Neumann, Debra Massey Sanchez, Natalie Baquerizo, Anita Jackson, Melly Sutherland, and Brian Rowatt – laughingly kept my administrative life afloat even when the ride threatened to get bumpy.

Those who have worked with Andrew McNeillie and Jayne Fargnoli as editors at Blackwell will know the sort of intellectual support they bring to the relation with their authors. Editors are under enormous pressures in these times not just to sign books but to see them quickly published, to reduce their books to the widest audience they could conjure. Andrew and Jayne work exactly in the opposite direction, knowing that serious books sell. Andrew had the courage to sign the book long before a page of it was written. The book might never have seen its end without his patient support. Brigitte Lee has been the ideal copy-editor, sensitive and suggestive without being intrusive.

My son Gabe insisted on my sustained youthfulness when I might otherwise have fled that state all too fast. I hope some of that sensibility is reflected in these pages.

Above all, the book was composed in and through constant companionship and conversation with Philomena Essed who turned over most every idea, insisted at every turn on conceptual clarity, encouraged lightness where heaviness threatened to take over. Her spirit pervades these pages.

Howard Winant's insightful and wide-ranging book, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (Basic Books, 2001), appeared too late for me to incorporate references to it below. Those reading *The World is a Ghetto* alongside *The Racial State* will note the overlap in themes discussed and, more pressingly, some of the key terms employed in our respective analyses: race as constitutive of modernity, the racial world system, colorblindness and racial invisibility, and so on. Indeed, I published an article in 1994 bearing the main title of Winant's book. I do want to emphasize nevertheless that the many divergences between the two texts, both obvious and subtle, are at least as significant as any convergence.

Irvine, California

INTRODUCTION: THE STATE OF RACE THEORY

Racial theory of late has grown awfully weary. It has come to trade in and on a clichéd vocabulary repeated uncritically in journal articles and books, colloquia and classroom seminars, convention panels and collegial conversations. Those of us engaged in critically theorizing racial concepts and racist expressions, formations, and practices should know we're in trouble when the language of analysis assumed all too reflexively turns up unself-consciously on Ted Koppel's *Nightline* and CNN's *Larry King Live*. Making it so superficially onto the world newscasts is a sign not so much of critical acceptance as the blunting edge of appropriation.

In a sense we've been too successful, impressing our students and storming the barricades with an armory of terms that for the most part barely scratches the surface of analytic rigor and critical depth. As with commercial copy, one's publication can only compete for its fleeting moment of instantaneous fame if it incorporates a catchy concept that promotes purchase of the product. We have entered the world of use value, concepts as commodities discardable just as easily as the empty milk carton, and recycled just as reticently. I have taken of late to warning students in my seminars that they will no longer get away with flippant invocations of "racialization" and "sites of contestation," "interrogation" and "narration."[1] The warning produces stunned silence, as though they have been robbed of the only language they have come to know for addressing racial matters and racist conditions. At the same time, concern with and about the latter has disappeared all too quickly before the drunken diffusion of *racial* categories, new domains in the name of whiteness studies, race traitorhood, identity claims, and the romance with hybridity. These are the very domains of analysis the culturalist turn of the past two

decades has seductively prompted, for better *and* worse. Liberalism's dance around race relations at mid-century has given way to the infatuation with racial identities in the dying decades of the millennium. The productive possibilities of that turn seem to have run their course. Time, I suggest, to move on.

To move on not by turning back but to begin to address the lacunae, the noisy and bothersome gaps, around which the culturalist turn detoured all too deftly. That turn, it must be emphasized nevertheless, now allows critical theory to re-turn, to address with fresh eyes two decades of sometimes heady but also often suggestively insightful analysis. One of the most telling evasions in these past two decades of thinking about race has concerned the almost complete theoretical silence concerning the state. Not just the way the state is implicated in reproducing more or less local conditions of racist exclusion, but how the *modern* state has always conceived of itself as racially configured. The modern state, in short, is nothing less than a racial state. It is a state or set of conditions that assumes varied racially conceived character in different sociospecific milieus. So, in one sense, there is no singular totalized phenomenon we can name *the* racial state; more precisely, there are racial states and racist states. Yet it is possible at the same time to insist that there are generalizable conditions in virtue of which the modern state is to be conceived as racial, and as racially exclusionary or racist. It is to these questions that I turn in this book.

The Race from State Theory

The history of the modern state and racial definition, as I have hinted, are intimately related. So it is surprising perhaps that the theoretical literature on state formation is virtually silent about the racial dimensions of the modern state. And the theoretical literature on race and racism, given the culturalist turn of the past two decades, until very recently has largely avoided in any comprehensive fashion the implication of the state in racial formation and racist exclusion.

This is not to say that there haven't been micro-studies focused more empirically on the racial experiences of particular states such as South Africa (Greenberg 1987; Wolpe 1988; Magubane 1990, 1996; Posel 1991); or on state implication in policies regarding race, for

instance, in the United States or in Britain or in South Africa (A. Marx 1998); or considerable work on the use of state apparatuses like law to advance racially configured projects (e.g., critical race theory, critical feminist theory, LatCrit theory). In contrast to the strong body of recent feminist theorizing about the state (Ferguson 1984; Pateman 1988; MacKinnon 1989; Brown 1995), those thinking about the state in racial terms have tended to delimit their conceptions to the obvious, extreme, and so seemingly exceptional cases like Nazi Germany or South Africa or the segregationist South in the US (cf. Burleigh and Wippermann 1991; Solomos and Back 1996: 49–52). Eric Voegelin's provocatively prescient intervention, *Race and State*, first published in 1933 and recently released in translation, offers the hints of an analytic vocabulary. Yet he reduces the relational scope between race and the state – between "the race idea," "race theory," and the state – not unsurprisingly, to the case of Nazi Germany and the Third Reich (Voegelin 1933/1997; Voegelin 1933/1998).

There has been little recent theoretical work nevertheless – especially since Stuart Hall's timely intervention in the late 1970s (Hall 1978, 1980) or Arendt's and Cassirer's insightful interventions in the immediate aftermath of World War II (Arendt 1951; Cassirer 1946) – focused explicitly on how the modern state came to be racially conceived, on the historical co-definition of race and the state in their modern manifestations, and on state articulation of racially configured and racist commitments (cf. Joseph and Nugent 1994). It is all the more remarkable then that Stuart Hall, of all analysts, writes a genealogy of the modern state around this time that makes no mention whatsoever of the role of race in its conception or institutional emergence (Hall 1984).

One notable exception to the prevailing oversight may be Omi and Winant's book on racial formation in the United States which includes a chapter explicitly entitled "The Racial State" (Omi and Winant 1986: 70–86, revised in 1995). In light of the wide citation of that book in both its editions it is notable therefore that there is virtually no reference to their chapter on the state.[2] Omi and Winant at least raise the question sociologically and outline a theory regarding the racial forming of states. Their chapter is helpful in posing the problem, in drawing attention to the central implication of the state in racial definition and management, and in *outlining* a theory about how the state assumes racially conceived and racially expressive

projects. The structure of their proposed theory nevertheless presumes a conceptual discreteness about the state and race that I am concerned here to challenge.

In *The Racial State* I seek to comprehend the co-articulation of race and the modern state. I argue that race is integral to the emergence, development, and transformations (conceptually, philosophically, materially) of the modern nation-state. Race marks and orders the modern nation-state, and so state projects, more or less from its point of conceptual and institutional emergence. The apparatuses and technologies employed by modern states have served variously to fashion, modify, and reify the terms of racial expression, as well as racist exclusions and subjugation.

Thus racial definition is entwined with modern state elaboration from what Dussel calls the "first modernity" in the orbit of Spanish expansion on. Racial definition of modern states is elaborated with the "voyages of discovery" (the very concept bears racial significance) and the debate in the 1550s between Las Casas and Sepulveda over Indian enslavement, through the second "planetary modernity" (Dussel 1998: 11ff.) from the seventeenth century and Enlightenment debates over the constitutions of colonial and liberal states, "national character" and citizenship criteria, to the post-apartheid moment. It accordingly marks contemporary population shifts via extensive migration, policy debates, and legal decisions revolving around colorblindness, the emergence of "fortress Europe" and the American "prison industrial complex." Indeed, racial configuration fashions the terms of the founding myth, the fabrication of historical memory, necessary (as Charles Tilly insists) to both the discursive production and ideological rationalization of modern state power (Tilly 1994). But it is also the case, especially since the racial project and racist exclusions became obvious in the eighteenth century, that the figure of the racial state – and of particular racist states – was fashioned in part by the resistant response of those it most directly and viscerally affected, namely, the racially characterized, marginalized, exploited, and excluded.

In *Racist Culture* (Goldberg 1993), I argued that starting in the sixteenth century racial thinking and racist articulation became increasingly normalized and naturalized throughout modern European societies and their spheres of influence. Race was rendered integral to the emergence, proliferations, and reproduction of world systems. The increasingly sophisticated elaboration of liberalism from the late

seventeenth century played a central role in this process of normalizing and naturalizing racial dynamics and racist exclusions. As modernity's definitive doctrine of self and society, of morality and politics, liberalism has served to make possible discursively, to legitimate ideologically, and to rationalize politico-economically prevailing sets of racially ordered conditions and racist exclusions. Classical liberalism (which includes in its range much of the commitments of contemporary conservatism in the form of neoliberalism) thus was a key element historically in promoting racial reasoning and its racist implications as central to modernity's common moral, sociopolitical, and jurisprudential sense. And it is not farfetched to suggest that racially conceived compromises regarding racist exclusions – ranging from constitutional endorsements of slavery to formalized segregation, colonial rule and its aftermath, affirmative action, immigration and crime policy – have been instrumental in sustaining a consensual dominance of liberalism in modern state formation over the past century and a half.

I am concerned in this book, relatedly, with the connections between race and homogeneity, the state and racial exclusion, with how they manifest conceptually, theoretically, and materially. I am interested then in mapping the ways in which such racially conceived and configured homogeneity came to be promoted, how racial definition prompted and reinforced such homogeneity, and how the commitment to homogeneity shaped race, as a modern project of state conception and practice. And I will be concerned in turn to exemplify the manifestations and effects of racial homogeneity and racist exclusions, the reach and range of resistances and state responses to them, as well as their instrumentalities, influences, and implications.

In short, this book is about racial states, as a set of projects and practices, social conditions and institutions, states of being and affairs, rules and principles, statements and imperatives. Inevitably, then, it is about the racist expression of states, state-directed racial exclusions, and so about *racist* states. But it is also about the ways in which particular racist states recently have sought to distribute the means and modes of their expression behind the facade of racial dispersal. Racist states have undertaken to deflect resistance by indirection. Contemporary states have sought thus to dissipate the normative power of critique in two related ways. On one hand, they have rerouted rightful anger at the homogenizing exclusions of racist states into the

circuitous ambiguities and ambivalences of "mere" racially characterized, if not outrightly colorblind, conditions; and on the other hand, they have pursued superficial appropriation through uncritical celebration of the multicultural. *The Racial State*, then, is about the tension between racial conditions and their denial, racist states and their resistance, and about the ways homogeneity has been taken axiologically to trump the perceived threat of heterogeneous states of being.

In general, modern states are intimately involved in the reproduction of national identity, the national population, labor and security in and through the articulation of race, gender, and class. The view of the state I am suggesting here, and relatedly of the complex, nuanced, and subtle entanglement (Tilly 1994) of identity processes, cultural and commodity flows, and state institutions, apparatuses, and functions, is clearly more complex than dominant critical accounts of the state. The latter have tended to reduce the state and its apparatuses in one of two prevailing ways. The state is conceived on one set of views as a purely autonomous political realm. Here it is taken as analytically distinguishable from civil society or the public sphere, as well as from the economic processes of the society. On another set of views, the state is considered an epiphenomenon, a reflection and so effect of deeper underlying determinations (like the mode of production, class relations, or the economy).

Catharine MacKinnon (1989) rightly dismisses this epiphenomenalism of the state and of liberal theory's view that the law is society's text, its rational mind. The law and the state are not simply rationalizations of dominant social relations. MacKinnon argues that this epiphenomenalism hides the state's gendered/sexual definition from view. But in critiquing these forms of Marxist and liberal epiphenomenalisms of the state, MacKinnon explicitly reinstates an epiphenomenalism of her own, by making the state reflective of – reducible to – sex/gender interests. The state in her view simply rationalizes male power (MacKinnon 1989: esp. 161). This again views the state and law as nothing else than instrumental to interests set elsewhere, a set of institutions and texts whose nature is imposed upon it from outside itself, from a defining condition external, prior in ontological logic, to the state. Thus MacKinnon, like almost all Marxist and liberal theorists, fails really to theorize the nature and definition of state constitution in itself. She continues to share with

these views the image of the state as an unmarked medium, a set of institutions themselves abstractly neutral, autonomously fashioned, that get taken over, invaded and invested with content or interests by groups vying for and expressing power. Autonomy theory and epiphenomenalism collapse, necessarily seeking each other out. Like others, MacKinnon imputes specificity to a state whose constitution is taken to be autonomously defined only by indirection, only by theorizing what it is the state reflects, what it is supposedly an epiphenomenon of.

State Projects and State Powers

I offer here the outlines of a contrasting working account of the state. I will be concerned in the pages that follow to render this account more complex and nuanced both in its historical emergence and its conceptual expression. The state, as I suggest above, is conceived usually either as instrumental to interests set outside itself (economically, popularly, legally) or as representing its own (inherent) interests as a uniform coherent entity. The line of argument I adopt here suggests by comparison that the state is inherently contradictory and internally fractured, consisting not only of agencies and bureaucracies, legislatures and courts, but also of norms and principles, individuals and institutions. This picture is rendered more complicated by virtue of the fact that it must include also those private or semi-private institutions and social agencies contracted by the state that mediate as they represent and reproduce state commitments or interests.

In short, there is no singular modern state, and no singular racial state. Modern states and racial states are deeply intertwined, the conditions of the latter bound up with possibilities of the former, the histories of the former at once accountable in terms of the projected spatialities and temporalities of the latter. Modern states are racial in their modernity, and modern in their racial quality, their raciality. And in that sense any modern racial state is at once a gendered state, and vice versa, its racial and gendered conditions expressed in and through the terms of each other. The modern state is racially conceived and expressed through its gendered configurations, and it assumes gendered definition and specificity through its racial fashioning.

Representatives of the state – state workers and agents – in a loose sense form a class, one itself internally diverse, fractured, its members' interests oftentimes inconsistent, but in modern terms invariably racially patterned. Struggles over state formation and control are shaped in part by the powers and positionings of such a "bureaucratic class," and so too by the racial interests they represent explicitly or implicitly. Sometimes such class members are in contest, often in collusion with other contestants for state power, and occasionally they stand aside, seemingly neutral though more than likely biding their time to determine the victor with whom they will collaborate, serve, or compete.

The modern state obviously occupies (or more temporally cast, has occupied) a more or less discrete space. Only a little less obviously, it fashions differentiated internal spaces, ones conceived deeply in relatedly racial and gendered terms. These differentiated spaces are made possible most clearly through policies and laws (for example, the law of trespass, whether or not racial covenants or redlining are tolerated through mortgage and tax policies, but also through welfare policies). They are a product relatedly of the significance the state licenses to such spaces by way of its policies and stances, its bureaucracies and representatives. These various features of the state, fractured and at odds with each other though they often may be, are held together loosely by a logic of the state at odds with itself (if indeed there is a coherent whole it can be at odds with) (cf. Brown 1995: 166–96). This internal fracturing of the state is a product in part of the tension between the state's instrumentality, its serving interests defined external to itself, and the inherent logic of state formation, bureaucracy, and exercise.

It becomes possible in light of this picture to define the state as a more or less coherent and discrete entity in two related ways: as state *projects* underpinned and rationalized by a self-represented history as state memory; and as state *power(s)*. Indeed, one might render this picture more internally coherent by suggesting that the state's capacity to define and carry out projects as well as its capacity to authorize official narrations of historical memory rests on the state's prior claim to power: the power to define the terms of its representations (obviously including legal terms), and to exercise itself and those over whom authority is claimed in light of those terms.

By the "power theory of the state" I do not mean principally the power *of* the state, as though the state invokes power (which of

course it has). In that interpretation the power is conceived as separate from – established or existing independent of – the state. Rather, I want to insist that the state acquires its specificity as a state by virtue of being constituted in and through powers (a range of powers) which the state at once embodies. Power is to the state and the state to power as blood is to the human body. (I intend this metaphor fraught with all the nuances and implications imaginable: the discursive relations between race and blood, kinship and genealogy, historically conceived – as in blood lines; the relation of blood and body to dis-ease but also to life lines; the typing of blood; transfusions and infusions; the ritualized practices around blood; on the other side, the corporeal embodiment of a polity that modern political theory conceived; and so on.) I am conceiving the state thus as a state of power, a more or less specific codification and definition of power(s), its (or their) institutional specification. The state thus conceived is a state of power the existence and elaboration of which is a necessary condition, one might say, of the possibility of invoking the power(s) of the state.

It is in virtue of this specification, the codification of the state, that the state acquires its instrumental powers. The state qua state has the capacity to exclude (to which the law is instrumental), and it has this capacity to exclude whether within or from the state: what would a state be that were not so enabled? The state has the power by definition to assert itself or to control those (things) within the state, in short, the power to exclude from state protection. In these senses, the modern state has readily lent itself conceptually to, as it has readily been defined by, racial (and gendered) formation. For central to the sorts of racial constitution that have centrally defined modernity is the power to exclude and by extension include in racially ordered terms, to dominate through the power to categorize differentially and hierarchically, to set aside by setting apart. And, of course, these are all processes aided integrally by the capacity – the power – of the law and policy-making, by bureaucratic apparatuses and governmental technologies like census categories, by invented histories and traditions, ceremonies and cultural imaginings.

The modern state, it might be said, founds itself not just on exclusions, those absences that render invisible, but on the internalization of exclusions. Thus inclusions, those privileged by and in the modern state, assume their privileges in virtue of the exclusions the state at once renders possible conceptually and technologically. Exclusions

accordingly become internal to the possibility of inclusions, the latter predicated upon the realization of the former. State apparatuses sew the variety of modern social exclusions into the seams of the social fabric, normalizing them through their naturalization. So social exclusions in terms of race (complexly knotted with class and gender, not to wax too mantric about the principal forms of the modern modes) become the mark of social belonging, the measure of standing in the nation-state, the badge of social subjection and citizenship.

This power of delimitation through exclusion, and of empowerment through inclusion, interactively definitive of the modern state and its degree of self-determination, offers the artifice of internal homogeneity to a state's population. Here race and nation are defined in terms of each other in the interests of producing the picture of a coherent populace in the face of potentially divisive heterogeneity. Heterogeneity is definitively placed outside the state, excludable in virtue of being the antithesis of homogeneity, of state belonging. At the same time this localism makes possible in racial terms the pretense of a transnational global community (Balibar 1990). European heritage, as racially defined, becomes the modern passport to global access, commercially and recreationally, residentially and geopolitically. The apparent rootedness of modern colonial settlement, ordered and seemingly structured, gives way to the circuits of late modern flows, disorderly and seemingly anarchic. In either case, I will argue, their possibilities are realizable only in virtue of contrasting configurations of racially conceived states at their "center."

In light of this trajectory of analysis, is there the possibility of a post-racial state, and post-racial theorizing? After racial theory, as after theory generally, there is still always theorizing. Theoretical assumptions are depthless and ceaseless, as integral to the processes of thinking and conceptualizing as the terms and concepts through which thinking itself proceeds. And *going* after racial theory, taking it on as a critical project, is as necessary to resistant struggles against racisms as more recognizable material forms. The one entails the other necessarily. The paradox is that a critical racial theorizing is framed, at the surface of its expressibility, by the possibility of it thinking its object, by the very terms it takes as its critical object. It is this conceptual knot I am concerned in this book to tug – not, hopefully, to tighten the strands of a self-absorbed and delimiting theoretical practice but by stripping away the threads to uncover the deep and changing ways

modern lives have been racially shaped and ordered at state behest. The questions posed at the outset are those that will continue to haunt us at the close of the book, their underlying assumptions and implications more clearly comprehended hopefully, their contingent necessity admitted, the necessary contingencies of their material conditions challenged. Whether like Wittgenstein's philosophical questions they evaporate in the wake of the analysis remains to be seen less as a function of the analysis as of the materialization of the conditions to which the analysis can only point. But in the end that perhaps is all analysis alone can hope to achieve.

Outline

In chapter 1 I suggest that the deeply racial character of the modern state from the moment of its emergence is a response to a dilemma that is as much the mark as the product of the modern moment. At precisely the time rapidly emergent and expanding social mobilities produced increasingly heterogeneous societies globally, social order more locally was challenged to maintain homogeneity increasingly and assertively. The racial state, I argue, is key to understanding the "resolution" to this modern dilemma. In a sense, the "motility of race" (Stoler 1997) served as a perfect reflection and mold of dramatic demographic mobility, the former the foil of and for the latter.

The following two chapters unfold how, in accounting for the modern state, prevailing political theory in the European mold is at once racially predicated. I am concerned here with how different assumptions about modern state formation articulate different forms of racial statehood, and how different empirical foci of state theorists prompt differing traditions of racial conception in state theory. In particular, chapter 2 distinguishes between two traditions of theorizing the racial state. One tradition, which I call "naturalist," runs from Hobbes and Pufendorf through Rousseau and Kant to Hegel; the other, a revisionary tradition, runs from Locke to Comte, Marx, and Lord Acton. I call this "historicist" or "evolutionary." Chapter 3 exemplifies the distinction between these traditions in the revealing exchange between Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill on "the Negro problem."

In chapters 4 and 5 I turn to a more direct and sustained theoretical elaboration of concepts and distinctions invoked in the first three

chapters. Here I discuss different forms of racial rule, most notably under the colonial condition, distinguishing between governmentalities and subjectivities predicated upon assumptions of inherent superiority and inferiority, on one hand, and claims of historical immaturity and un(der)development, on the other. Chapter 6 examines the centrality of law to the shift from earlier dominance of naturalist forms of racial rule to the later command of historicist forms, and the force of law conceptually and instrumentally in shaping modern racial states generally. In chapter 7, I identify the modern state as one conceived in terms of the crucible of whiteness and its critical resistance. It is here that I enter accordingly into critical reflection on the notion of power that such states embody. Within this context I elaborate a theory of the racial state in terms of its representing racially conceived sets of powers. These four chapters thus examine the various technologies and cultural expressions of racial rule, the key administrative technologies of racial configuration in public policy, most notably those concerned with census taking, affirmative action, immigration, and crime. In chapter 8 I argue that a rhetorics of racelessness increasingly has come to mark the past half-century or more. As a central component of the neoliberal conceptual representation of globalization, racelessness serves to extend the routinization of racial states of being as a sort of civic religion behind the facade of privatized preferences.

The book closes by drawing together the principal themes of the analysis in terms of a critical discussion of race and democracy, and the possibilities for reconsidering racial definition and reconceiving citizenship and social life outside the frame of racist exclusions.

Notes

1 "Racialization" is now liberally used in formal analysis and informal conversation, usually with no attempt to distinguish between its ambiguous meanings. Thus it might characterize in some contexts simply the attribution of racial meanings or values to social conditions or arrangements, or the distinction between social groups in racial terms. In other contexts it is used to impute exclusionary or derogatory implications to social conditions thus characterized. Almost no one now uses it in the manner first used by Fanon, who contrasted "to racialize" with "to humanize" (Fanon 1968: 86).

2 Etienne Balibar, most notably in his focus on issues of nationalism and nation formation, offers useful distinctions concerning race and the state, but he too provides no sustained analysis of the racial forming of the modern state (Balibar 1991c; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). There have appeared recently a couple of books on the state, race, and culture (Bennett 1998; Lloyd and Thomas 1998). Helpful on the intersection of these phenomena, it is notable that their focus is culturally fashioned and driven. Thus while they theorize aspects of racially conceived states, they fail to address comprehensive accounts of the founding, framing, and forming of modern state making per se.

First published 2002

2 4 6 8 10 9 7 5 3 1

Blackwell Publishers Inc.
350 Main Street
Malden, Massachusetts 02148
USA

Blackwell Publishers Ltd
108 Cowley Road
Oxford OX4 1JF
UK

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Goldberg, David Theo.
The racial state / David Theo Goldberg.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0–631–19919–5 (acid-free paper) –
ISBN 0–631–19921–7 (pbk.: acid-free paper)
1. Race. 2. Racism. I. Title.
HT1521.G548 2001
305.8–dc21 2001037573

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset in 10 on 13pt Meridian
by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong
Printed in Great Britain by MPG Books Ltd, Bodmin, Cornwall

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Racial State has been a long time in writing, a book in process. The idea for the book grew out of gaps in argument and themes addressed in my earlier book, *Racist Culture* (Blackwell, 1993). In particular, *Racist Culture* left the state's assumption of racial order completely under-theorized. As I began to pursue this set of questions, I came very quickly to realize the lack of mutual engagement between state theory and racial theory literatures. Recent thinking around racial theory has begun to address the basic concerns, though in tentative ways. *The Racial State* is my attempt to make the nexus between race and state key to both bodies of literature. I insist on a title already invoked a decade ago because I want to trouble the rampant exceptionalism regarding racial states. My emphasis thus is not *the* racial state, but the *racial* state, its forms and logics, histories and expressions.

I owe enormous debts of gratitude to friends and colleagues, students and support staff, all of whom suffered my obsessive insistence to take on these questions with fabulous generosity of spirit and support, both personal and professional. The book took shape through more conversations than I can recall, through seminars and workshops, colloquia and late-night conversations over cognac, whispered exchanges while listening to lectures and shouted responses over live jazz. I started out testing some tentative ideas with a group of graduate students in a small state theory seminar with the School of Justice Studies at Arizona State University. Pietro Toggia, himself working on a dissertation at the time on the state, or its demise, in the Horn of Africa, pushed me to clarify theoretical positions large and small, locked in dialogue with the likes of Althusser and Poulantzas, Marx and Foucault, Hall and Butler, Pateman and Wendy Brown, Magubane and Bayart, Wolpe and Cohen. Lily Mendoza, and Rona Halualani, working on

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acton, Lord 1862/1996: "Nationality," in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, pp. 17–38.

Adam, Barry 1978: *The Survival of Domination*. New York: Elsevier.

Adam, Heribert and Moodley, Kogila 1986: *South Africa Without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Domination*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Agamben, Giorgio 2000: *Means Without End: Theory Out of Bounds*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Alexander, Jacqui and Mohanty, Chandra T. 1997: *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Heresies*. New York: Routledge.

Allen, Theodore 1994: *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control*. London: Verso.

Althusser, Louis 1971: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: New Left Books.

Anderson, Benedict 1991: "Census, Map, Museum," in *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. London: Verso.

Anderson, J., ed. 1986: *The Rise of the Modern State*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books.

Anderson, Perry 1974: *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: New Left Books.

Anthias, Flora and Yuval-Davis, Nira 1989: *Women–Nation–State*. London: Macmillan.

Appadurai, Arjun 1993: "The Heart of Whiteness," *Callaloo* 16 (4): 796–807.

Appadurai, Arjun 1996: "Number in the Colonial Imagination," in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appiah, K. Anthony and Gutmann, Amy 1996: *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Arendt, Hannah 1951: *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Arendt, Hannah 1986: "Communicative Power," in S. Lukes (ed.), *Power*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 59–74.

Ashcraft, Richard 1972: "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian Novak (eds.), *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 141–82.

August, E., ed. 1971: *Carlyle, The Nigger Question and Mill, The Negro Question*. New York: Appleton Century Croft.

Baker, Lee 1998: *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail 1981: *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Balibar, Etienne 1990: "Paradoxes of Universality," in D. T. Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 283–94.

Balibar, Etienne 1991a: "*Es Gibt Keinen Staat in Europa*: Racism and Politics in Europe Today," *New Left Review* 187 (May–June): 5–19.

Balibar, Etienne 1991b: "Is There a Neo-racism?," in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso, pp. 17–28.

Balibar, Etienne 1991c: "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso, pp. 86–106.

Balibar, Etienne 1991d: "Racism and Crisis," in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso, pp. 217–27.

Balibar, Etienne 1999: "Algeria, France: One Nation or Two?," in Joan Copjec and Michael Sorkin (eds.), *Giving Ground: The Politics of Propinquity*. London: Verso, p. 162.

Balibar, Etienne and Wallerstein, Immanuel 1991: *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.

Barkan, Elazar 1992: *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barkan, Elazar and Bush, Ronald, eds. 1995: *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Barrett, James and Roediger, David 1997: "In Between Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring): 3–44.

Baubock, Rainer 1992: *Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship*. Warwick, England: Center for Research in Ethnic Relations.

Baubock, Rainer, ed. 1994: *From Aliens to Citizens*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1989: *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1991: *Modernity and Ambivalence*. Ithaca, NY. Cornell University Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1997: "The Making and Unmaking of Strangers," in Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood (eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-racism*. London: Zed, pp. 29–45.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1998: *Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Baxi, Upendra 2000: "Postcolonial Legality," in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray (eds.), *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 540–55.

Bayart, Jean-François 1993: *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. New York: Longman.

Bayart, Jean-François et al., eds. 1999: *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Becker, Jerome 1887: *La Vie en Afrique: Ou trois ans dans l'Afrique centrale*, 2 vols. Brussels: J. Lebegue.

Bell, Derrick 1992: *Race, Racism and American Law*, 3rd ed. Boston: Little, Brown.

Bell, Derrick 1995: "Racial Realism," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 302–12.

Benhabib, Seyla, ed. 1996: *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bennett, David, ed. 1998: *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Bentham, Jeremy 1820/1995: *Colonies, Commerce, and Constitutional Law: Rid Yourselves of Ultramaria and Other Writings on Spain and Spanish America*, ed. Philip Schofield. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Berlant, Lauren 1991: *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bhabha, Homi 1994: *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, Homi and Comaroff, John 2001: "Speaking of Postcoloniality, in the Continuous Present: A Conversation," in D. T. Goldberg and Ato Quayson (eds.), *Relocating Postcolonialism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blakely, Allison 1993: *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Blommaert, Jan and Verschueren, Jef 1992: *Het Belgische Migrantendebat*. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association.

Blommaert, Jan and Verschueren, Jef 1998: *Debating Diversity: Analysing the Discourse of Tolerance*. London: Routledge.

Blyden, Edward Wilmot 1862/1996: "The Call of Providence to the Descendants of Africa in America," in Wilson Moses (ed.), *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 188–208.

Boas, Franz 1940: *Race, Language and Culture*. New York: The Free Press.

Bolt, Christine 1971: *Victorian Attitudes Towards Race*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bonnett, Alastair 1998: "How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialized Capitalism," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, 3 (September): 316–40.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Wacquant, Loic 1998: "Les Ruses de la Raison Impérialiste," *Actes de la Recherche Sciences Sociales*: 121–2.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Wacquant, Loic 1999: "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason," *Theory, Culture and Society* 16 (1): 41–58.

Bracken, Harry 1973: "Essence, Accident and Race," *Hermethena* CXVI (Winter): 81–9.

Bracken, Harry 1978: "Racism and Philosophy," *Philosophia* 8 (2–3): 241–60.

Brah, Avtar 1996: *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. London: Routledge.

Brantlinger, Patrick 1995: "'Dying Races': Rationalizing Genocide in the Nineteenth Century," in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (eds.), *The Decolonization of the Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*. London: Zed, pp. 43–56.

Breman, Jan, ed. 1990: *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Breuilly, John, ed. 1992: *The State of Germany: The National Idea in the Making, Unmaking, and Remaking of a Modern Nation*. London: Longman.

Brigham, John 1996: "The Other Countries of American Law," *Social Identities* 2, 2 (Summer): 237–54.

Broca, Paul 1860/1950: "On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo," in Earl Count (ed.), *This is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*. New York: Henry Schuman, pp. 68–74.

Brown, Wendy 1995: *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Buci-Glucksmann, Christine 1980: *Gramsci and the State*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Burleigh, Michael and Wippermann, Wolfgang 1991: *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burrows, Guy 1903: *The Curse of Central Africa . . . With Which is Incorporated A Campaign Amongst Cannibals by Edgar Canisius*. London: R. A. Everett.

Butler, Judith 1997a: *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler Judith 1997b: *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories of Subjection*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Callaway, Helen 1987: *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*. London: Macmillan.

Callinicos, Alex 1993: *Race and Class*. London: Bookmarks.

Canny, Nicholas 1973: "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (October): 575–98.

Carlyle, Thomas 1843/1888: *Sartor Resartus: Lectures on Heroes, Chartism, Past and Present*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Carnoy, Martin 1984: *The State and Political Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Carr, Leslie 1997: *Color-blind Racism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cassirer, Ernst 1946: *The Myth of the State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Castles, Stephen and Davidson, Alastair 2000: *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. London: Routledge.

Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark 1998: *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 2nd rev. ed. London: Macmillan.

Census Report of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1891: Cape Town: W. A. Richards and Sons (printed 1892).

Census Report of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1904: Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd. (printed 1905).

Census Report of the Union of South Africa 1911: Pretoria: Government Printing Office (printed in 1913).

Census Report of the Union of South Africa 1921: Pretoria: Government Printing Office.

Census Report of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1951: Pretoria: Government Printing Office.

Cheng, Ann 2000: *The Mourning of Race*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Claessen, H. J. and Skalnik, P., eds. 1978: *The Early State*. The Hague: Mouton.

Claestres, P. 1985: *Society Against the State*. New York: Zone Books (MIT).

Coetzee, J. M. 1988: *Foe*. New York: Penguin.

Coetzee, J. M. 1999: *Disgrace*. London: Secker and Warburg.

Cohen, Phil, ed. 1999: *New Ethnicities, Old Racisms*. London: Zed.

Cohen, R. and Service, E., eds. 1978: *Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution*. Philadelphia: ISHI.

Colker, Ruth 1996: *Hybrid: Bisexuals, Multiracials, and Other Misfits under American Law*. New York: New York University Press.

Collier, Peter and Horowitz, David, eds. 1991: *Second Thoughts About Race in America*. New York: Madison Books.

Comaroff, John 1998: "Reflections on the Colonial State, in South Africa and Elsewhere: Factions, Fragments, Facts and Fictions," *Social Identities* 4, 3 (Fall): 317–25.

Comaroff, John L. and Comaroff, Jean 1997: *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John L. 2000a: "Naturing the Nation: Aliens, Apocalypse and the Postcolonial State," *HAGGAR: International Social Science Review* 1 (1): 7–40.

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John L. 2000b: "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," *Public Culture* 12, 2 (Spring): 291–343.

Connolly, William 1984: *Legitimacy and the State*. New York: New York University Press.

Connolly, William 1991: *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Conrad, Joseph 1901/1991: *The Heart of Darkness*, ed. Stanley Applebaum. New York: Dover.

Cookey, S. J. S 1968: *Britain and the Congo Question, 1885–1913*. London: Longman.

Coombe, Rosemary 1993: "Tactics of Appropriation and the Politics of Recognition in Late Modern Democracies," *Political Theory* 21, 3 (August): 411–33.

Coombe, Rosemary 1996: "The Demonic Place of the 'Not There': Trademark Rumors in the Postindustrial Imaginary," in J. Ferguson and A. Gupta (eds.), *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 249–76.

Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura, eds. 1997: *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cornell, Drucilla 1995: *The Imaginary Domain*. New York: Routledge.

Count, Earl, ed. 1950: *This is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*. New York: Henry Schuman.

Crenshaw, Kimberle 1995a: "Race, Reform and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Antidiscrimination Law," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 103–22.

Crenshaw, Kimberle 1995b: "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 357–83.

Crenshaw, Kimberle 1998: "Color Blindness, History and the Law," in Wahneema Lubiano (ed.), *The House that Race Built*. New York: Vintage, pp. 280–9.

Crenshaw, Kimberle, Gotanda, Neil, Peller, Gary, and Thomas, Kendall, eds. 1995: *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press.

Crocker, Walter 1947: *On Governing Colonies: Being an Outline of the Real Issues and a Comparison of the British, French and Belgian Approach to Them*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Cross, Malcolm and Keith, Michael 1992: *Racism, the City and the State*. London: Routledge.

Crowder, Michael 1988: *The Flogging of Phinehas McIntosh: A Tale of Colonial Folly and Injustice, Bechuanaland 1933*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Crummell, Alexander 1861/1996: "The Progress of Civilization along the West African Coast," in Wilson Moses (ed.), *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 169–87.

Cunningham, Frank 2000: "Democratic Theory and Racist Ontology," *Social Identities* 6, 4 (December): 463–82.

Cunningham, George 1965: "The Italian: A Hindrance to White Solidarity in Louisiana, 1890–1898," *Journal of Negro History* 50 (January).

Dabydeen, David 1987: *Hogarth's Blacks*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dabydeen, David 1992: "The Role of Black People inWilliam Hogarth's Criticism of Eighteenth-century English Culture and Society," in Jagdish Gundara and Ian Duffield (eds.), *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Daedalus 1995: *States: A Special Issue* 124, 2 (Spring).

Dahbour, O. and Ishay, M., eds. 1995: *The Nationalism Reader*. New Jersey: Humanities.

Darian-Smith, Eve 1999: *Bridging Divides: The Channel Tunnel and English Legal Identity in the New Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Darity, William, Jr. 2000: "Give Affirmative Action Time to Act," *The Chronicle Review*, December 1, B18.

Darwin, Charles 1859: *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of the Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. London.

Da Silva, Denise Ferreira 1998: "Facts of Blackness: Brazil is not (Quite) the United States . . . and Racial Politics in Brazil," *Social Identities*: 201–34.

Davis, Angela Y. 1981: *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Vintage.

Davis, Angela 1998: "Reflection on Race, Class, and Gender in the USA: Interview with Lisa Lowe," in Joy James (ed.), *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 297–328.

Day, A. Grove 1955: *Hawaii and its People*. With illustrations by John V. Morris. New York: Meredith Press.

De la Cadeña, Marisol 2000: *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Delathuy, A. M. 1988: *De Geheime Documenten van de Onderzoekscommissie in de Congostaat*. Berchem: EPO.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix 1986: *Nomadology*. New York: Semiotext(e).

De Mott, Benjamin 1995: *The Trouble with Friendship: Why Americans Can't Seem to Think Straight about Race*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Denton, Nancy 1994: "Residential Segregation: Challenge to White America," *Journal of Intergroup Relations* 21, 2 (Summer): 19–35.

Derrida, Jacques 1985: "Racism's Last Word," *Critical Inquiry* 12, 1 (Autumn): 290–9.

Dikötter, Frank 1992: *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. London: Hurst.

Dolan, Frederick 1994: *Allegories of America: Narratives, Metaphysics, Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Dollard, John 1937/1988: *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Dred Scott v. Sanford 1857: 60 US (19 How.).

D'Souza, Dinesh 1995: *The End of Racism*. New York: The Free Press.

Dubow, Saul 1995: *Illicit Union: Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Dudley, Edward and Novak, Maximilian, eds. 1972: *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Dudziak, Mary 2000: *Cold War Civil Rights: Equality as Cold War Policy, 1948–1968*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dumm, Thomas 1993: "The New Enclosures: Racism in the Normalized Community," in R. Gooding-Williams (ed.), *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising*. New York: Routledge, pp. 178–95.

Dummett, Ann and Nicol, Andrew 1990: *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: Nationality and Immigrant Law*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Dussel, Enrique 1998: "Beyond Eurocentrism: The World-system and the Limits of Modernity," in Frederic Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (eds.), *The Cultures of Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 3–31.

Dworkin, Ronald 1988: *Law's Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Eagleton, Terry 1998: "Five Types of Identity and Difference," in David Bennett (ed.), *Multicultural State*. London: Routledge, pp. 48–52.

Eastland, Terry and Bennett, William J. 1979: *Counting by Race*. New York: Basic Books.

Edsall, Thomas and Edsall, Mary 1991: *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights and Taxes on American Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Elias, Norbert 1982: *State Formation and Civilization*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Engel, David 2001: "Injury and Identity," in David Theo Goldberg, Michael Musheno, and Lisa Bower (eds.), *Between Law and Culture: Relocating Legal Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 3–21.

Equiano, Olaudah 1789: *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African: Written by Himself*.

Essed, Philomena 1990: *Everyday Racism*. New York: Hunter House.

Essed, Philomena 1991: *Understanding Everyday Racism*. London: Sage.

Essed, Philomena 1993: "The Politics of Marginal Inclusion: Racism in an Organizational Context," in John Solomos and John Wrench (eds.), *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 143–56.

Essed, Philomena 1996: *Diversity: Gender, Color, and Culture*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Essed, Philomena 2000: "Beyond Antiracism: Diversity, Multi-identifications, and Sketchy Images of New Societies," in Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *The Semiotics of Racism: Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag, pp. 17–40.

Essed, Philomena 2001: "Diversity and Discrimination in Health Care: The Netherlands," presentation to the Center for the Study of Twentieth-century Health Sciences and the Department of Anthropology, History and Social Medicine, University of California, San Francisco.

Essed, Philomena and Goldberg, David Theo, eds. 2001: *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Evans, Ivan 1997: *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fabian, Johannes 2000: *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fair, Bryan 1997: *Notes of a Racial Caste Baby: Color Blindness and the End of Affirmative Action*. New York: New York University.

Fanon, Frantz 1965: *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington. Preface by Jean-Paul Sartre. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz 1968: *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Paladin.

Faist, Thomas 2000: "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, 2 (March): 189–222.

Feldman, David and Steadman Jones, Gareth, eds. 1989: *Metropolis. London: Histories and Representations since 1800*. London: Routledge.

Ferguson, Kathy 1984: *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fernandes, Florestan 1998: "The Negro Problem in Class Society, 1951–1960," in Norman Whitten and Arlene Torres (eds.), *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 99–145.

Fiola, Jan 1990: *Race Relations in Brazil: A Reassessment of the "Racial Democracy" Thesis*. Amherst: Latin American Studies Program, University of Massachusetts.

Fisk, Milton 1989: *The State and Justice: An Essay in Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fitzpatrick, Peter 1992a: *The Mythology of Modern Law*. New York: Routledge.

Fitzpatrick, Peter, ed. 1992b: *Nationalism, Racism and the Rule of Law*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Fitzpatrick, Peter 1999: "Passions Out of Place: Law, Incommensurability, and Resistance," in Peter Fitzpatrick and Eve Darian-Smith (eds.), *Laws of the Postcolonial*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 39–60, 61–88.

Fitzpatrick, Peter and Darian-Smith, Eve 1999: "Laws of the Postcolonial: An Insistent Introduction," in Peter Fitzpatrick and Eve Darian-Smith (eds.), *Laws of the Postcolonial*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 1–17.

Fitzpatrick, Peter and Hunt, Alan, eds. 1987: *Critical Legal Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ford, Richard 1986: *The Sportswriter*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel 1991: "Governmentality," in G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 87–104.

Freyre, Gilberto 1946: *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Fry, Peter 2000: "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* (Spring): 83–118.

Fryer, Peter 1984: *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto.

Fryer, Peter 1988: *Black People in the British Empire: An Introduction*. London: Pluto.

Furedi, Frank 1998: *The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race*. London: Pluto.

Furumoto, Kim Benita and Goldberg, David Theo 2001: "Boundaries of the Racial State: Two Faces of Racist Exclusion in U.S. Law," *Harvard Blackletter Law Journal*.

Gall, Olivia 1998: "The Historical Structure of Racism in Chiapas," *Social Identities* 4, 2 (June): 235–62.

Gerzina, Gretchen 1995: *Black London: Life Before Emancipation*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Giddens, Anthony 1985: *The Nation-state and Violence*. Oxford: Polity.

Gilman, Sander 1990: "'I'm Down on Whores': Race and Gender in Victorian London," in D. T. Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gilroy, Paul 1993: *Small Acts*. London: Serpent's Tail.

Gilroy, Paul 2000: *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goldberg, David Theo 1993: *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Goldberg, David Theo, ed. 1994: *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Goldberg, David Theo 1995: "The Prison House of Modern Law," *Law and Society Review* 29 (3): 541–51.

Goldberg, David Theo 1997: *Racial Subjects: Writing on Race in America*. New York: Routledge.

Goldberg, David Theo 1998: "The New Segregation," *Race and Society: Journal of the Society of Black Sociologists* 1,1 (May): 15–32.

Goldberg, David Theo 2000a: "Liberalism's Limits: Carlyle and Mill on 'The Negro Question,'" *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 22 (2): 203–16.

Goldberg, David Theo 2000b: "Surplus Value: The Political Economy of Prisons," in Joy James (ed.), *States of Confinement: Police, Detention, Prisons*. New York: St. Martin's.

Goldberg, David Theo 2002a: "Monuments to Memory: Relocating State Genocide," in Charles Briggs and D. T. Goldberg (eds.), *Discourses of Genocide*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Goldberg, David Theo 2002b: "The Power of Tolerance," in Tom Martin (ed.), *Racism and the Challenges of Multiculturalism*. Forthcoming.

Goldberg, David Theo, Musheno, Michael, and Bower, Lisa 2001: "Shake Yo' Paradigm: Romantic Longing and Terror in Contemporary Socio-legal Studies," in David Theo Goldberg, Michael Musheno, and Lisa Bower (eds.), *Between Law and Culture: Relocating Legal Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Goodrich, Peter 1987: *Legal Discourse: Studies in Linguistic, Rhetoric and Legal Analysis*. London: Macmillan.

Gordon, Lewis 1995: *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man: An Essay on Philosophy and the Human Sciences*. New York: Routledge.

Gordon, Lewis 2000: *Existentia Africana: Understanding Africana Existential Thought*. New York: Routledge.

Gotanda, Neil 1995: "A Critique of 'Our Constitution is Colorblind,'" in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 257–75.

Gould, Carol 2000: "Racism and Democracy Reconsidered," *Social Identities* 6, 4 (December): 425–39.

Graham, Richard, ed. 1990: *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gramsci, Antonio 1971: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quentin Hoare. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Grandin, Greg 2000: *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gray, Herman 1995: *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness."* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Greenberg, Stanley 1980: *Race and State in Capitalist Development: Comparative Development*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Greenberg, Stanley 1987: *Legitimating the Illegitimate: State, Markets, and Resistance in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grewal, Inderpal and Caplan, Karen 2002: "Postcolonial Feminist Scholarship: Theorizing Gender in a Transnational Way," in Philomena Essed, Audrey Kobayashi, and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Companion to Gender Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell. Forthcoming.

Guinier, Lani 1994: "[E]Racing Democracy: The Voting Rights Cases," *Harvard Law Review* 108: 137.

Guinier, Lani and Torres, Gerald 2001: "The Miner's Canary: Rethinking Race and Power." Manuscript in preparation.

Gundara, Jagdish and Duffield, Ian, eds. 1992: *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Gurganus, Alan 1991: *White People: Stories and Novellas*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Gwynn, Sir Charles 1934: *Imperial Policing*. London: Macmillan.

Habermas, Jürgen 1986: "Hannah Arendt's Communications Concept of Power," in S. Lukes (ed.), *Power*. New York: New York University Press. pp. 59–74, 75–93.

Haggard, Rider 1902: *Rural England: Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches Carried Out in the Years 1901 and 1902*. London: Longman, Green and Company.

Hale, Grace 1998: *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Whiteness in the American South, 1890–1940*. New York: Pantheon.

Hall, Stuart, Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clark, J., and Roberts, B. 1978: *Policing the Crisis: "Mugging," the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Hall, Stuart 1980: "Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance," *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO.

Hall, Stuart 1984: "The State in Question," in Gregor McLennan, David Held, and Stuart Hall (eds.), *The Idea of the State*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 1–28.

Hall, Stuart, 1986/1996: "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," in D. Morley and K.-H. Chen (eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 411–40.

Hall, Stuart 1989/1996: "New Ethnicities," in D. Morley and K.-H. Chen (eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 441–9.

Hall, Stuart 1996: "Introduction: Who Needs Ethnicity?," in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, pp. 1–17.

Hall, Stuart 2000: "The Multi-cultural Question," in Barnor Hesse (ed.), *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*. London: Zed, pp. 209–41.

Hall, Stuart, Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clark, J., and Roberts, B. 1978: *Policing the Crisis: "Mugging," the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Halsey, Margaret 1946: *Color Blind: A White Woman Looks at the Negro*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hammond, M. 1951: *City-state and World State in Greek and Roman Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hanchard, Michael 1994: *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1988*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Haney-Lopez, Ian 1996: *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press.

Hannerf, Ulz 1996: *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge.

Harris, Angela 1995: "Race and Essentialism," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press.

Harris, Cheryl 1995: "Whiteness as Property," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 276–90.

Hartman, Saidiya and Best, Stephen 2001: "Redress in Law, Literature and Social Thought," Proposal, Resident Research Group. University of California Humanities Research Institute. On file.

Harvey, David 1989: *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haym, Ronald 1991: *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hecht, David and Maliqalim, Simone 1994: *Invisible Governance: The Art of African Micro-politics*. New York: Autonomedia.

Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich 1821/1944: *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. Translated with notes by T. M. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich 1952: *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich 1821/1972: *The Philosophy of Right*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich 1975: *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction, Reason in History*. Translated from the German edition of Johannes Hoffmeister by H. B. Nisbet, with an introduction by Duncan Forbes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Helg, Aline 1990: "Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880–1930: Theories, Policies, and Popular Reaction," in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 37–70.

Heng, Geraldine 2000: "The Romance of England: *Richar Cour de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation," in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (ed.), *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. New York: St. Martin's, pp. 135–71.

Heng, Geraldine and Devan, Janadas 1992: "State Fatherhood: The Politics of Nationalism, Sexuality, and Race in Singapore," in Andrea Barker, Mary Russo, and Donna Summer (eds.), *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. New York: Routledge, pp. 343–64.

Hesse, Barnor 1999: "Reviewing the Western Spectacle: Reflexive Globalization through the Black Diaspora," in Avtar Brah, Mary J. Hickman, and Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, *Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization*. London: Macmillan, pp. 122–43.

Hesse, Barnor, ed. 2000: *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*. London: Zed.

Hickman, Christine 1997: "The Devil and the One Drop Rule: Racial Categories, African Americans, and the U.S. Census," *Michigan Law Review* 95 (March): 1161–1265.

Hirsch, Arnold 1993: "With or Without Jim Crow: Black Residential Segregation in the United States," in Arnold Hirsch and Raymond Mohl (eds.), *Urban Policy in Twentieth Century America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 65–99.

Hitler, Adolph 1990: *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations, 1932–45*, Vol. 1, ed. Max Domarus. Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci.

Hobbes, Thomas 1651/1968: *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Pelican.

Hochschild, Adam 1998: *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Hodes, Martha Elizabeth 1997: *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-century South*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hoffman, J. 1988: *State, Power and Democracy*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf.

Hollinger, David 1995: *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. Basic Books.

Holloway, John and Picciotto, Sol, eds. 1977: *State and Capital: A Marxist Debate*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Humboldt, Wilhelm 1969: *The Limits of State Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huyler, Jerome 1995: *Locke in America: The Moral Philosophy of the Founding Era*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Ignatiev, Noel 1995: *How the Irish Became White: Irish-Americans and African-Americans in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia*. New York: Verso.

Jacobson, Mathew Frye 1998: *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

James, C. L. R. 1968: "The West Indian Intellectual," in John Jacob Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (1889). London and Port of Spain: New Beacon Press, pp. 23–49.

Japin, Arthur 1997: *De Zwarte met het Witte Hart: Roman*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeidspers.

Jefferson, Thomas 1953: *Farm Book*, ed. E. M. Betts. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jefferson, Thomas 1781/1955: *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. W. Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Jessop, Bob 1990: *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in its Place*. Oxford: Polity.

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil and Mudimbe, V. Y. 1995: "Meeting the Challenge of Legitimacy: Post-independence Black African and Post-Soviet European States," *Daedalus* 124, 3 (Summer): 191–207.

Joseph, G. M. and Nugent, Daniel, eds. 1994: *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Josipovici, Gabriel 1993: "Going and Resting," in David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz (eds.), *Jewish Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kairys, David, ed. 1998: *The Politics of Law: A Progressive Critique*. New York: Basic Books.

Kant, Immanuel 1775/1950: "On the Different Races of Man," in Earl Count (ed.), *This is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man*. New York: Henry Schuman, pp. 16–24.

Kant, Immanuel 1764/1960: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, trans. John Goldthwait. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kant, Immanuel 1970: *Kant's Political Writings*. Edited with an introduction by Hans Reiss. Translated by H. B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keith, Michael 1992: *"Race," Riots and Policing: Lore and Order in Contemporary Britain*. London: UCL Press.

Kershaw, Ian 1989: "The Nazi State: An Exceptional State?" *New Left Review* 176 (July/August): 47–69.

Kershen Anne, ed. 1997: *London: The Promised Land? The Migrant Experience in a Capital City*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Kipling, Rudyard 1901/1913: *Kim*. New York: Doubleday.

Klinker, Philip and Smith, Rogers 1999: *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knight, Alan 1990: "Racism, Revolution and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940," in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 71–114.

Knox, Robert 1862: *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd ed. London: Renshaw.

Koundoura, Maria 1998: "Multiculturalism or Multinationalism?" in David Bennett (ed.), *Multicultural States*. London: Routledge, pp. 69–87.

Kriegel, Blandine 1995: *The State and the Rule of Law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kymlicka, Will 1996: *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will and Norman, Wayne, eds. 2000: *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leckie, G. F. 1808: *An Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain*. London: J. Bell.

Lee, J. M. 1967: *Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization, 1939–1964*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Levine, Robert and Crocitti, John, eds. 1999: *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lind, Michael 1996: *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution*. The Free Press.

Lincoln, Abraham 1863/1953: *The Collected Papers of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy Baster. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lindqvist, Sven 1996: *"Exterminate All the Brutes": One Man's Odyssey into the Heart of Darkness and the Origins of European Genocide*. New York: The New Press.

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

Litwack, Leon 1998: "The White Man's Fear of the Educated Negro: How the Negro was Fitted for his Natural and Logical Calling," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 20 (Summer): 100–8.

Lloyd, David 1999: *Ireland After History*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University.

Lloyd, David and Thomas, Paul 1998: *Culture and the State*. New York: Routledge.

Locke, John 1824: *The Works of John Locke*, 9 vols., 12th ed. London.

Locke, John 1689/1960: *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett. New York: Mentor Books.

Lorcin, Patricia 1999: *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. London: I. B. Taurus.

Lorimer, Douglas 1992: "Black Resistance to Slavery and Racism in Eighteenth-century England," in Jagdish Gundara and Ian Duffield (eds.), *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Lowe, Lisa 1996: *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lowe, Lisa and Lloyd, David, eds. 1997: *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lugard, Lord Frederick 1922/1965: *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. Hamden: Archon Books.

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

MacKinnon, Catharine 1989: *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McLaren, Peter and Torres, Rodolfo 1999: "Racism and Multicultural Education: Rethinking 'Race' and 'Whiteness' in Late Capitalism," in Stephen May (ed.), *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*. London: Falmer Press.

McLennan, Gregor, Held, David, and Hall, Stuart 1984: *The Idea of the Modern State*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

McWhorter, John 2000: *Losing the Race: Self-sabotage in Black America*. New York: The Free Press.

Magubane, Bernard 1990: *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Magubane, Bernard 1996: *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa 1875–1910*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Majeed, Javed 1992: *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malik, Kenan 1996: *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*. London: Macmillan.

Mamdani, Mahmoud 1992: *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mann, Michael 1984: "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results," *Archives Européenes de Sociologie* 25: 188–90.

Mariscal, George 1998: "The Role of Spain in Contemporary Race Theory," *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 2: 7–22.

Marshall, T. H. 1950: *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martiniello, Marco 1998a: "Wieviorka's View on Multiculturalism: A Critique," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, 5 (September): 911–16.

Martiniello, Marco 1998b: *Multicultural Policies and the State*. Utrecht: ERCOMER.

Marx, Anthony 1998: *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Marx, Karl 1973: *Surveys from Exile: Political Writings*, Vol. 2. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Marx, Karl 1975: "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in *Early Writings*. London: Pelican.

Massey, Douglas and Denton, Nancy 1993: *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Massey, D. and Hajnal, Z. 1995: "The Changing Geographic Structure of Black–White Segregation in the United States," *Social Science Quarterly* 76, 3 (September): 527–42.

Memmi, Albert 1967: *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. New York: Beacon Press.

Menjivar, Cecilia 2000: *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Merivale, Herman 1841/1928: *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merry, Sally Engle, ed. 1990: *Getting Justice and Getting Even: Legal Consciousness Among Working-class Americans*. Language and Legal Discourse. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Michaels, Walter Benn 1995: *Our America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Miles, Robert 1993: *Racism after Race Relations*. London: Routledge.

Mill, John Stuart 1861: *Considerations on Representative Government*. London: Longman.

Mill, John Stuart 1900: *Principles of Political Economy*. London: Longman.

Mill, John Stuart 1924: *Autobiography*. London: Longman.

Mill, John Stuart 1836/1963: "Civilization," in Gertrude Himmelfarb (ed.), *Essays on Politics and Culture*. New York: Anchor Books.

Mills, Charles 1997: *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mills, Charles 1998: *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mills, Charles 2000: "Race and the Social Contract Tradition," *Social Identities* 6, 4 (December): 441–62.

Mitchell, Mark 1989: "Race, the New Right and State Policy in Britain," *Immigrants and Minorities* 8 (1 and 2).

Mitchell, Michael 1998: "Blacks and the *Abertura Democratica*," in Norman Whitten and Arlene Torres (eds.), *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 75–98.

Modood, Tariq and Werbner, Pnina, eds. 1997: *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community*. London: Zed.

Moncriet, Gary 1991: "Gender, Race, and the State Legislature: A Research Note on the Double Disadvantage Hypothesis," *Social Science Journal* 28 (4).

Montaigne, Michel de 1946: *Essays: Selections*. London: Cassell.

Morris, Meaghan 1998: "Lunching for the Republic: Feminism, the Media and Identity Politics in the Australian Republicanism Debate," in David Bennett (ed.), *Multicultural States*. London: Routledge, pp. 225–51.

Moses, Wilson, ed. 1996: *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey*. New York: New York University Press.

Murray, Charles and Herrnstein, Richard 1994: *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. New York: The Free Press.

Nairn, Tom 1977: *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism*. London: New Left Books.

Nedelsky, Jennifer 1990a: "Law, Boundaries and the Bounded Self," *Representations* 30 (Spring): 162–89.

Nedelsky, Jennifer 1990b: *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Needell, Jeffrey 1995: "History, Race, and the State in the Thought of Oliveira Viana," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75 (1).

Nelson, Samuel 1994: *Colonialism in the Congo Basin 1880–1940*. Athens OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies.

Nott, Josiah 1843: "The Mulatto a Hybrid – Probable Extermination of the Two Races if the Whites and Blacks are Allowed to Intermarry," *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 6: 252–6.

Nozick, Robert 1974: *Anarchy, State, Utopia*. New York: Random.

Omi, Michael and Winant, Howard 1995: *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, rev. ed. New York: Routledge. (First edition published 1986)

Ong, Aiwha 1999: *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Outlaw, Lucius, Jr. 1996: *On Race and Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

Palmer, Vance 1919: "The Empire and Asiatic Immigration," *Fortnightly Review* (July): 558.

Parekh, Bhikhu 1994: "Decolonizing Liberalism," in A. Shtromas (ed.), *The End of "Isms"? Reflections on the Fate of Ideological Politics after Communism's Collapse*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 69–84.

Parekh, Bhikhu 2000: *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. London: Macmillan.

Park, Robert 1950: *Race and Culture*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Passavant, Paul 1999: "A Moral Geography of Liberty: John Stuart Mill and American Free Speech Discourse," in Peter Fitzpatrick and Eve Darian-Smith (eds.), *Laws of the Postcolonial*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 61–88.

Pateman, Carol 1988: *The Sexual Contract*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pateman, Carol 1991: "'God Hath Ordained to Man a Helper': Hobbes, Patriarchy and Conjugal Right," in M. Shanley and C. Pateman (eds.), *Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 53–73.

Peller, Gary 1995: "Race-consciousness," in K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press, pp. 127–58.

Peterson, Paul, ed. 1995: *Classifying by Race*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pick, Daniel 1994: "Pro Patria: Blocking the Tunnel," *Ecumene* 1: 77–94.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen 1992: *White Over Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen and Parekh, Bhikhu, eds. 1995: *The Decolonization of the Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*. London: Zed.

Poggi, G. 1978: *The Development of the Modern State*. London: Hutchinson.

Popkin, Richard 1978: "Pre-Adamism in Nineteenth Century American Thought: 'Speculative Biology' and Racism," *Philosophia* 8 (2–3): 205–39.

Porter, Roy 1995: *London: A Social History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Portes, Alejandro, Guarnizo, Luis, and Landolt, Patricia 1999: "Introduction: Pitfalls and Promises of an Emergent Research Field," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 217–37.

Posel, Deborah 1991: *The Making of Apartheid, 1948–1961: Conflict and Compromise*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Posel, Deborah 2000: "Modernity and Measurement: Further Thoughts on the Apartheid State," in Saul Dubow (ed.), *Science and Society in Southern Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Posner, Richard 1974: "The DeFunis Case and the Constitutionality of Preferential Treatment of Racial Minorities," *Superior Court Review* 12.

Post, Robert C. and Siegel, Reva 2001: "Equal Protection by Law: Federal Antidiscrimination Legislation After *Morrison* and *Kimel*," *Yale Law Journal* (Winter): 101–86.

Poulantzas, Nicos 1969: *Political Power and Social Classes*. London: New Left Books.

Povinelli, Elizabeth 1998: "The State of Shame: Australian Multiculturalism and the Crisis of Indigenous Citizenship," *Critical Inquiry* 24, 2 (Winter): 575–610.

Prak, Maarten 1999: "Burghers into Citizens: Urban and National Citizenship in the Netherlands during the Revolutionary Era (c. 1800)," in Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly (eds.), *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States*. Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 17–36.

Pufendorf, S. 1678/1990: *On the Natural State of Men*, trans. M. Seidler. Lewiston: Edwin Mellon.

Rattansi, Ali 1998: "Racism, 'Postmodernism' and Reflexive Multiculturalism," in Stephen May (ed.), *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*. London: Falmer Press.

Rawls, John 1971: *The Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reisigl, Martin and Wodak, Ruth 2000a: "'Austria First.' A Discourse-historical Analysis of the Austrian 'Anti-foreigner Petition' in 1992 and 1993," in Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *The Semiotics of Racism: Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag, pp. 269–303.

Reisigl, Martin and Wodak, Ruth, eds. 2000b: *The Semiotics of Racism: Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag.

Rex, John and Mason, David, eds. 1986: *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rich, Paul 1986: *Race and Empire in British Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, Graham 1997: *Race, Racism and Psychology: Towards a Reflexive History*. London: Routledge.

Roback, Jennifer 1991: "The Separation of Race and State," *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 14 (1).

Roberts, Bryan, Frank, Reanne, and Lozano-Ascencio 1999: "Transnational Migrant Communities and Mexican Immigration to the US," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 238–66.

Roberts, Stephen 1929: *History of French Colonial Policy (1870–1925)*. London: P.S. King and Son.

Robinson, Cedric 1997: *Black Movements in America*. New York: Routledge.

Roediger, David 1991: *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso.

Roediger David 1999: *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, rev. ed. New York: Verso.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 1988: *The Basic Political Writings* (including *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, 1754, and *On the Social Contract*, 1759), ed. D. Cress. Indianapolis: Hackett.

Rude, George 1971: *Hanoverian London: 1714–1808*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sacks, Karen Brodkin 1995: "How Did Jews Become White Folks?," in Roger Sanjek and Steven Gregory (eds.), *Race*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Sancho, Ignatius 1782: *Letters*. London: J. Dodsley.

Sartre, Jean-Paul 1960/1976: *Critique of Dialectical Reason*. London: New Left Books.

Saxton, Alexander 1992: *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic*. New York: Verso.

Schama, Simon 1997: *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. New York: Vintage.

Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz 1999: *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil 1870–1930*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Scobie, Edward 1972: *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing.

Scott, James 1990: *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scott, James 1998: *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Selingo, Jeffrey 2000: "Foe of Affirmative Action Seeks to Bar Colleges in California From Collecting Data on Race," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 14, 2001.

Shepherd, George and Penna, David, eds. 1991: *Racism and the Underclass: State Policy and Discrimination Against Minorities*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Siegel, Reva 1998: "The Racial Rhetorics of Colorblind Constitutionalism: The Case of Hopwood v. Texas," in R. Post and M. Rogin (eds.), *Race and Representation: Affirmative Action*. New York: Zone Books, pp. 29–72.

Siegel, Reva 2000: "Discrimination in the Eyes of the Law: How Color Blindness Discourse Disrupts and Rationalizes Social Stratification," *California Law Review* 88 (65): 77–118.

Skidmore, Thomas 1990: "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940," in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 7–35.

Sleeper, Jim 1997: *Liberal Racism*. New York: Viking.

Small, Stephen 2001: "Racisms and Racialized Hostility at the Start of the New Millennium," in John Solomos and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Blackwell Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell. In press.

Smith, Anthony 1986: *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, Lillian 1949: *Killers of the Dream*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Smith, Rogers 1997: *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Versions of History in U.S. History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Solomos, John 1988: *Black Youth, Racism and the State: The Politics of Ideology and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solomos, John and Back, Les 1996: *Racism and Society*. London: Macmillan.

Solomos, John and Wrench, John, eds. 1993: *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*. Oxford: Berg.

Sowell, Thomas 1995: *Race and Culture: A World View*. New York: Basic Books.

Soysal, Yasemin 1994: *The Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spinner, Jeff 1994: *The Boundaries of Citizenship: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the Liberal State*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Spivak, Gayatri 1988: "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Stasiulis, Daiva and Yuval-Davis, Nira, eds. 1995: *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*. London: Sage.

Steadman Jones, Gareth 1971: *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steinberg, Stephen 1998: "Up From Slavery: The Myth of Black Progress," *New Politics* 7, 1 (Summer): 69–81.

Stephenson, Gilbert Thomas 1909/1910: "Race Distinctions in American Law," *American Law Review* 43: 29–905.

Stewart, Maria 1835: *Productions of Mrs Maria Stewart, Presented to the First African Baptist Church and Society, of the City of Boston*. Boston: Friends of Freedom and Virtue.

Stoler, Ann Laura 1990: "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-century Colonial Cultures," in J. Breman (ed.), *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, pp. 35–70.

Stoler, Ann Laura 1995: *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura 1997: "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," in D. Davis (ed.), *Political Power and Social Theory*, Vol. 2. Ann Arbor, MI: JAI Press, pp. 183–206.

Stratton, Jon and Ang, Ien 1998: "Multicultural Imagined Communities: Cultural Difference and National Identity in the USA and Australia," in David Bennett (ed.), *Multicultural States*. London: Routledge, pp. 135–62.

Taguieff, Pierre-André 2001: *The Force of Prejudice: On Racism and Its Doubles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Taiwo, Olufemi 1998: "Reading the Colonizer's Mind: Lord Lugard and the Philosophical Foundations of British Colonialism," in Susan Babbitt and Su Campbell (eds.), *Race and Philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Takagi, Dana 1993: *The Retreat from Race: Asian Admissions and Racial Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Takagi, Dana 1995: "We Should Not Make Class a Proxy for Race," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, A25.

Taussig, Michael 1980: *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Taussig, Michael 1987: *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Taussig, Michael 1997: *The Magic of the State*. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Charles 1992: *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thomas, John Jacob 1889/1968: *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude*. London and Port of Spain: New Beacon Press.

Thomas, Laurence 1993: *Vessels of Evil: American Slavery and the Holocaust*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Tilly, Charles 1994: "The Time of States," *Social Research* 61: 269–95.

Tilly, Charles 1994: "Entanglements of European Cities and States," in Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe: A.D. 1000–1500*. Boulder, CO: Westview, pp. 1–27.

Tilly, Charles and Blockmans, Wim, eds. 1994: *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe: A.D. 1000–1500*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Tocqueville, Alexis de 1843: "L'Emancipation des esclaves," in *Oeuvres complètes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1951–89. Tome 3, vol. 1, pp. 79–111.

Todorov, Tzvetan 1984: *The Conquest of America*, trans. R. Howard. New York: Harper Colophon.

Todorov, Tzvetan 1993: *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tully, James 1995: *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Unger, Roberto Mangobeira 1986: *The Critical Legal Studies Movement*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Urry, John 2000: *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the 21st Century*. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, Teun 1999/2001: "Denying Racism: Elite Discourse and Racism," in Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, Teun 2000: "On the Analysis of Parliamentary Debates in Immigration," in Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *The Semiotics of Racism: Approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag, pp. 85–104.

Van Dijk, Teun 2001: "Reflections on 'Denying Racism: Elite Discourse and Racism,' in Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, pp. 481–5.

Verges, Françoise 2001: "Post-scriptum," in Ato Quayson and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Relocating Postcolonialism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Voegelin, Eric 1933/1997: *Race and State. Collected Works*, Vol. 2, trans. Ruth Hein. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press.

Voegelin, Eric 1933/1998: *The History of the Race Idea. Collected Works*, Vol. 3, trans. Ruth Hein. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press.

Volpp, Leti 2000a: "Righting Wrongs," *UCLA Law Review* 47, 6 (August): 1815–37.

Volpp, Leti 2000b: "American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California," *UC Davis Law Review* 33, 4 (Summer): 795–835.

Wade, Peter 1993: *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wallenstein, Peter 1994: "Race, Marriage, and the Law of Freedom: Alabama and Virginia, 1860s–1960s," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70: 370–1.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1974–89: *The Modern World System*, 3 vols. San Diego: Macmillan.

Walker, David 1830: *An Appeal in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to those of the United States of America*, 3rd ed. Boston: David Walker.

Warren, Samuel D. and Brandeis, Louis D. 1890: "The Right to Privacy," *Harvard Law Review* 193.

Waylen, Georgina 1998: "Gender, Feminism and the State: An Overview," in Vicky Randall and Georgina Waylen (eds.), *Gender, Politics and the State*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–17.

Weiner, Michael 1994: *Race and Immigration in Imperial Japan*. London: Routledge.

Weisberg, D. Kelly, ed. 1993: *Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Werbner, Pnina 1997: "Afterword: Writing Multiculturalism and Politics in the New Europe," in Tariq Modood and Pnina Werbner (eds.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community*. London: Zed, pp. 261–5.

Werbner, Pnina and Modood, Tariq, eds. 1997: *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-racism*. London: Zed.

West, Cornel 1982: *Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity*. Philadelphia: Westminster.

West, Shearer, ed. 1996: *The Victorians and Race*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Wheatley, Phyllis 1773: *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*. London: A. Bell.

White, Hayden 1972: "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," in Edward Dudley and Maximilian Novak (eds.), *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Whitten, Norman and Torres, Arlene, eds. 1998: *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Vols. 1 and 2. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wiegman, Robyn 1995: *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wieviorka, Michel 1998: "Is Multiculturalism the Solution?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, 5 (September): 881–910.

Willems, Wim 1997: *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*. London: Frank Cass.

William, Sir Henry, ed. 1935: *The High Commission Territories Law Reports: Decisions of the High Court and Special Courts of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, 1926–53*. Maseru.

Williams, Patricia J. 1991: *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williams, Patricia 1998: *Seeing a Color-blind Future: The Paradox of Race*. 1997 BBC Reith Lectures. New York: Noonday Press.

Williams, Raymond 1981: *Marxism and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, Joel 1995: *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States*. New York: New York University Press.

Winant, Howard 1994: *Racial Conditions*. New York: Routledge.

Wodak, Ruth 1991: "Turning the Tables: Anti-Semitic Discourse in Post-war Austria," *Discourse and Society* 2: 65–84.

Wodak, Ruth 2001: "Reflections on 'Turning the Tables: Anti-Semitic Discourse in Post-war Austria,'" in Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (eds.), *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, pp. 486–92.

Wolin, Sheldon 1996: "Fugitive Democracy," in Seyla Benhabib (ed.), *Democracy and Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 31–45.

Wolpe, Harold 1988: *Race, Class, and the Apartheid State*. London: J. Currey.

Wolton, Suke 2000: *Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War: The Loss of White Prestige*. London: Macmillan.

Wood, Donald 1964: "Brief Biography," in John Jacob Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (1889). London and Port of Spain: New Beacon Press, pp. 9–22.

Young, Robert 1995: *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.

Yuval-Davis, Nira 1987: "Women, Nation, State: The Demographic Race and National Reproduction in Israel," *Radical America* 21 (6).

Zubaida, Sami, ed. 1970: *Race and Racialism*. London: Tavistock.