Economy of Afrikaans at Naspers. Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies, 29 (1): 42–63.
Bozzoli, B. 1983. Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies. Journal of Southern African Studies, 9 (2): 139–171.
Bradford, H. 2000. Regendering Afrikanerdom: The 1899–1902 Anglo-Boer War. In Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century, ed. I. Blom , K. Hagemann and C. Hall , pp. 207–225. Oxford: Berg.
Connell, R. W. and Messerschmidt, J. W. 2005. Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. Gender & Society, 19 (6): 829–859.
Conway, D. 2004. ‘All these Long-Haired Fairies Should be Forced to do Their Military Training. maybe they will Become Men’. The End Conscription Campaign, Sexuality, Citizenship and Military Conscription in Apartheid South Africa. South African Journal on Human Rights, 20 (2): 207–229.
Conway, D. 2008. The Masculine State in Crisis: State Response to War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa. Men and Masculinities, 10 (4): 422–439.

Davies, R. 2009. Afrikaners in the New South Africa: Identity Politics in a Globalised Economy. London: Tauris.
Davies, R. 2012. Afrikaner Capital Elites, Neo-Liberalism and Economic Transformation in Post-Apartheid South Africa. African Studies, 71 (3): 391–407.
Du Pisani, K. 2004. 'Ek Hou van 'n Man wat Sy Man kan Staan': Puriteinse Manlikheidsbeelde in die Afrikaanse Kultuur tot 1935. South African Journal of Cultural History, 18 (1): 80–93.
Du Pisani, K. 2012. Shifting Sexual Morality? Changing Views on Homosexuality in Afrikaner Society During the 1960s. Historia, 57 (2): 182–221.
Dubin, S. C. 2006. Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Edlmann, T. 2012. Division in the (Inner) Ranks: The Psychosocial Legacies of the Border Wars. South African Historical Journal, 64 (2): 256–272.
Freschi, F. 2009. The Business of Belonging: *Volkskapitalisme*, Modernity and the Imaginary of National Belonging in the Decorative Programmes of Selected Commercial Buildings in Cape Town, South Africa, 1930-1940. South African Historical Journal, 61 (3): 521–549.
Gibson, D. 2010. Constructions of Masculinity, Mental Toughness and the Inexpressibility of Distress Among a Selected Group of South African Veterans of The 'Bush War' In Namibia. Journal of Psychology in Africa, 20 (4): 613–621.
Giliomee, H. 2001. Voëlvlug van'n Afrikanergeskiedenis van 350 jaar. Historia, 46 (1): 5–24.
Giliomee, H. 2009. The Afrikaners: Biography of a People. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
Grundlingh, A. 2004. Reframing Remembrance: The Politics of the Centenary Commemoration of the South African War of 1899–1902. Journal of Southern African Studies, 30 (2): 359–375.
Johnson, C. 2002. The Dilemmas of Ethnic Privilege: A Comparison of Constructions of 'British', 'English' and 'Anglo-Celtic' Identity in Contemporary British and Australian Political Discourse. Ethnicities, 2 (2): 163–188.
Jones, T. F. 2008. Averting White Male (Ab)normality: Psychiatric Representations and Treatment of 'Homosexuality' in 1960s South Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies, 34 (2): 397–410.
Marlin-Curiel, S. 2001. Rave New World: Trance-Mission, Trance-Nationalism, And Trance-scendence in the 'New' South Africa. The Drama Review, 45 (3): 149–168.
Morrell, R. , ed. 2001. Changing Men in Southern Africa. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
Morrell, R. , Jewkes, R. and Lindegger, G. 2012. Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa: Culture, Power, and Gender Politics. Men and Masculinities, 15 (1): 11–30.
O'Meara, D. 1983. Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in The Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Painter, N. I. 2010. The History of White People. New York: W.W. Norton.
Reid, G. and Walker, L. , eds. 2005. Men Behaving Differently: South African Men since 1994. Cape Town: Double Storey.
Rodéhn, C. 2016. (Re)doing Men in Museum Exhibitions? Masculinities and the Democratization of Heritage in South Africa. In Critical Perspectives on Masculinities and Relationalities: In Relation to What?, ed. A. Häyrén and H. Wahlström Henriksson , pp. 67–96. Switzerland: Springer.
Roos, N. 2016. South African History and Subaltern Historiography: Ideas for a Radical History of White Folk. International Review of Social History, 61 (1): 117–150.
Sonnekus, T. 2013. 'We're not faggots!': Masculinity, Homosexuality and the Representation of Afrikaner Men Who have Sex with Men in the Film *Skoonheid* and Online. South African Review of Sociology, 44 (1): 22–39.
Steyn, M. 2001. 'Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Steyn, M. and Conway, D. 2010. Introduction: Intersecting whiteness, interdisciplinary Debates. Ethnicities, 10 (3): 283–291.
Swart, S. 1998. 'A Boer and His Gun and His Wife are Three Things Always Together': Republican Masculinity and the 1914 Rebellion. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24 (4): 737–751.
Trapido, S. and Phimister, I. 2008. Imperialism, Settler Identities and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. Historia, 53 (1): 45–75.
Van der Waal, K. 2008. Essentialism in a South African Discussion of Language and Culture. In Power, Politics and Identity in South African media: selected seminar papers, ed. A. Hadland , E. Louw , S. Sesanti and H. Wasserman , pp. 52–72. Cape Town: HSRC.
Van der Wal, E. 2019. Masculinities at War: The South African Border War and the Textual Representation of the 'Moffie'. Journal of Literary Studies, 35 (2): 62–84.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa. Pietermartizburg: UKZN Press.

Willoughby-Herard, T. 2007. South Africa's Poor Whites and Whiteness Studies: Afrikaner Ethnicity, Scientific Racism, and White Misery. New Political Science, 29 (4): 479–500.

White femininity, black masculinity, and imperial sex/romance tourism: Resisting ‘whitestream' feminism's single story

Adichie, C. N. 2009. ‘The danger of a single story’ [online]. TEDGlobal 2009, viewed 24 June 2020, https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_ngozi_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.

Alexander, M. J. 1997. Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization: An Anatomy of Feminist and State Practice in the Bahamas Tourist Economy. In Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures, ed. M. J. Alexander and C. T. Mohanty , pp. 63–100. New York: Routledge.

Bhattacharyya, G. 2002. The Exotic. In Sexuality and Society: An Introduction, ed. G. Bhattacharyya , pp. 102–197. London: Routledge.

Butler, J. 1993. Endangered/Endangering: Schematic racism and white paranoia. In Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising, ed. R. Gooding-Williams , pp. 15–22. London: Routledge.

Clark Mane, R. L. 2012. Transmuting Grammars of Whiteness in Third-Wave Feminism: Interrogating Postrace Histories, Postmodern Abstraction, and the Proliferation of Difference in Third-Wave Texts. Signs, 38 (1): 71–98.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1 (8): 139–167.

Curry, T. J. 2017. The Man-Not: Race, Class, Genre, and The Dilemmas of Black Manhood. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Davidson, J. O. C. and Sanchez Taylor, J. 2005. Travel and Taboo: Heterosexual Sex Tourism to the Caribbean. In Regulating Sex: The Politics of Intimacy and Identity, ed. E. Bernstein and L. Schaffner , pp. 83–99. New York: Routledge.

Davy, K. 1995. Outing Whiteness: A Feminist/Lesbian Project. Theatre Journal, 47 (2): 189–205.

Deliovsky, K. 2010. White Femininity: Race, Gender and Power. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Deliovsky, K. 2021. White Femininity, Black Masculinity, Sex/Romance Tourism, and the Politics of Feminist Theory: Theorizing Desire and Erotic Racism. In Appealing Because He is Appalling : Black Masculinities, Colonialism, and Erotic Racism, ed. T. Kitossa , pp. 105-139. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: University of Alberta Press.

Fanon, F. 1968. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. 1986 [1952]. Black Skin, White Masks. Charles Lam Markmann (Trans.). London: Pluto Press.

Frankenberg, R. 1993. The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Frohlick, S. 2013. Sexuality, Women, and Tourism: Cross-Border Desires Through Contemporary Travel. New York: Routledge.

Grande, S. 2003. Whitestream and the Colonialist Project: A Review of Contemporary Feminist Pedagogy and Praxis. Educational Theory, 53 (3): 329–346.

Hemmings, C. 2011. Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

hooks, b. 1984. Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center. Boston: Sound End Press.

Kitossa, T. 2002. Criticism, Reconstruction and African-Centred Feminist Historiography. In Back to the Drawing Board: African Canadian Feminisms, ed. N. Wane , K. Deliovsky and E. Lawson , pp. 85–128. Toronto: Sumach Press.

Lamb, S. 1999. New Versions of Victims: Feminist Struggle with the Concept. London: New York University Press.

Lugones, M. and Spelman. E. 1995. Have We Got a Theory for You! Feminist Theory, Cultural Imperialism and the Demand for the ‘the Woman’s Voice’. In Feminism and Philosophy: Essential Readings in Theory, Reinterpretation and Application, ed. N. Tuana and R. Tong , pp. 494–507. Boulder: Westview Press.

McClintock, A. 1995. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest. New York: Routledge.

Mohanty, C. T. 2013. Transnationalist Feminist Crossings: On Neoliberalism and Radical Critique. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38 (4): 967–991.

Moraga, C. and Anzaldúa, G. E. 1981. This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press.

Mutua, A. D. 2013. Multidimensionality Is to Masculinities What Intersectionality Is to Feminism. Nevada Law Journal, 13: 341–983.
Pruitt, D. and LaFont, S. 1995. For Love and Money: Romance Tourism in Jamaica. Annals of Tourism Research, 22 (2): 422–440.
Said, E. 1979. Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.
Sanchez Taylor, J. 2001. Dollars are a Girl's Best Friend? Female Tourists' Sexual Behaviour in the Caribbean. Sociology, 35 (3): 749–764.
Sanchez Taylor, J. 2006. Female Sex Tourism: A Contradiction in Terms? Feminist Review, 83: 42–59.
Sanchez Taylor, J. 2011. Sex Tourism and Inequalities. In Tourism and Inequality. Problems and Prospects, ed. S. Cole and N. Morgan , pp. 49–66. Wallingford, Oxfordshire, UK: CABI.
Sandoval, C. 2000. Methodology of the Oppressed. University of Minnesota Press.
Spelman, E. 1988. Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought. Boston: Beacon Press.
Spivak, G. C. 1988. Can the Subaltern Speak? In Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg , pp. 271–313. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Stoler, A. 1989. Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Racial and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-century Colonial Cultures. American Ethnologist, 16 (4): 634–660.
Ware, V. 1992. Beyond the Pale. White Women, Racism and History. New York: Verso.
Wekker, G. 2016. White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race. Durham: Duke.

Paradoxes of racism: Whiteness in Gay Pages magazine

Abrahams, Y. 1996. Disempowered to Consent: Sara Bartman and Khoisan Slavery in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony and Britain. South African Historical Journal, 35 (1): 89–144. DOI.10.1080/02582479608671248.
Altman, D. 2001. Global Sex. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Arnfred, S. 2004. Re-thinking Sexualities in Africa: Introduction. In Re-thinking Sexualities in Africa, ed. S. Arnfred , pp. 7–34. Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri AB, viewed 1 June 2020, https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:240493/FULLTEXT03.pdf.
Brown, G. and Browne, K. 2016. An Introduction to the Geographies of Sex and Sexualities. In The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities, pp. 1–10. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9781315613000.ch7.
Camminga, B. and Matebeni, Z. 2019. Beyond The Mountain: Queer Life in 'Africa's Gay Capital'. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
Carolin, A. 2019. South African *Gay Pages* and the Politics of Whiteness. Social Dynamics, 45 (2): 234–249. DOI:10.1080/02533952.2019.1619273.
Clark, N. L. and Worger, W. H. 2016. South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. London: Routledge.
Corley, I. 2016. An Interview with Zanele Muholi. Wasafiri, 31 (1): 22–29. DOI:10.1080/02690055.2016.1112570.
Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1 (8): 139–167. https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf.
Crenshaw, K. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour. Stanford Law Review, 43 (6): 1241–1299.
Derrida, J. 1985. Racism's Last Word. Critical Inquiry, 12 (1): 290–299.
Duggan, L. 2002. The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism. In Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics, ed. R. Castronovo and D. Nelson , pp. 175–194. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Dzodan, F. 2011. 'My feminism will be intersectional or it will be bullshit!', Tiger Beatdown, 10 October, viewed 14 January 2021, http://tigerbeatdown.com/2011/10/10/my-feminism-will-be-intersectional-or-it-will-be-bullshit/.
Erasmus, Z. 2010. Contact Theory: Too Timid for 'Race' and Racism. Journal of Social Issues, 66: 387–400. DOI:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01651.x.
Erasmus, Z. 2017. Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Erasmus, Z. and De Wet, J. 2003. Not Naming 'Race': Some Medical Students' Experiences and Perceptions of 'Race' and Racism at the Health Sciences Faculty of the University of Cape Town. Cape Town: Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies in Southern Africa.

Fairclough, M. 1995. Media Discourse. London: Arnold.
Fanon, F. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth. New York City: Grove Press.
Gamson, J. and Moon, D. 2004. The Sociology of Sexualities: Queer and Beyond. Annual Review of Sociology, 30: 47–64.
Gay Pages . 2020. https://gaypagessa.com, viewed 1 September 2020.
Gevisser, M. 2000. Mandela's Stepchildren: Homosexual Identity in Post-apartheid South Africa. In Remapping Sexualities, ed. P. Drucker , pp. 111–136. London: Millivres Ltd.
Goldberg, D. T. 2009. The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
Gordon, D. M. 2017. Apartheid in South Africa. New York City: Bedford/St Martin's.
Gordon, L. 1997. Race, Sex, and Matrices of Desire in an Antiblack World: An Essay in Phenomenology and Social Role. In Race/Sex: Their Sameness, Difference and Interplay, ed. N. Zack , pp. 117–132. New York: Routledge.
Hull, A. G. T. , Bell-Scott, P. and Smith, B. 1982. All The Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies. New York: Feminist Press at City University of New York.
Joshi, Y. 2012. Respectable Queerness. Columbia Human Rights Law Review, 43 (1): 1–45.
Judge, M. 2018. Blackwashing Homophobia: Violence and the Politics of Sexuality, Gender and Race. London: Routledge.
Judge, M. , Manion, A. and de Waal, S. 2008. To Have and to Hold: The Making of Same-Sex Marriage in South Africa. Cape Town: Jacana Media.
Laband, J. 2020. The Land Wars: The Dispossession of the Khoisan and AmaXhosa in the Cape Colony. South Africa: Penguin Random House.
Massoud, M. F. 2003. The evolution of gay rights in South Africa. Peace Review, 15 (3): 301–307. DOI:10.1080/1040265032000130896.
Matebeni, Z. 2013. Intimacy, Queerness, Race. Cultural Studies, 27 (3): 404–417. DOI:10.1080/09502386.2013.769151.
Mbembe, A. J. 2001. On the Postcolony. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Mellet, P. T. 2020. The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
Mills, C. W. 2003. White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System: A Philosophical Perspective . In White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism, ed. A. W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva , pp. 35–48. New York: Routledge.
Mkhize, N. , Bennett J. Reddy, V. and Moletsane, R. 2010. The Country We Want to Live in: Hate Crimes and Homophobia in The Lives of Black Lesbian South Africans. Cape Town: Paul & Co Pub Consortium.
Nasson, B. 2011. The Boer War: The Struggle for South Africa. United Kingdom: The History Press.
Nast, H. 2002. Queer Patriarchies, Queer Racisms, International. Antipode, 34 (5): 874–909.
Ngcukaitobi, T. 2018. The Land is Ours: South Africa's First Black Lawyers and the Birth of Constitutionalism. South Africa: Penguin Random House.
Oliver, E. and Oliver, W. H. 2017. The Colonisation of South Africa: A unique case. HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 73 (3). DOI:10.4102/hts.v73i3.4498.
Pellegrini, A. 2002. Consuming Lifestyle: Commodity Capitalism and Transformation in Gay Identity. In Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism, ed. A. Cruz-Malavé and M. F. Manalansan IV , pp. 134–145. New York: New York University Press.
Rancière, J. 1999. Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy. Minneapolis: University of University Press.
Ratele, K. 2004. Kinky Politics. In Re-thinking Sexualities in Africa, ed. S. Arnfred , pp. 139–156. Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri AB, viewed 1 June 2020, https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:240493/FULLTEXT03.pdf.
Rink, B. 2013. Que(e)rying Cape Town: Touring Africa's Gay Capital with the Pink Map. In Tourism in the Global South: Heritages, Identities and Development, ed. J. Sarmento and E. Brito-Henriques , pp. 65–90. Lisbon: University of Lisbon.
Scott, L. 2007. 'How "Race" is implicated in the Construction of Gay Identities in South Africa's Gay Media: An inspection of Gay Pages Magazine', Honors thesis, University of Cape Town.
Scott, L. 2017. Disrupting Johannesburg Pride: Gender, Race, and Class in the LGBTI Movement in South Africa. Agenda, 31 (1): 42–49. DOI:10.1080/10130950.2017.1351101.
Scott, L. 2019a. '"The more you stretch them, the more they grow": Same-sex marriage and the wrestle with heteronormativity', PhD/Doctoral thesis, University of Cape Town. http://hdl.handle.net/11427/30912.
Scott, J. 2019b. Disruption and Withdrawal: Responses to 21st Century Prides from the South. In Beyond the Mountain: Queer Life in 'Africa's Gay Capital', ed. B. Camminga and Z. Matebeni , pp. 168–182. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
Soldaat, F. 2019. Black Lesbian Politics and Organising Spaces. In Beyond the Mountain: Queer Life in 'Africa's Gay Capital', ed. B. Camminga and Z. Matebeni , pp. 137–144. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

Sonnekus T. and van Eeden, J. 2009. Visual Representation, Editorial Power, and the Dual 'Othering' of Black Men in the South African Gay Press: The Case of *Gay Pages* . South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research, 35 (1): 81–100. DOI:10.1080/02500160902906661.
Steyn, M. 2001. 'Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used to Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
Steyn, M. and Foster, D. 2008. Repertoires for Talking White: Resistant Whiteness in Post-apartheid South Africa. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31 (1): 25–51. DOI:10.1080/01419870701538851.
Sussman, R. 2014. The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Taylor, Y. 2011. Complexities and Complications: Intersections of Class and Sexuality. In Theorising Intersectionality and Sexuality, ed. Y. Taylor , S. Hines and M. E. Casey , pp. 37–55. United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan.
The Combahee River Collective . 1977. 'The Combahee River Collective Statement', viewed 16 September 2020, https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf.
Tucker, A. 2009. Queer Visibilities: Space, Identity and Interaction in Cape Town. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
Van der Westhuizen, C. 2017. Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Post-apartheid South Africa. KwaZulu Natal: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
Visser, G. 2016. Sexualities and Urban Life. In The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities, ed. G. Brown and K. Browne , pp. 55–62. London: Routledge.
Walcott, R. 2021. The Long Emancipation: Moving Towards Black Freedom. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Weston, K. 2011. Me, Myself, and I. In Theorising Intersectionality and Sexuality, ed. Y. Taylor , S. Hines and M. E. Casey , pp. 15–36. United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan.

Between the 'left behind' and 'the people': Racism, populism and the construction of the 'white working class' in the context of Brexit

Bandler, A. 2016. 'EXCLUSIVE: Q&A with Prof. Jordan Peterson on Genderless Pronouns and the Left's "PC Game"', The Daily Wire, 4 November, viewed 19 June 2020, https://www.dailywire.com/news/exclusive-qa-prof-jordan-peterson-genderless-aaron-bandler.
Bar-On, T. 2013. Rethinking the French New Right: Alternatives to Modernity. London: Routledge.
Bassel, L. and Emejulu, A. 2017a. Minority Women and Austerity: Survival and Resistance in France and Britain. Bristol: Policy Press.
Bassel, L. and Emejulu, A. 2017b. Whose Crisis Counts? Minority Women, Austerity and Activism in France and Britain. In Gender and the Economic Crisis in Europe, ed. J. Kantola and E. Lombardo , pp. 185–208. London: Palgrave.
Begum, N. 2020. 'Race and the Referendum: An Intersectional Analysis of Ethnic Minority and White Voting Behaviour in the 2016 EU Referendum', PhD thesis, University of Bristol.
Bhambra, G. 2017. Brexit, Trump, and 'Methodological Whiteness': On the Misrecognition of Race and Class. British Journal of Sociology: Special Issue on the Trump/Brexit Moment: Causes and Consequences, 68 (S1): S214–S232. DOI:10.1111/1468-4446.12317.
Crampton, C. 2016. 'Voting for Trump and Brexit: What the Working Class Revolt Is Really About', The New Statesman, 9 November, viewed 19 June 2020, http://www.newstatesman.com/world/north-america/2016/11/voting-trump-and-brexit-what-working-class-revoltreally-about.
Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989 (8), https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8.
Daniels, J. 1997. White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse. New York: Routledge.
Dorling, D. 2016. Brexit: The Decision of a Divided Country. BMJ, 354. DOI:10.1136/bmj.i3697.
Dorling, D. 2020. So, how did we end up with this government? Public Sector Focus, January/February, 14–17.
Eatwell, R. and Goodwin, M. 2018. National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy. London: Pelican.
Faludi, S. 1999. Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man. New York: Perennial.
Farage, N. 2016. 'The Little People Have Had Enough', The Telegraph, 9 October, viewed 7 May 2020, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/10/09/the-little-people-have-had-enough---not-just-here-but-in-america/.

Ferber, A. 1998. White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
Ford, R. and Goodwin, M. 2017. Britain After Brexit: A Nation Divided. Journal of Democracy, 28: 17–30.
Gabriel, J. 1998. Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media. London: Routledge.
Garner, S. 2007. Whiteness: An Introduction. London: Routledge.
Gittos, L. 2016. 'Britain has not become Racist Overnight', Spiked!, 28 June, viewed 8 June, https://www.spiked-online.com/2016/06/28/britain-has-not-become-racist-overnight/.
Glynos, J. and Mondon, A. 2016. The Political Logic of Populist Hype: The Case of Right Wing Populism's 'Meteoric Rise' and Its Relation to the Status Quo. Populismus working paper series no. 4.
Goodhart, D. 2017. The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics. London: C. Hurst.
Gutteridge, N. 2016. 'Working class revolution? Reports of huge EU referendum turnout which "would favour leave"', The Express, 24 June, viewed 20 January 2017, https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/682890/EU-referendum-Reports-huge-EU-referendum-turnout-favour-Leave-Brexit.
Hall, M. and Maddox, D. 2016. 'FARAGE speech: Controlling mass immigration while Britain remains part of EU is IMPOSSIBLE', The Express, 29 April, viewed 10 May 2020, http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/665446/Nigel-Farage-Ukipcontrol-immigration-leave-EU-referendum-June.
Harris, J. 2016. 'Britain is in the midst of a working-class revolt', The Guardian, 17 June, viewed 20 January 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/17/britain-working-class-revolt-eu-referendum.
Hobolt, S. B. 2016. The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. Journal of European Public Policy, 23 (9): 1259–1277. DOI:10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785.
Jarvis, J. 2020. 'Laurence Fox clashes with Question Time audience member over Meghan Markle racism row', Evening Standard, 17 January, viewed 10 May 2020, https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/laurence-fox-question-time-meghan-racism-a4336741.html.
Kaufmann, E. 2017. 'Racial Self-Interest' is not Racism. Policy Exchange, 3 March, viewed 10 January 2018, https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/racial-self-interest-is-not-racism/.
Kaufmann, E. 2018a. White Shift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities. London: Allen Lane.
Kaufmann, E. 2018b. 'White majorities feel threatened in an age of mass migration – and calling them racist won't help', The New Statesman, 17 October, viewed 18 June 2020, https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/10/white-majorities-feel-threatened-age-mass-migration-and-calling-them-racist-won.
Kennedy, J. 2018. Authentocrats. London: Penguin Random House.
Khan, O. 2017. 'Who Cares About The White Working Class?', HUFFPOST, 21 March, viewed 18 June 2020, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-omar-khan/white-working-class-disadvantages_b_15494046.html.
Khan, O. and Shaheen, F. 2017. 'Minority Report: Race and Class in post-Brexit Britain, Runnymede Trust and Class', Runnymede Trust and CLASS, March, http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/Race%20and%20Class%20Post-Brexit%20Perspectives%20report%20v5.pdf.
Kokoli, A. and Winter, A. 2015. What a Girl's Gotta Do: The Labor of the Biopolitical Celebrity in Austerity Britain. Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory, 25 (2): 157–174.
Lawler, S. 2005. Disgusted Subjects: The Making of Middle-Class Identities. Sociological Review, 53 (3): 429–446.
Lawler, S. 2012. White Like Them: Whiteness and Anachronistic Space in Representations of the English White Working Class. Ethnicities, 12 (4): 409–426.
Lentin, A. 2020. Why Race Still Matters. Cambridge: Polity.
Lindsay, J. , Boghossian, P. and Pluckrose, H. 2019. 'From dog rape to white men in chains: We fooled the biased academic left with fake studies', USA Today, 15 December, viewed 10 June 2020, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/voices/2018/10/10/grievance-studies-academia-fake-feminist-hypatia-mein-kampf-racism-column/1575219002/.
Lyons, J. 2016. 'Farage campaign courted far right', The Sunday Times, 22 May, viewed 10 June 2020, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/farage-campaign-courted-far-right-njrqxhkqb.
Mondon, A. 2013. The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia: A Populist Hegemony? Farnham: Ashgate.
Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2017. Articulations of Islamophobia: From the Extreme to the Mainstream? Ethnic and Racial Studies, 13 (40): 2151–2179. DOI:10.1080/01419870.2017.1312008.
Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2018. Whiteness, Populism and the Racialization of the Working Class in the United Kingdom and the United States. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 5 (26): 510–528. DOI:10.1080/1070289X.2018.1552440.

Mondon, A. and Winter, A. 2020. Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream. London: Verso.
Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. 2019. Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/9781108595841.
Olufemi, L. 2020. Feminism, Interrupted. London: Pluto.
O'Neill, B. 2020a. 'It's time to stop bashing white men', Spiked!, 8 January, viewed 8 June 2020, https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/01/08/its-time-to-stop-bashing-white-men/.
O'Neill, B. 2020b. 'Laurence Fox and the woke McCarthyists', Spiked!, 20 January, viewed 10 May 2020, https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/01/20/laurence-fox-and-the-woke-mccarthyists/.
Patel, J. 2015. 'Both racism and anti-racism were present in the making of the English working class': An Interview with Satnam Virdee. Media Diversified, 18 November, viewed 20 May 2018, https://mediadiversified.org/2015/11/18/both-racism-and-anti-racism-were-present-in-the-making-of-the-english-working-class/.
Peck, T. 2016. 'Nigel Farage's triumphalist Brexit speech crossed the borders of decency', The Independent, 24 June, viewed 10 May 2020, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-recession-economy-what-happens-nigel-farage-speech-a7099301.html.
Runnymede Trust . 2015. 'The 2015 Budget Effects on Black and Minority Ethnic People', Runnymede Trust. http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/employment-3/budget-2015-impact-on-bme-families.html.
Sayer, D. 2017. White riot—Brexit, Trump, and Post-Factual Politics. Journal of Historical Sociology 30 (1): 92–106. DOI:10.1111/johs.v30.1.
Shilliam, R. 2018. Race and the Undeserving Poor: From Abolition to Brexit. Newcastle: Agenda.
Song, M. 2014. Challenging a Culture of Racial Equivalence. British Journal of Sociology, 65: 107–129. DOI:10.1111/1468-4446.12054.
Spiked! 2016. 'The Brexit Vote Was a Revolt against the Establishment', Spiked!/WorldBytes, 24 August, viewed 20 January 2017, http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/the-brexit-votewas-a-revolt-against-the-establishment/18693#.WWZEVYjytPY.
Stewart, H. and Mason, R. 2016. 'Nigel Farage's anti-migrant poster reported to police', The Guardian, 16 June, viewed 10 May 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants.
Tyler, I. 2013. Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain. London: Zed Books.
Virdee, S. 2014. Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Virdee, S. and McGeever, B. 2018. Racism, Crisis, Brexit. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41 (10): 1802–1819. DOI:10.1080/01419870.2017.1361544.
Winter, A. 2019. Online Hate: From the Far-Right to the 'Alt-Right', and from the Margins to the Mainstream. In Online Othering: Exploring Digital Violence and Discrimination on the Web, ed. K. Lumsden and E. Harmer , pp. 39–63. London: Palgrave.

Assisted reproduction and assisted whiteness

Agar, N. 2004. Liberal Eugenics: In Defense of Human Enhancement. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
Ahmed, S. 2007. Multiculturalism and the Promise of Happiness. New Formations, 63: 121–137.
Ahmed, A. 2018. Race and Assisted Reproduction: Implications for Population Health. Fordham Law Review, 86 (6): 2801–2810.
Ahn, J.-H. 2015. Desiring Biracial Whites: Cultural Consumption of White Mixed-race Celebrities in South Korean Popular Media. Media, Culture & Society, 37 (6): 937–947.
Almeling, R. 2007. Selling Genes, Selling Gender: Egg Agencies, Sperm Banks, and the Medical Market in Genetic Material. American Sociological Review, 72: 319–340.
Ayu Saraswati, L. 2010. Cosmopolitan Whiteness: The Effects and Affects of Skin-Whitening Advertisements in a Transnational Women's Magazine in Indonesia. Meridians, 10 (2): 15–41.
Becker, G. , Butler, A. and Nachtigall, R. 2005. Resemblance Talk: A Challenge for Parents Whose Children Were Conceived with Donor Gametes in the US. Social Science and Medicine, 61 (6): 1300–1309.
Daniels, C. R. and Heidt-Forsythe, E. 2012. Gendered Eugenics and the Problematic of Free Market Reproductive Technologies: Sperm and Egg Donation in the United States. Signs, 37 (3): 719–747.
De Klerk, E. 2010. White Curtains, Dark Thoughts. English in Africa, 37 (1): 41–62.
Dempsey, D. 2013. Surrogacy, Gay Male Couples and the Significance of Biogenetic Paternity. New Genetics and Society, 32 (1): 37–53.

Deomampo, D. 2016. Transnational Reproduction: Race, Kinship, and Commercial Surrogacy in India. New York: New York University Press.
Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.
Frankenburg, R. 2002. White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. London: Routledge.
Gilbert, D. 2005. Interrogating Mixed-Race: A Crisis of Ambiguity? Social Identities, 11 (1): 55–74.
Ikemoto, L. C. 1995. The Infertile, the too Fertile, and the Dysfertile. Hastings Law Journal, 47 (4): 1007–1061.
Kahn, J. 2004. How a Drug Becomes ‘‘Ethnic’’: Law, Commerce, and the Production of Racial Categories in Medicine. Yale Journal of Health Policy, Law, and Ethics, 4 (1): 1–46.
Kaufman, J. S. and Hall, S. A. 2003. The Slavery Hypertension Hypothesis: Dissemination and Appeal of a Modern Race Theory. Epidemiology 30, 14 (1): 111–118.
Kroløkke, C. 2014. West is Best: Affective Assemblages and Spanish Oocytes. European Journal of Women's Studies, 21 (1): 57–71.
Lenhardt, R. 2017. The Color of Kinship, 102 IOWA. Law Review, 2071.
Mamo, L. 2005. Biomedicalizing Kinship: Sperm Banks and the Creation of Affinityties. Science as Culture, 14 (3): 237–264. DOI: 10.1080/09505430500216833.
Mamo, L. and AlstonStepnitz, E. 2014. Queer Intimacies and Structural Inequalities: New Directions in Stratified Reproduction. Journal of Family Issues, 36: 519–540.
Matthews, J. 2007. Eurasian Persuasions: Mixed Race, Performativity and Cosmopolitanism. Journal of Intercultural Studies, 28 (1): 41–54.
Moll, T. 2019. Making a Match: Curating Race in South African Gamete Donation. Medical Anthropology, 38 (7): 588–602.
Nahman, M. 2016. Reproductive Tourism, Through the Anthropological ‘Reproscope’. Annual Review of Anthropology, 45: 417–432.
Pande A. 2014. Wombs in Labor: Transnational Commercial Surrogacy in India. New York: Columbia University Press.
Pande, A. 2020. Visa Stamps for Injections: Traveling Biolabor and South African Egg Provision. Gender & Society, 34 (4): 573–596. DOI:10.1177/0891243220932147.
Pande A. 2021. Mix or Match?’’: Transnational fertility industry and White Desirability. Medical Anthropology. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01459740.2021.1877289.
Pande, A. and Moll, T. 2018. Gendered Bio-responsibilities and Travelling Egg Providers from South Africa. Reproductive Biomedicine & Society Online, 6: 23–33.
Quiroga, S. S. 2007. Blood Is Thicker than Water: Policing Donor Insemination and the Reproduction of Whiteness. Hypatia, 22 (2): 143–161.
Roberts, D. 2011. Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-first Century. New York: New Press.
Roberts, E. F. S. and Scheper-Hughes, N. 2011. Introduction: Medical Migrations. Body & Society, 17: 1–30.
Rose, N. 2007. The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Rose, N. and Novas, C. 2005. Biological Citizenship. In Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems, ed. A. Ong and S. Collier , pp. 439–463. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
Rudrappa S. 2015. Discounted Life: The Price of Global Surrogacy in India. New York: New York University Press.
Russell, C. 2015. The Race Idea in Reproductive Technologies: Beyond Epistemic Scientism and Technological Mastery. Bioethical Inquiry, 12: 601–612.
Ryan, M. and Moras, A. 2017. Race Matters in Lesbian Donor Insemination: Whiteness and Heteronormativity as Co-constituted Narratives. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40 (4): 579–596.
Seshadri-Crooks, K. 2000. Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race. London: Routledge.
Speier, A. 2016. Fertility Holidays. IVF Tourism and the Reproduction of Whiteness. New York: New York University Press.
Steyn, M. 2001. ‘Whiteness Just Isn’t What It Used To Be’: White Identity in a Changing South Africa. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Tate, S. 2016. Skin Bleaching in Black Atlantic Zones. Shade Shifters. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
Taussig, K. S. , Rapp, R. and Heath, D. 2008. Flexible Eugenics: Technologies of the Self in the Age of Genetics. In Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics, ed. J. X. Inda , pp. 194–212. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
Thompson, C. 2009. Skin Tone and the Persistence of Biological Race in Egg Donation for Assisted Reproduction. In Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters, ed. E. Nakano Glenn , pp. 131–147. Palo

Alto, California: Stanford University Press.
Thompson, C. 2011. Medical Migrations Afterword: Science as a Vacation? Body & Society, 17 (2–3): 205–213.
Tober, D. 2019. Romancing the Sperm: Shifting Biopolitics and the Making of Modern Families. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Whittaker, A. and Speier, A. 2010. 'Cycling Overseas': Care, Commodification, and Stratification in Cross-Border Reproductive Travel. Medical Anthropology, 29 (4): 363–383.
Willoughby-Herard, T. 2007. South Africa's Poor Whites and Whiteness Studies: Afrikaner Ethnicity, Scientific Racism, and White Misery. New Political Science, 29 (4): 479–500.
Wing-Fai, Leung (2015) Who Could Be an Oriental Angel? Lou Jing, Mixed Heritage and the Discourses of Chinese Ethnicity. Asian Ethnicity, 16 (3): 294–313.

British Indian seafarers, bordering and belonging

Adams, C. 1987. Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers: Life Stories of Pioneer Sylheti Settlers in Britain. London: THAP Books.
Ahuja, R. 2006. Mobility and Containment: The Voyages of South Asian Seamen, c. 1900–1960. International Review of Social History Vol. 51, SUPPLEMENT 14: Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History, pp. 111–141.
Balachandran, G. 2012. Globalizing Labour? Indian Seafarers and World Shipping, c 1870–1945. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Balachandran, G. 2016. Indefinite Transits: Mobility and Confinement in the Age of Steam. Journal of Global History, 11 (2): 187–208.
Bald, V. 2013. Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America. Harvard University Press.
Bloch, A. and McKay, S. 2015. Employment, Social Networks and Undocumented Migrants: The Employer Perspective. Sociology, 49 (1): 38–55.
Choudhury, Y. 1993. The Roots and Tales of Bangladeshi Settlers. Birmingham: Sylheti Social History Group.
Choudhury, Y. 1995. Sons of the Empire: Oral History from the Bangladeshi Seamen Who Served on British Ships During the 1939–45 War. Birmingham: Sylheti Social History Group.
De Genova, N. 2012. Border, Scene and Obscene. In A Companion to Border Studies, ed. T. M. Wilson and H. Donnan , ch. 28. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
El-Enany, N. 2020. (B)ordering Britain: Law, Race and Empire. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Fisher, M. 2004. Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600–1857. Delhi: Permanent Black.
Gentleman, A. 2019. The Windrush Betrayal: Exposing the Hostile Environment. London: Faber & Faber.
Goodall, H. , Ghosh, D. and Todd, L. R. 2008. Jumping Ship: Indians, Aborigines and Australians Across the Indian Ocean. Transforming Cultures, 3 (1): 44–74.
Goodfellow, M. 2019. Hostile Environment: How Immigrants Became Scapegoats. London: Verso Books.
Grant, S. and Peel, C. 2015. 'No Passport Equals No Home': An independent evaluation of the 'Right to Rent' scheme. Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, https://jcwi.org.uk/sites/default/files/documets/No%20Passport%20Equals%20No%20Home%20Right%20to%20Rent%20Independent%20Evaluation_0.pdf
Hage, G. 1998. White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society. Annandale: Pluto Press.
Houtum, van H. , Kramsch, O. and Zierhofen, W. 2005. Prologue: Bordering Space. In Bordering Space, ed. H. van Houtum , O. Kramsch and W. Zierhofen , pp. 1–13. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Hunter, S. , Grimes, D. and Swan, E. 2010. Introduction: Reproducing and Resisting Whiteness in Organizations, Policies, and Places. Social Politics, 17 (4): 407–422.
Hyslop, J. 2015. Oceanic Mobility and Settler-Colonial Power: Policing the Global Maritime Labour Force in Durban Harbour c. 1890–1910. Journal of Transport History, 36 (2): 248–267.
Lammy, D. 2018. 'National day of shame: David Lammy criticises treatment of the Windrush Generation', The Guardian, 16 April, viewed 6 March 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/video/2018/apr/16/national-day-of-shame-david-lammy-criticises-treatment-of-windrush-generation-video.
Manhotra, D. 2016. 'State takes steps to prevent illegal immigrants from getting Aadhaar', The Tribune, 17 March, viewed 30 September 2018, http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/community/state-takes-steps-to-prevent-illegal-immigrants-from-getting-aadhaar/209709.html.

Mezzadra, S. and Neilson, B. 2013. Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labour. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Nayak, A. 2007. Critical Whiteness Studies. Sociology Compass, 1 (2): 737–755.
Tabili, L. 1994. 'We Ask for British Justice': Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain. New York: Cornell University Press.
Thandi, S. S. 2007. Migrating to the 'Mother Country', 1947–1980. In A South-Asian History of Britain: Four Centuries of Peoples from the Indian Sub-Continent, ed. M. H. Fisher , S. Lahiri and S. S. Thandi , ch. 7. Oxford and Westport, CT: Greenwood World Publishing.
Tlostanova, M. V. and Mignolo, W. 2012. Learning to Unlearn: Decolonial Reflections from Eurasia and the Americas. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.
Visram, R. 2002. Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History. London: Pluto Press.
Wemyss, G. 2006. The Power to Tolerate: Contests Over Britishness and Belonging in East London. Patterns of Prejudice, 40 (3): 215–236.
Wemyss, G. 2009. The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging. Farnham: Ashgate.
Wemyss, G. 2012. Littoral Struggles, Liminal Lives: Indian Merchant Seafarers' Resistances. In South Asian Resistances in Britain, 1858–1947, ed. R. Ahmed and S. Mukherjee , ch. 3. London: Continuum.
Wemyss, G. 2015. Everyday Bordering and Raids Every Day: The Invisible Empire and Metropolitan Borderscapes. In Borderscaping: Imaginations and Practices of Border Making, ed. C. Brambilla et al ., pp. 187. Farnham: Ashgate.
Williams, W. 2020. Windrush lessons learned review: Independent review by Wendy Williams. The Home Office, 19 March, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/874022/6.5577_HO_Windrush_Lessons_Learned_Review_WEB_v2.pdf.
Yuval-Davis, N. , Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. 2018. Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation. Sociology, 52 (2): 228–244. DOI:10.1177/0038038517702599.
Yuval-Davis, N. , Wemyss, G. , and Cassidy, K. 2019. Bordering. Cambridge: Polity.

Making yourself at home: Performances of whiteness in cultural production about home and homemaking practices

Allen, T. 1994. The Invention of the White Race. Vol. I: Racial Oppression and Social Control. London: Verso.
Bailey, A. 1998. Locating Traitorous Identities: Toward a View of Privilege-Cognizant White Character. Hypatia, 13 (3): 27–42. DOI:10.1111/j.1527-2001.1998.tb01368.x.
Blunt, A. and Dowling, R. 2006. Home. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203401354.
Bonnett, A. 2000. White Identities: Historical and International Perspectives. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
Butler, J. 1990. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203824979.
Butler, J. 1997. The Psychic Life of Power. Stanford, CA: University Press.
Butter, S. 2016. Representations of Ideal Homes in English Culture: Gracious Living and the Creative Self in Matthew Reynolds' Designs for a Happy Home. In Subject Cultures: The English Novel from the 18th to the 21st Century, ed. N. Kuster , S. Butter and S. Heinz , pp. 251–268. Tübingen: Narr.
Byrne, B. 2006. White Lives: The Interplay of 'Race', Class and Gender in Everyday Life. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203640043.
Clarke, S. and Garner, S. 2010. White Identities: A Critical Sociological Approach. London: Pluto Press. DOI:10.2307/j.ctt183p383.
Doling, J. and Ronald, R. 2010. Home Ownership and Asset-Based Welfare. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 25 (2): 165–173. DOI:10.1007/s10901-009-9177-6.
Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9781315003603.
Foucault, M. 1980. The Confession of the Flesh. In Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977, ed. C. Gordon , pp. 194–228. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
Foucault, M. 2010. The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI:10.1057/9780230594180.
Frankenberg, R. 1993. The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Frye, M. 1992. White Woman Feminist. In Wilful Virgin: Essays in Feminist Theory, ed. M. Frye , pp. 147–169. Freedom, CA: Crossing Press.

Graham, L. T. , Gosling, S. D. and Travis, C. K. 2015. The Psychology of Home Environments: A Call for Research on Residential Space. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 10 (3): 346–356. DOI:10.1177/1745691615576761.
Gray, B. 2002. 'Whitely Scripts' and Irish Women's Racialized Belonging(s) in England. European Journal of Cultural Studies, 5 (3): 257–274. DOI:10.1177/1364942002005003064.
Harris, C. I. 1993. Whiteness as Property. Harvard Law Review, 106 (8): 1707–1791. DOI:10.2307/1341787.
Heinz, S. 2016. Unhomely Spaces and Improper Houses: Representations of Whiteness and Class on British Television. In Anglistentag 2015 Paderborn: Proceedings, ed. C. Ehland , I. Mindt and M. Tönnies , pp. 77–88. Trier: WVT.
Ignatiev, N. 1995. How the Irish Became White. London: Routledge.
Jacobson, M. F. 1998. Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. DOI:10.2307/j.ctvjk2w15.
Leonard, P. 2010. Expatriate Identities in Postcolonial Organizations: Working Whiteness. Farnham: Ashgate. DOI:10.1177/0957926510220030607.
Lipsitz, G. 1995. The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy and the 'White' Problem in American Studies. American Quarterly, 473: 369–387. DOI:10.2307/2713291.
Macintyre, S. 1999. A Concise History of Australia. Cambridge: University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511809996.
Madigan, R. , Munro, M. and Smith, S. J. 1990. Gender and the Meaning of the Home. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 14 (4): 625–647. DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2427.1990.tb00160.x.
Mallett, S. 2004. Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature. The Sociological Review, 52 (1): 62–89. DOI:10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00442.x.
McClintock, A. 1995. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context. New York: Routledge.
McElroy, R. 2017. Mediating Home in an Age of Austerity: The Values of British Property Television. European Journal of Cultural Studies, 20 (5): 525–542. DOI:10.1177/1367549417701758.
McKenzie, L. 2015. Getting By: Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain. Bristol: Policy Press.
McMurria, J. 2008. Desperate Citizens and Good Samaritans: Neoliberalism and Makeover Reality TV. Television & New Media, 9 (4): 305–332.
Meinig, S. 2004. Witnessing the Past: History and Post-Colonialism in Australian Historical Novels. Tübingen: Narr.
Messerschmidt, J. W. 2004. Flesh and Blood: Adolescent Gender Diversity and Violence. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
Miles, R. and Brown, M. 2003. Racism, 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
Moreton-Robinson, A. 2005. The House that Jack Built: Britishness and White Possession. Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal, 1: 21–29.
Moreton-Robinson, A. 2015. The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. DOI:10.5749/minnesota/9780816692149.001.0001.
Morley, D. 2000. Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203444177.
Ouellette, L. and Hay, J. 2008. Better Living Through Reality TV: Television and Postwelfare Citizenship. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications.
Raisborough, J. 2011. Lifestyle Media and the Formation of the Self. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rifkin, M. 2013. Settler Common Sense. Settler Colonial Studies, 3 (3–4): 322–340. DOI:10.1080/2201473X.2013.810702.
Roediger, D. R. 1991. The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class. London, New York: Verso.
Slater, L. 2019. Anxieties of Belonging in Settler Colonialism: Australia, Race and Place. London: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780429433733.
Smith, S. J. 2015. Owner Occupation: At Home in a Spatial, Financial Paradox. International Journal of Housing Policy, 15 (1): 61–83. DOI:10.1080/14616718.2014.997432.
St Louis, B. 2005. Racialization in the 'Zone of Ambiguity'. In Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice, ed. K. Murji and J. Solomos , pp. 29–50. Oxford: University Press. DOI:10.1177/0268580906067811.
Strauss, M. and Liebenberg, S. 2014. Contested spaces: Housing rights and evictions law in post-apartheid South Africa. Planning Theory, 13 (4): 428–448. DOI:10.1177/1473095214525150.
Tuan, Y.-F. 2012. Epilogue: Home as Elsewhere. In Heimat: At the Intersection of Memory and Space, ed. F. Eigler and J. Kugele , pp. 226–239. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110292060.226.
Walderzak, J. 2016. I May Be a Socialist, But I'm Not a Lunatic. In Downton Abbey and Philosophy, ed. A. Barkman and R. Arp , pp. 13–23. Chicago: Open Court.

Wood, H. and Skeggs, B. 2008. Spectacular Morality: ‘Reality’ Television, Individualisation and the Remaking of the Working Class. In The Media and Social Theory, ed. D. Hesmondhalgh and J. Toynbee , pp. 177–193. London and New York: Routledge.
All About Property. 2018–present. TV, The Home Channel-DStv Channel 176.
DIY SOS, rebranded as *The Big Build*, 1999–present. TV, BBC1.
Einsatz in 4 Wänden, 2003–2013. TV, RTL.
Extreme Makeover: Home Edition, 2003–2012, 2020–present. TV, ABC and HGTV.
House Hunters Asia, 2016–present. TV, HGTV Asia.
Tidying Up with Marie Kondo, 2019. Streaming, Netflix.
MyHomeMove . 2017. ‘Nick Knowles and DIY SOS nail top position in UK’s favourite property TV survey’, 22 May, viewed 3 July 2020, https://www.myhomemove.com/the-people-have-spoken-nick-knowles-and-diy-sos-nail-top-position-in-uks-favourite-property-tv-survey/.
RTL.DE . n.d. ‘Einsatz in 4 Wänden’, viewed 11 July 2020, https://www.rtl.de/themen/thema/einsatz-in-4-w-nden-t8474.html.

Bleeding through the band-aid: The white saviour industrial complex

Allen, R. L. 2005. The Globalization of White Supremacy: Toward a Critical Discourse on the Racialization of the World. Educational Theory, 51 (4): 467–485.
Aronson, B. A. 2017. The White Savior Industrial Complex: A Cultural Studies Analysis of a Teacher Educator, Savior Film, and Future Teachers. Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis, 6 (3): 36–54.
Aronson, B. A. 2020. From Teacher Education to Practicing Teacher: What Does Culturally Relevant Praxis Look Like? Urban Education, 55 (8–9): 1115–1141.
Aronson, B. A. and Boveda, M. 2017. The Intersection of White Supremacy and the Education Industrial Complex: An Analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and the Criminalization of People with Disabilities. Journal of Educational Controversy, 12 (1): 1–20.
Cole, T. 2012. ‘The White-Savior Industrial Complex’, The Atlantic, 21 March, viewed 4 April 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/.
Crenshaw, K. 2020. ‘Pt 4- Under the Blacklight: COVID & Disaster White Supremacy’, podcast, 21 April, viewed 6 May 2020, https://soundcloud.com/intersectionality-matters/13pt-4-under-the-blacklight.
Davis, A. Y. 1999. The Prison Industrial Complex. Chico, CA: AK Press.
Dorsey, C. , Bradach, J. and Kim, P. 2020. Racial Equity and Philanthropy: Disparities in Funding for Leaders of Color Leave Impact on the Table’, The Bridgespan Group & Echoing Green, viewed 15 June 2020, https://www.bridgespan.org/bridgespan/Images/articles/racial-equity-and-philanthropy/racial-equity-and-philanthropy.pdf?ext=.pdf.
Emergent Pathways LLC . 2020. The Case for Funding Black-Led Social Change, Emergent Pathways LLC, viewed 15 June 2020, http://www.blacksocialchange.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/BSCFN_BLSCO_Report.pdf.
Flaherty, J. 2016. No More Heroes: Grassroots Challenges to the Savior Mentality. Chico, CA: AK Press.
Friedman, U. 2020. ‘Why America Resists Learning From Other Countries’, The Atlantic, 14 May, viewed 25 May 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/05/coronavirus-could-end-american-exceptionalism/611605/.
Hickel, J. 2018. The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
History Matters . n.d. ‘The White Man’s Burden: Kipling’s Hymn to U.S. Imperialism’, viewed 6 April 2020, http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5478/.
Hlavinka, E. 2020. ‘COVID-19 Killing African Americans at Shocking Rates’, MedPage Today, 1 May, viewed 5 May 2020, https://www.medpagetoday.com/infectiousdisease/covid19/86266.
Hoskin, M. N. 2020. ‘The whiteness of anti-lockdown protests: How ignorance, privilege, and anti-black racism is driving white protesters to risk their lives’, Vox, 25 April, viewed 2 May 2020, https://www.vox.com/first-person/2020/4/25/21234774/coronavirus-covid-19-protest-anti-lockdown.
Hughey, M. 2014. The White Savior Film: Content, Critics, and Consumption. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
INCITE! n.d. ‘Beyond the non-profit industrial complex’, INCITE!, viewed 21 May 2020, https://incite-national.org/beyond-the-non-profit-industrial-complex/.
Indigenous Values . 2018. ‘Dum Diversas’, Doctrine of Discovery, viewed 6 April 2020, https://doctrineofdiscovery.org/dum-diversas.

Kettl, D. F. 2000. The Transformation of Governance: Globalization, Devolution, and the Role of Government. Public Administration Review, 60 (6): 488–497.
Kim, T. 2020. 'Why is South Korea beating coronavirus? Its citizens hold the state to account', The Guardian, 11 April, viewed 15 April 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/apr/11/south-korea-beating-coronavirus-citizens-state-testing.
King, T. L. and Osayande, E. 2007. The filth on philanthropy: Progressive philanthropy's agenda to misdirect social justice movements. In The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence , pp. 79–89. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
Kivel, P. 2007. Social Service or Social Change? In The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence , pp. 129–149. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
Klein, N. 2007. The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism. New York: MacMillan.
Klein, N. 2020. '"Coronavirus Capitalism": Naomi Klein's Case for Transformative Change Amid Coronavirus Pandemic', Democracy Now, 19 March, viewed 20 April 2020, https://www.democracynow.org/2020/3/19/naomi_klein_coronavirus_capitalism.
Leonardo, Z. 2002. The Souls of White Folk: Critical Pedagogy, Whiteness Studies, and Globalization Discourse. Race Ethnicity and Education, 5 (1): 29–50.
Love, B. L. 2019. We Want to Do More Than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and The Pursuit of Educational Freedom. Boston: Beacon Press.
Mills, C. W. 1997. The Racial Contract. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Native Voices . n.d. 'Supreme Court rules American Indians do not own land', National Library of Medicine, viewed 6 April 2020, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/271.html.
Ortiz, P. 2018. An African American and Latinx History of the United States, vol. 4. Boston: Beacon Press.
Packnett Cunningham, B. 2019. 'It's important to remember…/', Twitter, 22 November, viewed 19 May 2020, https://twitter.com/mspackyetti/status/1198011858374004741.
PBS . 2020. 'COVID-19 may not discriminate based on race—but U.S. health care does', PBS News Hour, 2 April, viewed 5 April 2020, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/covid-19-may-not-discriminate-based-on-race-but-u-s-health-care-does?fbclid=IwAR3XS1qfBL3YfWDglC4v91IEQoIGcgGkBUonBmn1FbnpbpmGzLqW4mprv5Q.
Remarks by President Trump, Vice President Pence, and Members of the Coronavirus Task Force in Press Briefing 2020, television programme, The White House, Washington D.C., 15 April.
Rodríguez, D. 2007. The political logic of the non-profit industrial complex. In The revolution will not be funded: Beyond the non-profit industrial complex, ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence , pp. 21–40. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
Saad, L. 2019. 'No white saviors on saying "no" to white saviorism', podcast, 19 December, viewed 3 March 2020, http://laylafsaad.com/good-ancestor-podcast/ep012-no-white-saviors.
Samimi, J. C. 2010. Funding America's nonprofits: The nonprofit industrial complex's hold on social justice. Columbia Social Work Review, pp. 17–25. DOI:10.7916/D8QC0DC7.
Sensoy, O. and DiAngelo, R. 2017. Is Everyone Really Equal?: An Introduction to Key Concepts in Social Justice Education. New York: Teachers College Press.
Serwer, A. 2020. 'The Coronavirus Was an Emergency Until Trump Found Out Who Was Dying', The Atlantic, 8 May, viewed 25 May 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/05/americas-racial-contract-showing/611389/?fbclid=IwAR1U9MCac43OPcn2hY-FLLg1KMlajnpgA0zH898kR3vOyzcdZuntli-xDY4.
Smith, A. 2007. 'Introduction'. In The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence , pp. 1–18. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
Thomas-Breifeld, S. and Kunreuther, F. 2019. Race to Lead: Confronting the Racial Leadership Gap, Building Movement Project, viewed 15 June 2020, https://buildingmovement.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Race-to-Lead-Confronting-the-Nonprofit-Racial-Leadership-Gap.pdf.
Urrieta, L. 2010. Working from Within: Chicana and Chicano Activist Educators in Whitestream Schools. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
White Savior: Racism in The American Church, 2019, film, 1517 Media. Directed by A. J. Christopher.
Willer, J. 2019. Working through the Smog: How White Individuals Develop Critical Consciousness of White Saviorism, Master's Thesis, Merrimack College, North Andover, viewed 25 May 2019, https://scholarworks.merrimack.edu/soe_student_ce/29/.

An ecological exploration of whiteness: Using imperial hegemony and racial socialisation to examine lived experiences and social performativity of melanated communities

Aldridge, R. W. et al . 2020. Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Groups in England are at Increased Risk of Death from COVID-19: Indirect Standardisation of NHS Mortality Data. Wellcome Open Research, 5: 1–19.

Alvesson, M. and Sköldberg, K. 2009. Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research, 2nd edn. Los Angeles, London: SAGE.

Bronfenbrenner, U. 1975. Reality and Research in the Ecology of Human Development. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 119 (6): 439–469.

Busher, J. et al. 2017. What the Prevent Duty Means for Schools and Colleges in England: An Analysis of Educationalists' Experiences. Aziz Foundation, July: 1–68.

Cole, M. 2009. A Plethora of 'Suitable Enemies': British Racism at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32: 1671–1685.

Dudenhoefer, A. 2018. Resisting Radicalisation: A Critical Analysis of the UK Prevent Duty. Journal for Deradicalization, 14 (Spring): 153–191.

Farinde, A. A. , Allen, A. and Lewis, C. W. 2016. Retaining Black Teachers: An Examination of Black Female Teachers' Intentions to Remain in K-12 Classrooms. Equity and Excellence in Education, 49 (1): 115–127.

Foucault, M. 2005. The Subject and Power. Critical Inquiry, 8 (4): 777–795.

Garner, S. 2017. Surfing the Third Wave of Whiteness Studies: Reflections on Twine and Gallagher. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40 (9): 1582–1597.

Glynn, M. 2016. Towards an Intersectional Model of Desistance for Black Offenders. Safer Communities, 15 (1): 24-32.

Greenfield, E. A. 2012. Using Ecological Frameworks to Advance a Field of Research, Practice, and Policy on Aging-in-Place Initiatives. Gerontologist, 52 (1): 1–12.

Guess, T. J. 2006. The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence. Critical Sociology, 32 (4): 649–673.

Hall, S. 1997a. Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. SAGE Publications & Open University.

Hall, S. 1997b. The Spectacle of the 'Other'. In Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London: Open University.

Halliday, A. J. , Kern, M. L. , Garrett, D. K. and Turnbull, D. A. 2018. The Student Voice in Wellbeing: A Case Study of Participatory Action Research in Positive Education. Educational Action Research, 0792: 1–24.

Härkönen, U. 2007. 'The Bronfenbrenner ecological systems theory of human development'. Scientific Articles of V International Conference, pp. 1–17.

Harris, R. 2009. Black British, Brown British and British Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies, 23 (4): 483–512.

Heath-Kelly, C. and Strausz, E. 2019. The Banality of Counterterrorism 'After, After 9/11'? Perspectives on the Prevent Duty from the UK Health Care Sector. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 12 (1), 89–109.

HM Home Office . 2019. 'Individuals Referred to and Supported Through the Prevent Programme', April 2018 to March 2019 (December).

Hodgson, A. and Spours, K. 2009. Collaborative Local Learning Ecologies: Reflections on the Governance of Lifelong Learning in England. Inquiry into the Future for Lifelong Learning (IFLL), National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Sector Paper 6, 1–27.

Hodgson, A. and Spours, K. 2017. Education, Skills and Employment in East London: An Ecosystem Analysis. London: UCL Insititute of Education.

Holmes, M. 2017. Sociology for Optimists. Discover Society, 43: 1–10.

Home Office . 2020. 'Prevent duty guidance' [online], viewed 7 June 2020, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prevent-duty-guidance.

Hong, J. S. 2011. An Ecological Understanding of Kinship Foster Care in the United States. Journal of Child and Family Studies, 20 (6): 863–872.

Hong, J. S. and Garbarino, J. 2012. Risk and Protective Factors for Homophobic Bullying in Schools: An Application of the Social-Ecological Framework. Educational Psychology Review, 24 (2): 271–285.

Hughes, R. L. 2007. A Hint of Whiteness: History Textbooks and Social Construction of Race in the Wake of the Sixties. The Social Studies, 98 (5), 201–208.

Hunter, S. 2015. Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance? 1st edn. (21 April). London: Routledge.

Ivankova, N. V. and Plano Clark, V. L. 2018. Teaching Mixed Methods Research: Using a Socio-ecological Framework as a Pedagogical Approach for Addressing the Complexity of the Field. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 5579: 1–16.

Johnson, E. S. 2008. Toward an Alternative Model of Accountability in Education. Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education, 5 (1): 1–10.

Johnson, G. M. 1994. An Ecological Framework For Conceptualizing Educational Risk. Urban Education, 29 (1): 34–49. DOI:10.1177/0042085994029001004.
Kyriakides, C. and Virdee, S. 2003. Migrant Labour, Racism and the British National Health Service. Ethnicity and Health, 8 (4): 283–305.
Lammy, D. 2020. 'Two years after Windrush, we're deporting people who've only known Britain as home', The Guardian, 10 February, viewed 10 December 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/feb/10/windrush-deporting-people.
Lawford, E. and Rose, E. 2020. 'Windrush scandal explained: Who was involved in the deportation crisis?', The Evening Standard, 8 June, viewed 1 February 2021, https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/windrush-scandal-generation-explained-a4463106.html.
Lawrence, D. 2020. 'An avoidable crisis', viewed 3 March 2021, https://www.lawrencereview.co.uk/.
Leonard, J. 2011. Using Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory to Understand Community Partnerships: A Historical Case Study of One Urban High School. Urban Education, 46 (5): 987–1010.
Lindsay, S. et al . 2018. Applying an Ecological Framework to Understand Transition Pathways to Post-secondary Education for Youth with Physical Disabilities. Disability and Rehabilitation, 40 (3): 277–286.
Long, L. 2018. Perpetual Suspects: A Critical Race Theory of Black and Mixed-Race Experiences of Policing, 1st edn. 20. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Marks, N. F. and Grzywacz, J. G. 2017. Social Inequalities and Exercise during Adulthood: Toward an Ecological Perspective. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 42 (2): 202–220.
Martin, G. 2016. Towards an Intersectional Model of Desistance for Black Offenders. Safer Communities, 15 (1): 24–32.
Miller, P. W. 2019. 'Tackling' Race Inequality in School Leadership: Positive Actions in BAME Teacher Progression – Evidence from Three English Schools. Educational Management Administration & Leadership. 48 (6): 986–1006. DOI:10.1177/1741143219873098.
Modood, T. 1988. 'Black', Racial Equality and Asian Identity. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 14 (3): 397–404.
National Police Chiefs' Council . 2020. 'Delivering prevent' [online], viewed 7 May, https://www.npcc.police.uk/CounterTerrorism/Prevent.aspx.
Nayak, A. 2007. Critical Whiteness Studies. Sociology Compass, 1 (2): 737–755.
Neville, H. and Mobley, M. 2001. Social Identities in Contexts: An Ecological Model of Multicultural Counseling Psychology Processes. The Counseling Psychologist, 29 (4): 471–486.
Nitsch, J. R. 2009. Ecological Approaches to Sport Activity: A Commentary from an Action-Theoretical Point of View. International Journal of Sport Psychology, 40 (1): 152–176.
Noonan, L. et al . 2018. 'Who went to jail for their role in the financial crisis?', Financial Times, 20 September, viewed 1 February 2021, https://ig.ft.com/jailed-bankers/.
Parmar, A. 2011. Stop and Search in London: Counter-Terrorist or Counter-Productive? Policing and Society, 21 (4): 369–382.
Pina-Sánchez, J. Lightowlers, C. and Roberts, J. 2017. Exploring the Punitive Surge: Crown Court Sentencing Practices Before and After the 2011 English Riots. Criminology and Criminal Justice, 17 (3): 319–339.
Quin, D. 2016. Longitudinal and Contextual Associations Between Teacher-Student Relationships and Student Engagement: A Systematic Review. Review of Educational Research, 87 (2): 345–387.
Race Disparity Unit . 2020. Pupil Exclusions. London: Cabinet Office.
Rattansi, A. 2000. On Being And Not Being Brown/Black-British: Racism, Class, Sexuality and Ethnicity in Post-imperial Britain. Interventions, 2 (1): 118–134.
Reay, D. 2001. Finding or Losing Yourself?: Working-Class Relationships to Education. Journal of Education Policy, 16 (4): 333–346.
Renn, K. A. 2003. Understanding the Identities of Mixed-Race College Students Through a Developmental Ecology Lens. Journal of College Student Development, 44 (3): 383–403.
Santrock, J. W. 2007. Child Development, 11th edn. NY: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
Shah, J. 2017. Informal Learning in a Digital Landscape: A Higher Education Drama Conservatoire Case Study. In Informal Learning: Perspectives, Challenges, and Opportunities, ed. S. Rutherford , p. 314. Nova.
Shah, J. 2018. 'Decolonising Statement', Social Performance Network, viewed 11 December 2020, https://socialperformanceacademy.wpcomstaging.com/decolonising-statement/.
Shah, J. 2019. 'London Spring, Arab Riots', State Violence. University of Manchester, 4 April 2018. London: Social Performance Network.
Swick, K. J. and Williams, R. D. 2006. An Analysis of Bronfenbrenner's Bio-ecological Perspective for Early Childhood Educators: Implications for Working with Families Experiencing Stress. Early Childhood Education Journal, 33 (5): 371–378.
Till, J. 2013. The Broken Middle: The Space of the London Riots. Cities, 34: 71–74.

Universities UK and National Union of Students , 2019. Black, Asian and minority UK universities: Attainment at ethnic student #Closingthegap, May, 83, viewed 11 December 2020, https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2019/bame-student-attainment-uk-universities-closing-the-gap.pdf.

Vautier, E. 2009. Playing the 'Race Card': White Anxieties and the Expression and Repression of Popular Racisms in the 1997 UK Election. Patterns of Prejudice, 43 (2): 122–141.

Waters, S. K. , Cross, D.S. and Runions, K. 2009. Social and Ecological Structures Supporting Adolescent Connectedness to School: A Theoretical Model. Journal of School Health, 79 (11): 516–524.

Weaver-Hightower, M. B. 2008. An Ecology Metaphor for Educational Policy Analysis: A Call to Complexity. Educational Researcher, 37 (3): 153–167.

Webster, C. S. 2018. Turning the Tables: Media Constructions of British Asians from Victims to Criminals, 1962 to 2011. In Media, Crime, Racism, ed. M. Bhatia , S. Poynting and W. Tufail , pp. 11–32. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weisner, T. S. 2008. The Urie Bronfenbrenner Top 19: Looking Back at His Bioecological Perspective. Mind, Culture, and Activity, 15 (3): 258–262.

Wigger, I. 2019. Anti-Muslim Racism and the Racialization of Sexual Violence: 'Intersectional Stereotyping' in Mass Media Representations of Male Muslim Migrants in Germany. Culture and Religion, 20 (3): 248–271.

Williams, F. 1987. Racism and the Discipline of Social Policy: A Critique of Welfare Theory. Critical Social Policy, 7 (20): 4–29.

Yesufu, S. 2013. Discriminatory Use of Police Stop-and-Search Powers in London, UK. International Journal of Police Science & Management, 15 (4): 281–293.

Curtailing imagination: Modern African philosophy's struggle against whiteness

Chimakonam, J. O. 2019. Why the Racial Politic of Colour-branding should be Discontinued. Phronimon, 20 (1): 1–24. DOI:10.25159/2413-3086/6600.

Eze, E. C. 1999. Philosophy and the 'Man' in the Humanities. Topoi, 18: 49–58.

Jun, A. *et al.* 2018. White Jesus: The Architecture of Racism in Religion and Education. New York: Peter Lang.

Masolo, D. A. 1994. African Philosophy in Search of Identity. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Mills, C. W. 2007. White Ignorance. In Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance, ed. S. Sullivan and N. Tuana , pp. 13–38. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Serequeberhan, T. 1994. The Hermeneutics of African Philosophy: Horizon and Discourse. New York: Routledge.

Taiwo, O. 2010. How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Tempels, P. 1959. Bantu Philosophy. Paris: Présence Africaine.

Tsri, K. 2016. Africans are not Black: Why the Use of the Term 'Black' for Africans should be Abandoned. African Identities, 14 (2): 147–160. DOI:10.1080/14725843.2015.1113120.

'The Feeling in my Chest': Unblocking space for people of colour in critical whiteness studies

Ahmed, S. 2004. The Cultural Politics of Emotion. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Cullos, P. in Tippett, K. (Host) 2019, May 15. The Spiritual Work of Black Lives Matter. [Audio podcast Episode] in On Being. Krista Tippett Public Productions.

Dyer, R. 1997. White. London: Routledge.

Emirbayer, M. 1997. Manifesto for a Relational Sociology. American Journal of Sociology, 103 (2): 281–317.

Fine, M. et al. 2004. Off White. Readings on Power, Privilege, and Resistance. London: Routledge.

Garner, S. 2007. Whiteness. An Introduction. London: Routledge.

Gopal, P. 2019. Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent. London: Verso.

Gordon, A. F. 2008. Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gunaratnam, Y. 2003. Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power. London: SAGE Publications.

Hartman, S. 2020. Notes on Feminisms: The Plot of Her Undoing. Feminist Art Coalition, available at https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c805bf0d86cc90a02b81cdc/t/5db8b219a910fa05af05dbf4/15723853

05368/NotesOnFeminism-2_SaidiyaHartman.pdf.
Lea, T. 2008. Bureaucrats & Bleeding Hearts: Indigenous Health in Northern Australia. Sydney: UNSW Press.
Lewis, G. 2009. Birthing Racial Difference: Conversations with my Mother and Others. Studies in the Maternal, 1 (1): 1–21.
Lewis, G. 2017. Questions of Presence. Feminist Review, 117 (1): 1–19.
Lorde, A. 2007. Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches. New York: Ten Speed Press.
Morrison, T. 1987. Beloved. New York: Knopf.
Nayak, A. 2007. Critical Whiteness Studies. Sociology Compass, 1 (2): 737–755.
Nayak, S. 2015. Race, Gender and the Activism of Black Feminist Theory. Working with Audre Lorde. East Sussex: Routledge.
Said, E. 1984. The World, The Text and The Critic. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Said, E. 2003. Orientalism. London: Penguin Books.
Sharpe, C. 2016. In the Wake. On Blackness and Being. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Spillers, H. J. 2003. Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An African American Grammar Book. In Black, White and in Color: Essays on American Literature and Culture, ed. H. Spillers , pp. 203–229. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Steyn, M. and Conway, D. 2010. Introduction: Intersecting whiteness, interdisciplinary debates. Ethnicities, 10 (3): 283–291.
Van Der Kolk, B. 2015. The Body Keeps the Score: Mind, Brain and Body in the Transformation of Trauma. UK: Penguin Books.
Wynter, S. 1990. Afterword: Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/silencing the ‘Demonic Ground’ of Caliban's Woman. In Out of the KUMBLA: Caribbean Women and Literature, ed. C. Boyce Davies and E. Savory Fido , pp. 355–372. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Wynter, S. 1995. But what does ‘wonder’ do? Meanings, canons too. Stanford Humanities Review, 4 (1): 124–129.
Wynter, S. and McKittrick, K. 2015. Unparalleled Catastrophe for our Species? Or, to give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations. In On Being Human as Praxis, ed. K. McKittrick , pp. 9–89. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Integrity, self-respect, and white privilege

Bailey, A. 1999. Despising an Identity They Taught Me to Claim. In Whiteness: Feminist Philosophical Reflections, ed. C. J. Cuomo and K. Q. Hall , pp. 85–107. Rowman and Littlefield.
Blum, L. 2005. Stereotypes and Stereotyping: A Moral Analysis. Philosophical Papers, 33 (3): 251–289.
Blum, L. 2011. Anti-Racist Moral Identities, or Iris Murdoch in South Africa. South African Journal of Philosophy, 30 (4): 440–451.
Calhoun, C. 1995. Standing for Something. The Journal of Philosophy, 92 (5): 235–260.
Card, C. 1996. The Unnatural Lottery: Character and Moral Luck. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Church, J. 2002. Taking it to Heart: What Choice Do We Have? The Monist, 85 (3): 361–380.
Cox, D. et al. 2003. Integrity and the Fragile Self. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Darwall, S. 1977. Two Kinds of Respect. Ethics, 88: 36–49.
Dillon, R. S. 1992. How to Lose Your Self-Respect. American Philosophical Quarterly, 29 (2): 125–139.
Dillon, R. S. 2001. Self-Forgiveness and Self-Respect. Ethics, 112 (1), 53–83.
Dillon, R. S. 2016. Respect. In The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. E. N. Zalta [online], viewed 10 March 2020, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/respect/.
Gaita, R. 1981. Integrity. Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, 55: 161–176.
Hay, C. 2011. The Obligation to Resist Oppression. Journal of Social Philosophy, 42 (1): 21–45.
Hill Jr., T. E. 1991. Autonomy and Self-Respect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hook, D. 2011. White Privilege, Psychoanalytic Ethics, and the Limitations of Political Silence. South African Journal of Philosophy, 30 (4): 494–501.
Kant, I. 1996 [1797]. The Metaphysics of Morals, tr. and ed. M. Gregor . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kant, I. 1998 [1785]. Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals, tr. and ed. M. Gregor . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McFall, L. 1987. Integrity. Ethics, 98 (1): 5–20.
Metz, T. 2013. The Western Ethic of Care, or an Afro-Communitarian Ethic? Specifying the Right Relational Morality. Journal of Global Ethics, 9 (1): 77–92.

Nagel, T. 1979. Mortal Questions. Cambridge University Press.
Nagel, T. 1991. Equality and Partiality. Oxford University Press.
Rawls, J. 1973. A Theory of Justice. Oxford University Press.
Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) . 2019. Inequality Trends in South Africa. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, available at https://www.afd.fr/en/ressources/inequality-trends-south-africa-multidimensional-diagnostic-inequality.
Sullivan, S. 2006. Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
Vice, S. 2010. How Do I Live in this Strange Place? Journal of Social Philosophy, 41 (3): 323–342.
Vice, S. 2016. Essentialising Rhetoric and Work on the Self. Philosophical Papers, 45 (1–2): 103–131.
Vice, S. 2019. Impartiality, Partiality and Privilege. The View from South Africa. In Debating African Philosophy, ed. G. Hull , pp. 130–145. London and New York: Routledge.
Walker, M. U. 1991. Moral Luck and the Virtues of Impure Agency. Metaphilosophy 22 (1–2): 14–27.
Williams, B. 1973. A Critique of Utilitarianism. In Utilitarianism: For and Against, ed. B. Williams and J. J. C. Smart , pp. 77–155. Cambridge University Press.
Young, I. M. 1990. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press.
Young, I. M. 2003. 'Political Responsibility and Structural Injustice,' Lindley Lecture, 5 May, [online], viewed 10 April 2020, http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/schools/cas_sites/sociology/pdf/PoliticalResponsibility.pdf.

Whiteness as resistance: The intersectionality of the 'Alt-Right'

Auster, L. 2019. Our Borders, Ourselves: America in the Age of Multiculturalism. Litchfield: VDARE.com Books.
Camus, R. 2018. You Will Not Replace Us! Plieux: Chez l'auteur.
Collins, P. H. 2000. Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203900055.
Crowley, C. 2020. 'Coronavirus and the crisis of neoliberalism', Occidental Observer, 26 April, viewed 22 June 2020, https://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/2020/04/26/coronavirus-and-the-crisis-of-neoliberalism/.
DiAngelo, R. 2018. White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism. Boston: Beacon Press.
Dutton, E. 2019. Race Differences in Ethnocentrism. London: Arktos.
Gray, P. W. 2018. 'The Fire Rises': Identity, the 'Alt-right', and Intersectionality. Journal of Political Ideologies, 23 (2): 141–156. DOI:10.1080/13569317.2018.1451228.
Gray, P. W. 2020. Vanguardism: Ideology and Organization in Totalitarian Politics. New York: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780429318252.
Gray, P. W. and Jordan, S. R. 2018. Revealing the Alt-right: Exploring Alt-right History, Thinkers and Ideas for Public Officials. Public Voices, 15 (2): 31–49.
Hancock, A. 2016. Intersectionality: An Intellectual History. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199370368.001.0001.
Hawley, G. 2017. Making Sense of the Alt-Right. New York: Columbia University Press. DOI:10.7312/hawl18512.
Houck, R. 2018. Liberalism Unmasked. London: Arktos.
Jacobson, M. F. 1998. Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Jensen, A. R. 1998. The G Factor: The Science of Mental Ability. Westport: Praeger.
Johnson, G. 2013. New Right Versus Old Right: And Other Essays. San Francisco: Counter-Current Publishing Ltd.
Johnson, G. 2015. Truth, Justice, and a Nice White Country. San Francisco: Counter-Current Publishing Ltd.
Johnson, G. 2018a. What is the Alternative Right? In The Alternative Right, ed. G. Johnson , pp. 1–28, San Francisco: Counter-Current Publishing Ltd.
Johnson, G. 2018b. The White Nationalist Manifesto. San Francisco: Counter-Current Publishing Ltd.
Johnson, G. 2019. Toward a New Nationalism. San Francisco: CounterCurrent Publishing Ltd.
Jones, E. M. 2004. The Slaughter of Cities: Urban Renewal as Ethnic Cleansing. South Bend: Fidelity Press.
Joyce, A. 2020. 'Multiculturalism in the age of coronavirus', Occidental Observer, 14 April, viewed 22 June 2020, https://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/2020/04/14/multiculturalism-in-the-age-of-coronavirus/.
Katz, J. H. 2003. White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training, 2nd edn. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kirkpatrick, J. 2019. Conservatism Inc.: The Battle for the American Right. London: Arktos.
Krebs, P. 2012. Fighting for the Essence: Western Ethnosuicide or European Renaissance? London: Arktos.
Levin, M. 2005. Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean. Oakton: New Century Foundation.
Lynn, R. 2015. Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis, 2nd edn. Arlington: Washington Summit Publishers.
MacDonald, K. 2002. The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements. 1st Books.
McLaren, P. 1998. Whiteness is …: The Struggle for Postcolonial Hybridity. In White Reign: Deploying Whiteness in America, ed. J. L. Kincheloe *et al* . New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
Mercer, I. 2011. Into The Cannibal's Pot: Lessons for America from Post-Apartheid South Africa. Seattle: Stairway Press.
Mohler, A. and Weissmann, K. 2018. The Conservative Revolution in Germany 1918-1932: A Handbook. Whitefish: Washington Summit Publishers.
Nowicki, A. 2016. The Niggers of the Earth. In The Uprooting of European Identity, ed. R. B. Spencer , pp. 31–70. Arlington: Washington Summit Publishers.
O'Meara, M. 2013. New Culture, New Right: Anti-Liberalism in Postmodern Europe. London: Arktos.
Robertson, W. 1993. The Ethnostate: An Unblinkered Prospectus for an Advanced Statecraft. Ostara Publications.
Rushton, J. P. 2000. Race, Evolution, and Behavior: A Life History Perspective. Port Huron: Charles Darwin Research Institute.
Taylor, J. 2011. White Identity: Racial Consciousness in the 21st Century. New Century Books.
Taylor, J. 2017. If We Do Nothing: Essays and Reviews from 25 Years of White Advocacy. No Location: New Century Books.
Willinger, M. 2013. Generation Identity: A Declaration of War Against The '68ers. David Schreiber , trans. London: Arktos.
Willinger, M. 2014. A Europe of Nations: A Declaration of Independence. London: Arktos.

An evolutionary terror: A critical examination of emboldened whiteness and race evasion

Anderson, C. 2017. White Rage. New York: Bloomsbury.
Annamma, S. A. , Jackson, D. D. and Morrison, D. 2017. Conceptualizing Color-Evasiveness: Using Dis/ability Critical Race Theory to Expand a Color-blind Racial Ideology in Education and Society. Race Ethnicity and Education, 20 (2): 147–162.
Baldwin, J. 2008 [1963]. A Talk to Teachers. Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 107 (2): 15–20. View at http://richgibson.com/talktoteachers.htm.
Bell, D. 1992. Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Berman, M. *et al* . 2020. 'Protests spread over police shootings. Police promised reforms. Every year, they still shoot and kill nearly 1,000 people', Washington Post, 8 June, viewed 13 June 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/protests-spread-over-police-shootings-police-promised-reforms-every-year-they-still-shoot-nearly-1000-people/2020/06/08/5c204f0c-a67c-11ea-b473–04905b1af82b_story.html.
Black Lives Matter . 2020. https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/.
Bobo, L. D. 2017. Racism in Trump's America: Reflections on Culture, Sociology, and the 2016 US Presidential Election. The British Journal of Sociology, 68 (S1): 85–104.
Bonilla-Silva, E. 2003. 'New Racism', Color-blind Racism, and the Future of Whiteness in America. In White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism, ed. A. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva , pp. 271–284. New York: Routledge.
Bonilla-Silva, E. 2010. Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and The Persistence of Racial Inequality in The United States, 3rd edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
DiAngelo, R. 2018. White Fragility. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
Du Bois, W. E. B. 1935. Does the Negro need Separate Schools? The Journal of Negro Education, 4 (3): 328–335.
Fanon, F. 1967. Black Skin, White Masks. New York: Grove Press.
Johnson, A. 2006. Privilege, Power, and Difference, 2nd edn. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
Kendi, I. X. 2016. Stamped from the Beginning. New York: Nation Books.

Kim, J. 2020. ‘Report: Sam’s Club stabbing suspect thought family was “Chinese infecting people with coronavirus”’, KTSM News, 7 April, viewed 25 June 2020, https://www.ktsm.com/news/report-sams-club-stabbing-suspect-thought-family-was-chinese-infecting-people-with-coronavirus/.
Leonardo, Z. 2002. The Souls of White Folk: Critical Pedagogy, Whiteness Studies, and Globalization Discourse. Race Ethnicity and Education, 5 (1): 29–50.
Leonardo, Z. and Porter, R. K. 2010. Pedagogy of Fear: Toward a Fanonian Theory of ‘Safety’ in Race Dialogue. Race Ethnicity and Education, 13 (2): 139–157.
Mangan, D. 2020. ‘Trump defends calling coronavirus “Chinese virus” – “it’s not racist at all”’, CNBC, 18 March, viewed 17 June 2020, https://www.cnbc.com/2020/03/18/coronavirus-criticism-trump-defends-saying-chinese-virus.html.
Matias, C. E. 2016. Feeling White. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
Matias, C. E. , ed. 2020. Surviving Becky(s): Pedagogies for Deconstructing Whiteness and Gender. Lexington Books.
Matias, C. E. and Newlove, P. M. 2017. Better the Devil You See, Than the One You Don’t: Bearing Witness to Emboldened En-whitening Epistemology in the Trump Era. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 30 (10): 920–928.
Matias, C. E. and Boucher, C. Forthcoming. Putting the Criticality Back in Critical Whiteness Studies. In Critical Theories for School-Based Practice: A Foundation for Equity and Inclusion in Practice and Supervision, ed. S. L. Proctor and D. Rivera . To be published by Routledge.
McIntosh, P. 1989. White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. Peace and Freedom Magazine, July/August 10 unknown 12 unknown.
Mills, C. 2007. White Ignorance. In Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance, ed. S. Sullivan and N. Tuana , pp. 11–38. State University of New York Press.
Plessy vs. Ferguson 1895. Judgement, Decided May 18, 1896; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States; Record Group 267; Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, #15248, National Archives.
Reilly, K. 2016. ‘Racist Incidents Are Up Since Donald Trump’s Election. These Are Just a Few of Them’, TIME, 13 November, viewed 12 June 2020, https://time.com/4569129/racist-anti-semitic-incidents-donald-trump/.
Scheurich, J. J. and Young, M. D. 1997. Coloring Epistemologies: Are Our Research Epistemologies Racially Biased? Educational Researcher, 26 (4): 4–16.
Serwer, A. 2019. ‘The President’s Pursuit of White Power’, The Atlantic, 14 January, viewed 13 June 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/01/trump-embraces-white-supremacy/579745/.
Sharpless, R. 2016. ‘Immigrants Are Not Criminals’: Respectability, Immigration Reform, and Hyperincarceration. Houston Law Review, 53 (3): 691.
Supreme Court of The United States . 1896. U.S. Reports: Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537. [Periodical]. View at https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep163537/.
Tatum, B. 2013. The Complexity of Identity: ‘Who am I?’ In Readings for Diversity and Social Justice, 3rd edn., ed. Adams *et al.* , pp. 6–9. New York: Routledge.
Thandeka . 1999. Learning to be White. New York: Continuum.
Trump, D. J. 2015. ‘Transcript: Donald Trump announces his presidential candidacy’, CBS News, 16 June, viewed 15 June 2020, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-donald-trump-announces-his-presidential-candidacy/.
Yancy, G. 2008. Black Bodies, White Gazes. Maryland: Rowman & Litchfield Publishers.

Epilogue: Reflections

Berezow, A. 2018. ‘White Overdose Deaths 50% Higher Than Blacks, 167% Higher Than Hispanics’. American Council on Science and Health blog, 5 April, viewed 22 February 2019, https://www.acsh.org/news/2018/04/05/white-overdose-deaths-50-higher-blacks-167-higher-hispanics-12804.
Bluestone, B. and Harrison, B. 1982. The Deindustrialization of America. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Brown, D. 2013. A Vagabond's Tale: Poor Whites, Herrenvolk Democracy, and the Value of Whiteness in the Late Antebellum South. The Journal of Southern History, 79 (4): 799–840.
Byfield, N. 2014. Savage Portrayals: Race, Media and the Central Park Jogger Story. Temple University Press.
Dangarembga, T. (1988, 2004) Nervous Conditions. London: Ayebia Clarke Publishers.
Derickson, A. 1988. Workers' Health, Workers' Democracy: The Western Miners' Struggle, 1891–1925. Cornell University Press.

Dickerson, D. C. 1986. Out of the Crucible: Black Steel Workers in Western Pennsylvania, 1875-1980. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
Duru, N. J. 2003. The Central Park Five, the Scottsboro Boys, and the Myth of the Bestial Black Man. Cardozo L. Rev., 25: 1315.
Fanon, F. 1961. Wretched of the Earth. Paris: Maspero.
Fine, M. 2017. Just Research in Contentious Times. New York: Teachers College Press.
Fine, M. *et al* . 2001. Changing Minds: The Impact of College on Women in a Maximum Security Prison. View at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/scans/changing_minds.pdf.
Fraser, S. 2015. The Age of Acquiescence: The Life and Death of American Resistance to Organized Wealth and Power. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
Gates Jr, H. L. 2020. Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow. New York: Penguin Books.
Goldberg, D. T. 2009. The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
Gqola, P. 2010. What is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-apartheid South Africa. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
Hooks, B. (1992) Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination. Cultural Studies, ed. L. Grossberg et al. London: Routledge, 1992, pp. 338–342.
Hunter, S. 2015. Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance? London: Routledge.
Lewis, R. L. 1987. Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class, and Community Conflict, 1780–1980. University Press of Kentucky.
Lugones, M. 2010. Toward a Decolonial Feminism. Hypatia, 25 (4): 742–759.
MacLean, N. 2017. Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America. New York: Penguin.
Mbembe, A. 2015. ‘Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive’, UCT lecture [online], view at https://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/Achille%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge%20and%20the%20Question%20of%20the%20Archive.pdf
Moore, L. N. 2010. Black Rage in New Orleans: Police Brutality and African American Activism from World War II to Hurricane Katrina. LSU Press.
Moynihan, D. P. 1965. Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family. Daedalus, Fall (94): 745–770.
Omi, M. and Winant, H. 2014. Racial formation in the United States. New York: Routledge.
Puwar, N. 2004. Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place. Oxford: Berg.
Rothman, J. D. 2018. Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South. Labour/Le Travail, 82: 266–269.
Sartre, J. P. 1961. Preface. In Wretched of the Earth, ed. F. Fanon . Paris: Maspero.
Segalo, P. 2020. Poison in the Marrow: Complexities of Liberating and Healing the Nation. HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 76 (3): a6047.
Silva, J. M. 2019. We're Still Here: Pain and Politics in the Heart of America. Oxford University Press.
Taylor, A. M. 2018. Embattled Freedom: Journeys through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps. UNC Press Books.
Wang, J. 2018. Carceral Capitalism. Semiotext(e)/Intervention Series, Vol. 21. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Woodward, C. V. 1991. Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. Oxford University Press.