14 WHITE NEGROES

Virtually every country in Europe had its equivalent of 'white Negroes' and simianized men, whether or not they happened to be stereotypes of criminals, assassins, political radicals, revolutionaries, Slavs, gypsies, Jews, or peasants.

L. Perry Curtis, jr. (1971)

In order to deepen our understanding it is necessary to widen the horizon. The label 'racism' particularizes and isolates issues. If our point of departure is that 'race' is a mythical concept, a social construct devoid of substance, why should we study the social relations in question only under the label 'racism'? Comparisons with social relations structured by similar dynamics (prejudices, stigmatizing stereotypes, discrimination, exclusion) may deepen our insight into both racism and stereotyping.

How does the stereotyping of Africa and of blacks fit within the larger framework of western patterns of exclusion? This chapter is an enquiry into the western world's underside. The interplay of race, class and gender, the main systems of domination, or the 'Big Three',[1] is a well-established theme, but most discussions concern the way these systems intersect rather than the way they interact. Comparisons are rare between racism, classism and sexism in terms of their histories, ideologies, imageries and underlying logic; we are offered a wealth of vignettes but systematic explorations are lacking. However brief an excursion into a large and difficult area, the focus here on images and stereotypes may shed new light.

The chapter also considers the complex ramifications of mirroring: how Eurocentrism, as it projects its own shadows, creates 'others' overseas whose construction in turn affects the reproduction and reconstruction of hierarchies within Europe and the western world.[2] While 'others' mirror Europe's negative self or split-off shadows, European hierarchies re-emerge with the internal 'others' reconstructed in the image of the overseas shadows. In the process, domestic and imperial hierarchies and similes become interdependent. I will look first at situations in which overt comparisons between blacks and other groups figure, and next at perspectives in which such comparisons relate to a wider world view.

Situations: Irishmen, Chinese, Jews

Before we treat the Negroes as whites, we must cease treating whites as Negroes.

Emiel Vandervelde (1894)

Statements in which comparisons are made between blacks and other groups, without a reason why being given, seem to be relatively simple; presumably the comparison is in terms of status, treatment or appearance. Thus Chamfort, in the eighteenth century: 'The poor are the negroes of Europe.'[3] The British in India often referred to Indians as 'niggers', mostly on the basis of skin colour. Of a similar nature is the statement quoted above by the Belgian socialist leader Emiel Vandervelde, who compared the way the working class was treated with the treatment of negroes.[4] John Lennon said, 'Women are the niggers of the world.' A little more complex is a statement by Francisco Cabral, superior of the Portuguese Jesuit mission in Japan (1570-81), about the Japanese: 'After all, they are Niggers, and their customs are barbarous.'[5]

So to the pious Portuguese, after a hundred years of Portuguese experience in Africa, the Japanese were put in the same category as Africans.

In some cases comparison of blacks with other groups goes much further. In 1880 the Belgian essayist Gustave de Molinari noted, in a series of articles about Ireland, that England's most important newspapers and magazines 'allow no occasion to escape them of treating the Irish as a kind of inferior race – as a kind of white negroes – and a glance in *Punch* is sufficient to show the difference between the plump and robust personification of John Bull and the wretched figure of lean and bony Pat.'[6]

English views of Ireland display an interesting zigzag pattern. In the early Middle Ages Ireland was famed as a centre of Christian civilization: several English kings went there to be educated. Ireland's reputation declined, however, as England's interest in conquering and colonizing it increased. In the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion and after the classic description of Ireland by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century, which set the tone for later descriptions, Ireland was considered savage and barbarous. Down to the present this notion of the 'wilde Irish' has hardly changed, although there have been marked shifts of emphasis. The distinction between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon 'races' in the British Isles is one of long standing, but from the mid-nineteenth century onward the British image of the Irish was recast in biological racial terms.[7] In addition, from about 1840, the standard image of the good-natured Irish peasant was revised, becoming that of a repulsive ape-like creature.

> In cartoons and caricatures as well as prose, Paddy began to resemble increasingly the chimpanzee, the orang-utan, and, finally, the gorilla. The transformation of peasant Paddy into ape-man or simianized Caliban was completed by the 1860s and 1870s, when for various reasons it became necessary for a number of Victorians to assign Irishmen to a place closer to the apes than the angels.[8]

'Dutch Girl' cleanser. The most familiar American stereotype of the Dutch. (USA, 1905). From Morgan, *Symbols of America*, 1984.

Aluminium bottle-opener, 1930s. Denigrating representations of women are even more common in the western world than those of blacks. (From Strang, *Working Women*, 1984)

TWO FORCES.

'Two Forces'. With the sword of the Law, Britannia shields a frightened Hibernia from a stone-throwing Irish 'Anarchist'. One of a series of anti-Irish cartoons by Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) in *Punch*, 29 Oct. 1881.

Irishmen were depicted with low foreheads, prognathous features and an ape-like gait by cartoonists such as Sir John Tenniel of *Punch*. In 1862 a satire in *Punch* attacked Irish immigration under the title 'The Missing Link': 'A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has contrived to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of Irish Yahoo.'[9]

What prompted the metamorphosis of Paddy the peasant to Paddy the ape was the stream of Irish immigrants, in the wake of the famines of the 1840s, along with the mounting Irish resistance to British domination. The 'Fenian outrages' of the 1860s involved anti-English acts of sabotage and subversion. Thus, English images of the Irish hardened in the context of colonialism, migration and resistance. About this time the first apes were brought to Europe (the first live adult gorilla arrived at the London Zoo in 1860), and as they made their first appearance in zoos, they began to appear in cartoons and as a new metaphor in popular imagery.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English writers often drew a comparison between the 'wilde Irish' and Native American 'savages', in the context of the English 'plantations', or settlements, in North America and those in the north of Ireland.[10] In the nineteenth century comparisons between the Irish and other 'natives' became common. Irishmen were caricatured alongside Africans under the heading of 'annual imperial problems'. In 1886 Lord Salisbury, arguing against Home Rule for Ireland, said: 'You would not confide free representative institutions to the Hottentots, for instance.'[11] Renewed manifestations of Fenianism during the Irish struggle for independence, from the 1880s to 1921, sparked off further hostile caricatures and stereotypes in the English press.[12] Resistance since 1968 to the British presence in Northern Ireland has occasioned anti-Irish cartoons and jokes which have a lot in common with racist stereotypes.[13]

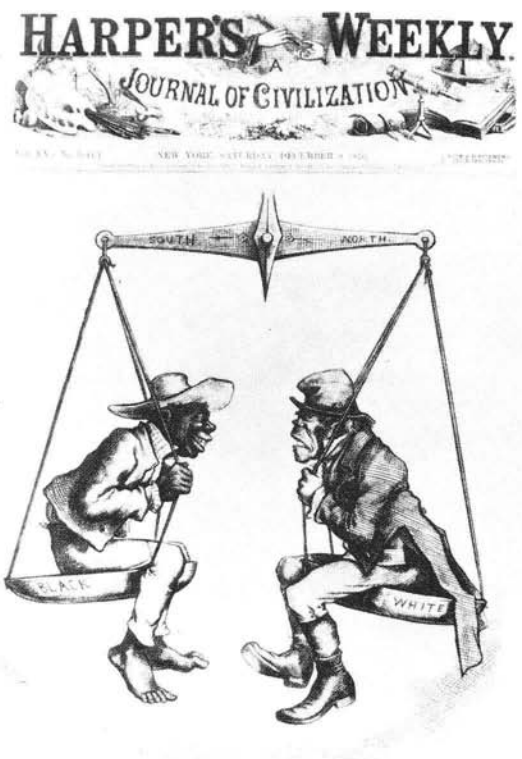
Underlying these comparisons is the colonial situation and the colonizer's enemy imagery of the colonized. What is striking is how consistent the colonizer's cultural politics are, regardless of geography or ethnicity. Like Africans and blacks, the Irish have been referred to as 'savages' and likened to 'apes', to 'women', and to 'children', just as the Celts were often described as a 'feminine' race, by contrast with the 'masculine' Anglo-Saxons.

From the mid-nineteenth century, anti-Irish stereotypes flourished among Anglo-Americans in the United States as well.

> Despite the pressing need for servants, 'No Irish Need Apply' was a common line in advertisements for help wanted. This scorn was so widespread that an archetypal 'Paddy' was often accompanied by the incompetent serving maid 'Bridget' – a stock character for ridicule in the popular press. Despite these prejudices, household workers were predominantly Irish. In 1846, of the 10,000 to 12,000 domestic servants in New York City, over 7,000 were Irish.[14]

Cartoons in periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly (A Journal of Civilization)* made the hostile equation of Irishmen with blacks a routine part of American culture.[15]

These comparisons, in England between Irish people and Africans, and in the United States between the Irish and blacks, were made under the heading of race, but this only serves as a reminder that, until fairly recently, the terms



'The ignorant vote: Honors are easy.' Blacks and Irishmen equated in a cartoon on the balance of forces in post-Reconstruction America, where freed blacks in the South have as much political weight as the despised Irish voters in the North. The clay pipe in the hatband signifies that the white man is Irish. *Harper's Weekly*, 9 Dec. 1876.

'race' and 'nation' (or 'people') were synonymous. The peoples of Europe, within regions as well as within countries, were viewed as much as rungs on the racial 'ladder' as were peoples or 'races' outside Europe. Indeed, virtually all the images and stereotypes projected outside Europe in the age of empire had been used first within Europe. However, when they were *re-used* within Europe the repertoire was infused with the imagery of empire, with other, wider logics of exclusion, of which the imperial construction of 'race' was one. Thus in 1885 the English physician John Beddoe devised an 'index of nigrescence', a formula for identifying a people's racial components. 'He concluded that the Irish were darker than the people of eastern and central England, and were closer to the aborigines of the British Isles, who in turn had traces of "negro" ancestry in their appearances. The British upper classes also regarded their own working class as almost a race apart, and claimed that they had darker skin and hair than themselves.'[16]

This profile could be extended to other minorities. An example is the Chinese who entered the western United States in the nineteenth century as a cheap labour force, following in the footsteps of blacks. Imported on a contract basis to work on the railroads, the 'coolie' had in common with the black slave that both were perceived as enemies of free labour and republicanism; what ensued has been termed the 'Negroization' of the Chinese.

> Racial qualities that had been assigned to blacks became Chinese characteristics. Calling for Chinese exclusion, the editor of the *San Francisco Alta* claimed the Chinese had most of the vices of the African: 'Every reason that exists against the toleration of free blacks in Illinois may be argued

'Niggering' as part of the imagery of imperialism. General Emilio Aguinaldo (1869-1964), leader of the Philippine resistance to American colonialism after 1898, presented as a black dancing girl, with a stupefied Uncle Sam as a white old lady. (Cartoon by Victor Gillam in *Harper's Weekly*, 1899)

against that of the Chinese here.' Heathen, morally inferior, savage, and childlike, the Chinese were also viewed as lustful and sensual. Chinese women were condemned as a 'depraved class' and their depravity was associated with their almost African-like physical appearance. While their complexions approached 'fair', one writer observed, their whole physiognomy indicated 'but a slight removal from the African race'. Chinese men were denounced as threats to white women. . . .[17]

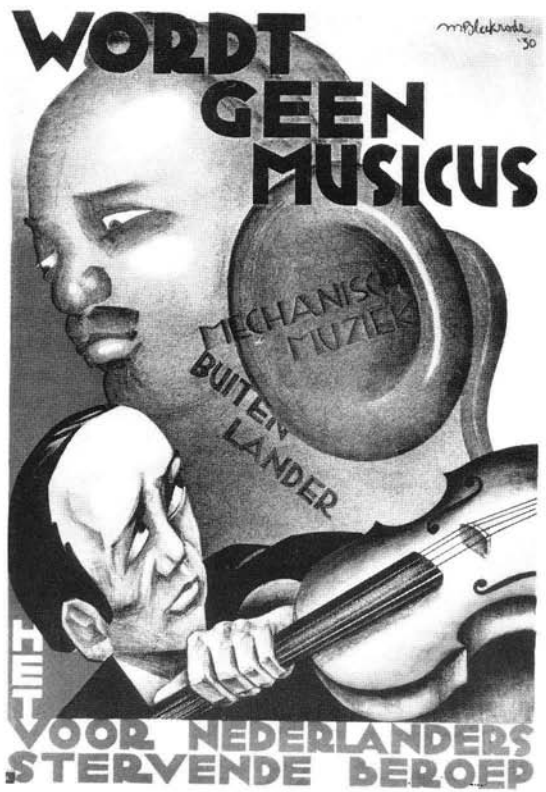
Thus virtually the whole repertoire of anti-black prejudice was transferred to the Chinese: projected on to a different ethnic group which did, however, occupy a similar position in the labour market and in society. The profile of the new minority was constructed on the model of the already existing minority.

Americans often drew comparisons between national minorities (blacks or Native Americans) and peoples overseas. When the US annexed or colonized Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Cuba at the turn of the century, the American popular press characterized the native populations by

analogy with either 'red Injuns' or blacks. The *Literary Digest* of August 1898 spoke casually of 'Uncle Sam's New-Caught Anthropoids'.[18] On the American conquest of the Philippines, Rudyard Kipling, the bard of imperialism, characterized the native inhabitants as 'half devil and half child'. The American press regularly presented Filipinos and other peoples *as blacks* – images which suggest graphically that the sensation of power and supremacy was the same, whether on the American continent or overseas, and was being expressed through the same metaphors. Again, it is not ethnicity, or 'race', that governs imagery and discourse, but rather, the nature of the *political relationship* between peoples which causes a people to be viewed in a particular light.

A similar dynamic was at work during the Vietnam war. A common expression among American GIs in Vietnam was 'The only good gook is a dead gook', with 'gook' (the term of abuse for Vietnamese) replacing 'nigger' or Indian ('Injun') in the existing formula.[19] The underlying logic of dehumanizing the enemy by means of stereotyping is the same. These examples of dehumanization and victimization illustrate what Ron Dellums has called, in a phrase, the 'niggering process'.[20] With respect to anti-Semitism, a similar point has been made; in the words of Adorno and Horkheimer: 'it is not the anti-Semitic label which is anti-Semitic, but the labelling mentality as such'.[21] What these 'niggering' processes have in common is the labelling and stigmatization of despised and subjected minorities.

In any comparison of anti-black racism and anti-Semitism, one's first thought aside from the victimization of a minority, is of differences rather than similarities. The time frame, to begin with, is quite different: anti-Semitism extends from the eleventh to the twentieth century, while anti-black attitudes (after an early medieval episode) are mainly a phenomenon of



'Do not become a musician. Occupation dying out for Dutch people.' 'Mechanical music' and foreigners are shown as threats, along with a black and Jewish musician. (Poster for the Dutch musicians' union, by Meyer Bleekrode, 1930)

the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Moreover, the social relations giving rise to stigmatization and discrimination were quite different – Jews were discriminated against and made scapegoats mainly as a trading minority in Europe. Finally, while several of the mechanisms of prejudice were similar (stereotyping, stigmatization, discrimination against, exclusion), the stereotypes themselves were quite different – Jews, while envied for their success at money-making, were hated for their religion and their clannishness. Yet, as far apart as the imaginary prototypes of Shylock and Othello may have been, there are overlapping factors as well as historical affinities between anti-black racism and anti-Semitism.

In the first place, both groups were regarded as non-Christian. The early medieval tripartite division of the world based on Sem, Ham and Japhet, as the ancestors of Asia, Africa and Europe respectively (discussed in Chapter 1), portrayed Semites and Hamites, although both were descendants of Noah, as peoples 'external' to Christendom, and later as external to 'Europe'. The nineteenth-century theory of Aryan race, from the Comte de Gobineau to Houston Stewart Chamberlain, again excluded both 'Semites' and 'Africans' from the hallowed ground of the Nordic, or Indo-European race.[22] 'Africans' were placed at the foot of the human ladder and 'Semites' were cast in the role of historical counterparts to the Aryans. In several respects this was a reconstruction of a medieval Christian world view, recast in terms of race and reinscribed in the mythic panorama of imperial ideology. The 'Japhetic' race was now renamed 'Aryan', to make room for the distinction between northern and southern Europeans. Eurocentrism at this stage meant that Europe, and Empire, was for Europeans only; Asia (of which the Jews or Semites, according to the medieval script, were in effect the representatives in Europe) and Africa were excluded, to be imperialized.

Ideologies of race often established a connection between Jews and blacks, for instance in the 1920s when African soldiers in the service of France were stationed in the Rhineland. Adolf Hitler referred to this in *Mein Kampf*:

> It was and it is Jews who bring the Negroes into the Rhineland, always with the same secret thought and clear aim of ruining the hated white race by the necessarily resulting bastardization, throwing it down from its cultural and political height, and himself rising to be its master.[23]

The reference is to France which, according to Hitler, was both 'systematically led by the Jew' and 'becoming more and more negrified'. In Germany at the time, the Jew was said to have an insatiable sexual appetite and a large penis, the same as was said of blacks in America.[24] An association between Jews and blacks was also made in the context of art and music, as in the Nazi exhibits *Entartete Kunst* and *Entartete Musik*. Jews and blacks formed part of the Nazis' extended family of enemies which also included Communists, Freemasons, gypsies and homosexuals. It is deeply significant in the light of this that each of these exclusions has led to a holocaust on a world scale – the centuries of African slave trade followed by colonial domination, and the recurrent pogroms against the Jews culminating in the Shoah – in the first of which millions of Africans, and the second millions of Jews, lost their lives.

The Nazi ideology is an example of a 'total' theory in which ethnicity, nationality, political affiliation, sexual preference, and other attributes all became the basis for the hostile categorization of groups and individuals. A consideration of other such theories demonstrates that some notions about Africa and blacks do not stand alone.

Aristotelianism is part of the infrastructure of western thought, and a specific element in the nineteenth-century perspective. Aristotle attributed different places in the human hierarchy to slaves, women and children. Slaves in his view stood to their masters as animals stand to humans and the body to the soul.[25] The usefulness of slaves he compared to that of tamed animals. He considered slaves to be human beings, but with the proviso that while they possess the ability to react emotionally they lack the ability to reason. In this respect there is a similarity between slaves and women. Men, according to Aristotle, are better able to lead than women; woman's role is not physical labour, as in the case of slaves, but the 'custodianship of goods acquired by men'. This hierarchy is based on the distinction between the logical and the alogical (emotional) halves of the soul, and on the capacities of slaves and of women on this score. Slaves, according to Aristotle, are completely lacking in the ability to reason; women possess that ability, but without authority (*akuron*); and children possess it incompletely.

Aristotelian thought thus forms a hierarchical complex in which social status (free or slave), gender and age are the determining characteristics. Another example of hierarchical thought is Victorian anthropology which, as underpinning to the ideology and practice of empire-building, served as the framework for much of the imagery of Africa and of blacks.[26] It would be misleading, however, to focus on racial thinking alone, without regard for the way the same logic was applied to views of women, children and the working class, in the wider context of ideas about evolution, progress, civilization. It was no accident that Victorian anthropology saw racism, classism and sexism as facets of the same world view and expressions of the same logic. In the outlook of the Victorians, older notions of aristocratic and élite thinking mingled with those of the emerging bourgeoisie; the sources of Victorian anthropology range from the classics to the theory of race and to ideas about savages. These influences are significant because it was in this period that academic disciplines were formed which were to leave their mark on the twentieth century.

We may consider here the interplay between race and class. The concept of race grew up as an *extension* of thinking in terms of class and status, as an alternative and additional mode of hierarchical ordering applied, initially, outside the social boundaries of region and country. Once the theory of race had taken shape its adherents usually argued that class differences originated in racial differences:[27] in other words, in a characteristic mixture of social metaphors with biological ones, class distinctions were biologized.

One vehicle by which hierarchical thinking was transmitted was the classics, a crucial element in the educational curriculum of the nineteenth-century élites.[28] But what gave Victorian anthropology its particular character was the study of non-European peoples: it used concepts of race and notions about savages and primitive peoples as a basis for ideas about women, lower classes, criminals, mad people and deviants. So Dr Charles Meigs, in

his work on *Females and Their Diseases* (1848), found that a woman was in possession of 'a head almost too small for intellect but just big enough for love'.

A comparison between women and slaves was often drawn, also by women who took part in the anti-slavery movement, as by Harriet Martineau in 1837 – admittedly with a different intent. It became an element in the discourse of women's emancipation: 'If we have no right to act, then may we well be termed "the white slaves of the North".'[29] English suffragettes too used the image of 'White Slaves'.[30] The metaphor has rightly been criticized. Yet the links between racism and sexism cannot be entirely dismissed – even as regards physical mobility. In Victorian America, according to Ronald Takaki, the subjection of blacks according to the ideology of the 'child/savage' and the confinement of women as part of the cult of 'true womanhood' were interrelated, and resulted in a restriction on the physical mobility of both blacks and women.[31] America was the 'white man's country', in which institutional and ideological patterns of the supremacy of white over black, and of men over women, supplemented and reinforced one another. For white males suffering from status insecurity images of black 'child/savages' and of 'true women' served as steadying anchors in a troubled sea.

In the discourse of race, darker peoples were thought of as 'female'. In behavioural Darwinism, for instance in Francis Galton's study of sex differences, women were viewed as inferior to men and dark-skinned peoples to the British.[32] This means that there was a recurrent cross-referencing of hierarchies encoded in metaphors: first, 'others' were seen in the image of 'females', as empire was viewed in the image of patriarchy writ large; then, by way of feedback, females were re-coded in the image of the 'others'. What was denied all these 'others', shadows of the western male subject, was above all the power to 'make history'.

'Civilisation!' Caption at left under the savage: 'Feathers, beaded ornaments, cloth with barbaric flowers, and animal skins.' At right, under the woman: 'Animal skins, cloth with barbaric flowers, beaded ornaments, and feathers.' The symmetry in posture and dress suggests the relativity of 'civilisation' or, actually, the savage nature of women. (Cover by L. Mètivet, *Le Rire*, 23 Jan. 1897)

Another set of comparisons, operative in the European theatre of Victorian anthropology, concerned women and savages, particularly in the fields of medicine and psychiatry (as mentioned in Chapter 12 on sexuality). These comparisons functioned not merely in the stratosphere of science but also in popular culture. Thus, a turn-of-the-century cover of the French satirical magazine *Le Rire* mocked similarities in the costumes of savages and women, both composed of animal skins, feathers, barbaric flowers and glass trinkets. The drawing was intended humorously, but we often encounter humour as marking out social boundaries and as an ideological device. This cartoon whispers: women are savage, out of control. In fact, was that not part of woman's appeal? Comparisons between women and natives figured also in the fine print of colonialism.[33]

A continuity between racism and sexism is apparent also in the congruence of actual images of women with those of blacks. Chapter 8 ended with a profile of the iconography of servitude which characterizes western images of blacks as servants: in fact, this profile has been derived not from depictions of blacks, but from a study of the way women are portrayed in contemporary advertising; the signs of subjection have been taken from Erving Goffman's *Gender Advertisements*.[34] The body language and the positions in which women are portrayed commercially turn out to match closely the ways in which servile blacks are routinely presented: the language of servitude can be applied generally. There is a further parallel between the ways in which blacks have been portrayed in decoration (from gargoyles to ashtrays) and on useful objects, and the decorative role assigned to women, whom we see depicted as ornaments on houses and buildings, in the role of servants on packaging, as lamp bases, swizzle sticks, nutcrackers.[35]

Not only have women been seen as analogous to slaves, savages and blacks, blacks too have been defined by analogy with women. The 'femininity' or 'passivity' attributed to the 'darker races' has often been mentioned.[36] In the 1920s Robert E. Park, founder of the Chicago school of sociology and widely regarded as a 'friend of the Negro', characterized blacks as 'the lady among the races . . . by natural disposition'. The Negro was not an 'intellectual', nor a 'pioneer' or an 'idealist', but possessed a talent for 'expression rather than for action'.[37] This is a genteel version of Victorian anthropology.

For children too there is a place in the order of nature and on the ladder of evolution – a place, according to several Victorian experts, not far removed from that of the savages. A. C. Haddon, one of the founders of anthropology as an academic discipline at Cambridge and London, shuttled between zoology, his original interest, and anthropology, and in both fields he applied similar notions of order and hierarchy.

Anthropology, as the study of 'otherness', never disengaged itself from Eurocentric narcissism; but as the 'others' were mirrors, in them Europe too was seen with a new inflection. The growing interest in rural customs in Europe in the eighteenth century was influenced directly by the study of 'savage' peoples overseas. For French intellectuals, it was but a short step from the study of the folkways and mores of Tahiti or among the Iroquois to studying their own peasants.[38] Some of the Romantic notions about rural and folk Europe are the product of this nexus of reverse anthropology. In the Romantic era these notions were applied to Europe's countryside and carried a positive ring; in the course of the nineteenth century, the comparisons were extended to the urban areas of Europe and to its working class, using

metaphors made routine under colonialism, and now they carried negative overtones.

William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, published a book to England's slums under the title *In Darkest England and the Way out* (1890). In answer to the question 'Why Darkest England?', Booth recounted Stanley's experiences in the Congo and asked: 'As there is a darkest Africa, is there not also a darkest England?' Englishmen could 'discover within a stone's throw of our cathedrals and palaces similar horrors to those which Stanley has found existing in the great Equatorial forest'.[39] Cecil Rhodes, a friend of William Booth's, had spoken earlier of the connection between the social question in England and the Empire.[40] In turn-of-the-century European fiction and journalism a comparison with savages was common in 'naturalistic' descriptions of Europe's slums. The later American metaphor of the 'asphalt jungle' is a variation on this trope. The comparison also entered socialist discourse, where it served to make a different point. Thus, in comparing the British poor with the Inuit of Alaska, the socialist writer Jack London noted, in *The People of the Abyss* (1903), that the Inuit did not know chronic starvation because the available food was commonly shared; only in the civilized world did people starve in the midst of plenty.

More frequently, anthropology was applied along conservative lines, as building an empire overseas was interdependent with the arena of class forces on the home front. In the crowd psychology of the late nineteenth century, 'crowds' (which made trouble for the bourgeoisie and the nobility) were classified, coded and defined by comparison with primitive peoples, savages, criminals, and women. What all these had in common were infantile traits and lower levels of consciousness.[41] Thus imperial and domestic hierarchies converged in identical imagery.

This *tour d'horizon* of 'white Negroes' could be filled out with many more examples, but a more important question is what these parallels among different kinds of stereotypes tell us. First, however, a proviso: in the United States, there have been objections to a comparative approach to ethnicity if the object is to equate the oppression of black Americans with that of other minorities. For no matter what the similarities are, the Chinese and other minorities in the US do not have a history of three hundred years of slavery behind them. In addition, Jews, Catholics, Chinese, and other ethnic and/or disadvantaged groups, women included, have over time achieved a degree of emancipation, while the majority of African Americans still belong to an underclass which seems only to consolidate itself. A comparative approach would, it is argued, be misleading here, because it ignores the specific historical pattern and features of white-black racism, while positing an 'equality of oppression', of deprivation, which in fact does not exist. While such objections are quite valid, on the other hand, 'racism' full stop is not an explanation. A comparative approach is indispensable for an understanding of racism itself. The objective of such comparisons is to dismantle racism, to make its dynamics visible by means of comparison.

What do the parallels between racism, sexism, classism and other forms of stereotyping tell us? In the first place, that racism never comes alone. It forms part of a hierarchical mental set which also targets other groups. In the second place, the features attributed to groups defined by 'race', such as blacks, are not peculiar to racism, but are also attributed to entirely dif-

ferent categories defined according to social status, gender, age, nationality, and so forth. The similarities to other forms of stereotyping in terms of structure, content, even down to details, are so far-reaching that we must conclude that it is not racial phenotype, colour, or ethnicity that is the decisive factor, but the *relationship* which exists between the labelling and the labelled group. Irish people may as readily be branded as 'human chimpanzees' as Africans. This says nothing about Africans nor about Irish people; rather it says something about the British and the relationship that existed, exists, or is being constructed, between the British and Africans and Irish people respectively.

This then is a beginning to the demystification of 'racism': but by the same token the problem shifts. Now the question arises, what is the nature of this relationship? What racism, classism, sexism all have in common is social inequality: the key to all the social relations discussed above is the pathos of hierarchy. While the common denominator is power – the power that arises from a hierarchical situation and the power required to maintain that situation – it is also a matter of the anxiety that comes with power and privilege. Existing differences and inequalities are magnified for fear they will diminish. Stereotypes are reconstructed and reasserted precisely when existing hierarchies are being challenged and inequalities are or may be lessening. Accordingly, stereotyping tends to be not merely a matter of domination, but above all, of humiliation. Different and subordinate groups are not merely described, they are *debased*, degraded. Perceptions are manipulated in order to enhance and to magnify social distance. The rhetoric and the imagery of domination and humiliation permeate society. They concern processes in which we all take part, as receivers and senders, in the everyday rituals of impression management, in so far as taking part in society means taking part in some kind of status-ranking.

As the negative of the denigrating images sketched above, there emerges the top-dog position, whose profile is approximately as follows: white, western, civilized, male, adult, urban, middle-class, heterosexual, and so on. It is this profile that has monopolized the definition of humanity in mainstream western imagery. It is a programme of fear for the rest of the world population.

Chapter 14

1 The expression is Spivak's (1988).
2 'Eurocentrism' is here taken broadly to refer to the successive eras of Christianity, mercantile expansion, imperialism, colonialism and post-colonialism.
3 Chamfort (1963).
4 Quoted in Vints (1984), p. 26.
5 Boxer (1978), p. 23.
6 Quoted in Curtis, jr. (1971), p. 1.
7 A classic source is J. Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (1885). See MacDougall (1982), Rich (1986), pp. 13-20.
8 Curtis, jr. (1971), p. 2.
9 Ibid., p. 100. See cartoons by Tenniel and others, pp. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62.
10 See Calder (1981) and Hechter (1975).
11 The Fabian socialists Beatrice and Sidney Webb, staying in Dublin in 1892, wrote to a friend: 'We will tell you about Ireland when we come back. The people are charming but we detest them, as we should the Hottentots – for their very virtues.' Curtis (1984), p. 57.
12 For an analysis of Northern Ireland in terms of colonizer and colonized, see O'Dowd (1990).
13 For recent caricatures see Curtis (1984).
14 Clinton (1984), p. 32.
15 During a visit to America in 1881, the English historian Edward Freeman wrote: 'This would be a great land if only every Irishman would kill a Negro, and be hanged for it. I find this sentiment generally approved – sometimes with the qualification that they want Irish and negroes for servants, not being able to get any other.' Curtis (1984), p. 58.
16 Ibid., p. 55. Beddoe (1885).
17 Takaki (1980), pp. 217-18. 'The "Negroization" of the Chinese reached a high point when a magazine cartoon depicted [one of] them as a bloodsucking vampire with slanted eyes, a pigtail, dark skin, and thick lips. White workers made the identification even more explicit when they referred to the Chinese as "nagurs".' Cf. Caldwell (1971). One may add that there were also differences between the stereotypes of Chinese and blacks.
18 See Drinnon (1980), pp. 276-7; Jacobs and Landau (1971).
19 Lifton (1973/1985), p. 204.
20 Dellums (1978).
21 Adorno and Horkheimer (1968).
22 The careers of both forms of racism might be pushed further back in time. On anti-Semitism see Mosse (1978); Van Arkel (1982) and (1984).
23 Hitler (1927), p. 325. Of France, Hitler says, 'France is and remains by far the most terrible enemy. *This people which is basically becoming more and more negrified, constitutes in its tie with the aims of Jewish world domination an enduring danger for the existence of the white race in Europe.* For the contamination by Negro blood on the Rhine in the heart of Europe is just as much in keeping with the perverted sadistic thirst for vengeance of this hereditary enemy of our people as is the ice-cold calculation of the Jew thus to begin bastardizing the European continent at its core and to deprive the white race of the foundation for a sovereign existence through infection with lower humanity.' Ibid., p. 624 (italics in original). Also in the 1920s, protests against the deployment of African troops on the Rhine were heard in England.
24 Dollard (1957), p. 161. On stereotyping of Jews in Nazi German films see Hollstein (1983).
25 See Fortenbaugh (1977). Cf. Nye (1990).
26 See, e.g., Fabian (1983). Other instances of 'totalizing' views in western history include Christianity, but it would lead us too far afield to discuss that here – also because the historical variations within Christian thought would require detailed discussion.
27 Cf. Jacquard (1986); Bernal (1987), p. 303.
28 Jenkyns (1980); Clarke (1959).
29 The Grimké sisters in 1837 in New England, quoted in Lerner (1979), p. 98.
30 Bland (1987) and Tickner, L., 'The political imagery of the British Women's Suffrage Movement', in J. Beckett and D. Cherry, eds., *The Edwardian Era*, London, 1987, pp. 100-16.
31 Takaki (1980), pp. 136-44.
32 Ungar (1988), p. 126.
33 E.g. Stoler (1990).
34 Goffman (1976/1985): 'The Ritualization of Subordination', pp. 40-56. Only the last item mentioned in Chapter 8, physical distance, does not match the way women are portrayed.
35 See Strang (1984).
36 An example of such imagery is seen in what Lord Acton wrote of the Celts, in 1862: 'The Celts are not among the progressive, initiative races, but among those which supply the material rather than the impulse of history, and are either stationary or retrogressive. The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons are the only makers of history, the only authors of advancement. Other races possessing a highly developed language, a speculative religion, enjoying luxury and art, attain to a certain pitch of cultivation which they are unable either to communicate or to increase. They are a negative element in the world. . . . The Chinese are a people of this kind. . . . So the Hindoos . . . So the Slavonians . . . ' Quoted in Curtis (1984), p. 57.
37 Quoted in Banfield (1980), p. 20.
38 Burke (1978), pp. 14 f.
39 Lindsay (1977), pp. 6-7.
40 Cecil Rhodes, 1895: 'If you want to avoid civil war you must become imperialists.' Nederveen Pieterse (1989/1990), p. 184.
41 Cf. Van Ginneken (1989) and Cieraad (1988).

Chapter 15

1 See Brantlinger (1990), Punter (1986).
2 Schutz (1970), pp. 111-22. Cf. Berger and Luckmann (1971).
3 Gilman (1985), p. 16. I am indebted to Guus Meijer for alerting me to this general aspect of stereotyping and to the observations of Schutz and Gilman. In his essay, 'The Logic of Stereotypes Revisited' (unpub., 1990), Meijer notes: 'Any and every specific stereotype may and should be attacked and eliminated (or "deconstructed"), but stereotyping as a socio-cognitive practice is there to stay.'
4 E.g. Todorov (1976); Bucher (1977/1981).
5 Barthes (1957).
6 Panofsky (1962); Freedberg (1989).
7 Steins (1972).
8 Examples of a structuralist approach are Todorov (1976), Bucher (1977/1981), Mudimbe (1988) and Corbey (1989).