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UNCOMMODIFIED BLACKNESS

The African Male Experience in Australia and New Zealand

Mandisi Majavu

Mapping Global Racisms

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CONTENTS

Introduction

Abstract This is the introductory chapter. Therefore, it outlines the philosophical logic that underpins the theoretical assumptions of the project, as well as the methodological framework of the book. It points out that there are no research studies that investigate and theorise the lived experience of Africans in either Australia or New Zealand via what Goldberg (*Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(7):1271–1282, 2009) terms relational racisms. It justifies the use of the relational account of racism by arguing that the power of relationality lies in its ability to offer a cartography of reiterative impacts of racism, its discursive transformations and redirections (Goldberg, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(7):1271–1282, 2009).

Keywords Relational Racisms • White Australia Policy • Colonialism • Whiteness • Race • Racisms

This book is a study of the lived experience of African men in Australia and New Zealand. It applies the race category in order to interrogate the lived experience of research participants (Massao and Fasting 2010). By focusing on the lived experience, 'it gives room to interrogate race not as a biological fact or an essential component of identity but rather as a historically constituted and culturally dependent social practice' (Alcoff 2006; cited in Massao and Fasting 2010, p. 148). Put differently, this book does not essentialise race, rather it rejects the approach of those who wish to erase

difference without first removing the structure that produces differences in life chances (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008).

Before going any further, perhaps it is worth pointing out that I chose to research Australia and New Zealand because, to my knowledge, there are no research studies that investigate and theorise the lived experience of Africans in either Australia or New Zealand via what Goldberg (2009) terms relational racisms. A relational analysis of racism underscores how 'state formations or histories, logics of oppression and exploitation are linked, whether casually or symbolically, ideationally or semantically' (Goldberg 2009, p. 1275). A relational account of racism differs to a comparativist analysis of racism. The latter may choose to contrast racisms in one place and another, whereas, the former discursively foregrounds how the colonial shaped the contemporary (Goldberg 2009).

This is not to say that contemporary racisms are colonial, but, rather, the point is to highlight racisms' constitutive connection even though racisms' expressions may have morphed over time (Goldberg 2009). Similarly, this is not to say that a comparativist analysis is not employed in this book; on the contrary it is, but in service to the relational analysis of racisms. In service to the relational, the comparative's discursive insights are extended and theoretically deepened (Goldberg 2009). The power of relationality lies in its ability to offer a cartography of reiterative impacts of racism, its discursive transformations and redirections (Goldberg 2009).

The reading of the literature revealed that there is a dearth of scholarship providing a relational analysis of Australia and New Zealand, which is surprising given the colonial history of these two countries, as well as the geographical and cultural proximity of the two nations (Fozdar 2013). Research about Africans in Australia and New Zealand often uses a resettlement discourse or integration paradigm to frame some of the challenges and issues faced by Africans. The concept of resettlement is often used interchangeably with integration. According to Fozdar and Hartley (2013, p. 24), 'successful settlement is defined as integration' of refugees into a host society. Dhanji (2010) writes that appropriate accommodation, health and welfare comprise the social determinants of resettlement.

Consequently, the problems faced by Africans are largely understood to be only 'problems of integration; too little of it, and too many people who refuse to integrate' (Lentin and Titley 2011, p. 193). The upshot is the under-theorisation of the lived experience of Africans in Australia and New Zealand. Marlowe et al. (2013) anthology, entitled *South Sudanese Diaspora in Australia and New Zealand*, is a good case in point.

The book comprises an edited collection of studies that explore the resettlement experience of South Sudanese who reside in Australia and New Zealand. Although Marlowe et al. (2013) book is entitled *South Sudanese Diaspora in Australia and New Zealand*, it is really about Australia for of the 17 chapters that make up the book, with only 2 chapters discussing and exploring New Zealand. Furthermore, no attempt is made to pull all the chapters together in order to highlight insights that could be shared about the lived experience of South Sudanese in Australia and New Zealand. Furthermore, although the book attempts to locate the discussion of people of Sudanese heritage living in Australia and New Zealand within the broader African diaspora, it neither seriously nor rigorously engages with a wider literature on the African diaspora or African immigration in the West. In short, Marlowe et al. (2013) book is discursively narrow and thus its theoretical analysis does not adequately account for the lived experience of Africans in Australia and New Zealand. Consequently, it is not clear what the book's theoretical contribution is to the field of African diaspora.

To reiterate, I chose to study Australia and New Zealand because the two countries' racial dynamics have similar developments as settler states (Winant 1994). For instance, in 1900, when several of the former British colonies were being federated into Australia, New Zealand had an option to join the federation but chose not to (Galligan et al. 2014). As settler states, both countries were intent on establishing white nations. The socio-political systems that both countries adopted following colonisation largely benefitted whites. Australia and New Zealand are historically racially conceived states, which were both moulded in the image of whiteness to reflect the values and interests of white people (Goldberg 2002). In other words, in both countries, whiteness did not just become racial, but, rather, whiteness became the national identity (Goldberg 2002).

The following section outlines the colonial history of Australia and New Zealand. It underscores the fact that although white settlers in these two countries expressed their whiteness and their racisms towards Indigenous peoples via different discursive themes, those themes however originate from one source—the discourse of white supremacy. For instance, white settlers in Australia regarded Indigenous peoples as barbarians who deserved to be exterminated, whereas white settlers in New Zealand viewed the Indigenous peoples in the country as 'noble savages' who essentially needed to be tutored the ways of the white world.

Whitening Australia and New Zealand: A Relational Analysis

Australia

As settler states, both Australia and New Zealand were founded on the values of white supremacy and through colonial violence, as well as via the colonisation of Indigenous peoples. History teaches that colonialism subordinates, kills, rapes and exploits the colonised and their resources and lands (Pateman and Mills 2007). To justify and make colonisation morally acceptable, the British Empire utilised the concept of 'Discovery Doctrine' to rationalise colonisation. The Doctrine was developed by European countries to give their colonial projects legal credibility. The Doctrine is the original and controlling legal precedent for Indigenous rights in countries like Australia and New Zealand (see: Miller et al. 2010).

I use Mills' (1997a) concept of the 'settler contract' to refer to the Doctrine. The settler contract legitimated British rule over Indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand. According to Pateman and Mills (2007, p. 38), 'the settler contract is a specific form of the expropriation contract and refers to the dispossession of, and rule over', Indigenous peoples by British settlers in settler societies.

It is worth pointing out that the implementation of the Discovery Doctrine in Australia and New Zealand took two different forms. The settlers regarded Australia as *terra nullius* (the land of no one), and to settlers that meant they had every right to occupy Australia. According to Short (2003), the philosophical underpinnings of the legal doctrine of *terra nullius* are based on John Locke's philosophy of property ownership. John Locke argued that:

> property in land originated from tilling the soil, in 'mixing labour with land'… The apparent absence of such activities led to the colonizers' conviction that the natives had no investment in the soil and hence no legitimate claim to it. (Short 2003, p. 492)

The foregoing partly explains why British settlers disregarded Aboriginal people from the moment they landed in Australia and proclaimed British sovereignty (Pateman and Mills 2007). Additionally, the settlers viewed the Aboriginal peoples not only as inferior to whites but also as inferior people to other Indigenous people who the British Empire had colonised

(Behrendt 2010). As far as the British settlers were concerned, Aboriginal peoples in Australia needed whitening. Put another way, from first contact, British settlers believed they were going to compel Aboriginal peoples to assimilate into the European society (Haebich 2005).

However' 'the failure of the civilizing experiments convinced the settlers that the natives were irredeemably inferior, indeed vermin that should be exterminated' (Moses 2000, p. 96). Researchers working on this field do not agree on whether or not the colonisation of Australia involved a genocide of the Aborigines. What researchers do agree on however is that the British violently seized the land of Aboriginal groups without compensation and excluded them from their source of food (Moses 2000).

As part of the broader efforts to make Australia white, the colonial government removed Aboriginal children from their families to institutions to be trained to behave white and be 'civilised' (Haebich 2001). Apart from the fact that the colonial government believed that Aboriginal parents served as bad role model for their own children, the ultimate goal behind taking children from their parents was to biologically 'breed out' the Aboriginal people through forced state marriages between lighter castes and whites. According to Haebich (2005, p. 6), in the 1930s, in the Northern Territory and Western Australia, a policy was implemented to '"breed out" Aboriginal physical as well as cultural characteristics through forced state marriages between lighter castes and whites'.

The foregoing is reminiscent of the white settlers in the United States who, between the 1880s and 1930s, removed Native American children from their parents to have them adopted by white families (Goldberg 2002). By removing Indigenous children from their families, white settlers in the United States and Australia wanted to strip these children of their culture, to deracialise them in order to recreate them—racially reconfigure them as white (Goldberg 2002).

As part of additional efforts to reinvent the country as a white nation, the constitution of the Federation of Australia, which was adopted in 1901, excluded all Aborigines from citizenship (McGrath 1993). Furthermore, the government introduced the Immigration Restriction Act which effectively ended all permanent Chinese immigration (Inglis 1972). Known as the White Australia policy, the Act was designed to keep out Chinese immigrants and other immigrants of colour from Australia. The foregoing history partly reveals the long-standing efforts of white settlers to build and maintain a white country in Australia. I argue in this book that although the kind of political tactics that are employed to keep Australia white have

changed, the colonial objective to make Australia a white country and for white people still shapes the commonsense understanding of who belongs in Australia and who does not. In other words, Australia's settler state history shapes the social order and social life in contemporary Australia.

New Zealand

The Indigenous people of New Zealand were regarded by the white settlers as being a 'higher race' than the Aboriginal people (Ballara 1986). As far as the British settlers were concerned, Māori people were the 'noblest' of the 'coloured' peoples (Ballara 1986). Consistent with this white supremacist logic was the claim that the British imperial policy was relatively more enlightened than it had been in other colonies (O'Sullivan 2007). It was further argued that the foregoing factors 'made a nation of "one people" a positive inevitability' (O'Sullivan 2007, p. 11). The white settlers vigorously promoted the ideology of 'one people' which was based on the idea of two social groups existing in racial harmony (Walker 1990). However, Walker (1984, p. 269) points out that 'the difficulties of living out that ideal soon became apparent, as two races of vastly different cultural traditions competed for the land and its resources' (Walker 1984, p. 269). Hence, in the 1850s' the British colonisers forced the purchase of Indigenous Māori land, and in turn, the Māori people resisted and that led to the 'brutal land wars of the 1860s' (Morin and Berg 2001, p. 196).

By 1900, the white settlers owned close to 95 per cent of the land in New Zealand (Walker 1984). Moreover, the outcome of colonisation by the turn of the century was impoverishment of the Māori (Walker 1990). Additionally, diseases and poor nutrition led to the decrease of the Māori population (King 2003). As the Māori population decreased, white settlers whitened the country via European immigration. The colonial government brought in about 100,000 European immigrants into the country between 1871 and 1880 (King 2003). In the 1970s, the New Zealand government decided to extend the subsidised immigration scheme, which previously applied mainly to the United Kingdom, to other European countries such as Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, West Germany, and the United States (Trapeznik 1995). According to Brooking and Rabel (1995), successive New Zealand governments favoured white immigrants because they viewed New Zealand as a Utopia for the chosen few, preferably white people from Western Europe and North America.

The efforts to make New Zealand a white country via European immigration continued throughout most of the twentieth century. What the foregoing reveals is that although New Zealand never explicitly adopted a White policy like Australia, it nevertheless had its own unstated white immigrants only policy to keep the country white. The 'unstated whites only policy' approach is consistent with the colonial illusions and white myths that shaped how white settlers approached the colonial project in New Zealand—the fantasy that the colonial project in the country was relatively benign and enlightened. In other words, one of the long-standing white myths in New Zealand is the belief that white settlers who colonised the country were 'good' guys, who basically transcended 'bad colonialism' by introducing a kind, caring and considerate kind of colonialism.

Whiteness in New Zealand is of the view that bad colonialism happened in Australia and other places like in Africa. Similarly, whiteness in New Zealand associates racism with policies like White Australia policy. As far as whiteness is concerned in New Zealand, it does not know anything about racism and thus could not possibly be motivated by racist sentiments because New Zealand whiteness, since colonialism, is supposedly beyond white supremacist values and therefore benign (Kenny 2000). I argue in this book that in contemporary New Zealand, these white myths and illusions are expressed via phrases such as 'fair go'—a key phrase that describes the country's values (Rashbrooke 2013). This white New Zealand attitude is similar to the Brazilian lusotropicalist ideology—a white narrative celebrating the practice of racial-cultural intimacy among the Portuguese and those they colonised (Fikes 2009). According to Fikes (2009, p. 1), 'multiple sources further claimed that the Portuguese believed themselves incapable of racism because of this ideology'.

RACE, WHITENESS AND RACISM

Race has shaped the modern world; it is present everywhere—it is palpable in the distribution of resources and power, as well as in the desires and fears of individuals (Winant 2001). Race is more than a set of ideas, but rather a way of being in the world, of meaning-making, and those ways of being and representation differ across space and time (Goldberg 2006). From a racial formation standpoint, 'race is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation' (Omi and Winant 1994, p. 56). Modern societies are suffused with racial projects to which all are subjected, and this racial 'subjection' is typically ideological (Omi and Winant 1994).

Through these racial projects, everybody learns some version of the rules of social classification and of her own racial identity (Omi and Winant 1994).

Consequently, 'we are inserted in a comprehensively racialized social structure. Race becomes "common sense"—a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world' (Omi and Winant 1994, p. 60). Put simply, race is infinitely embodied in societal institutions and people's personalities; it is etched on the human body, in other words, 'racial phenomena affect the thought, experience, and accomplishments of human individuals and collectivities in many familiar ways, and in a host of unconscious patterns as well' (Winant 2001, p. 1).

The race of all Europeans in the colonies was regarded to be more or less white (Goldberg 2002). Although all Europeans were viewed as white in colonial settings, 'it was not quite so "at home"' (Goldberg 2002, p. 172). For example, poor whites and the urban English working class were explicitly identified with immigrants and degraded races in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Goldberg 2002). Thus, working-class English migrated to the colonies like Australia and New Zealand to become white where they might not be so fully regarded in English cities like Manchester, Birmingham or London (Goldberg 2002). In other words, settler states like Australia and New Zealand have historically offered poor whites, working-class whites and other whites who struggled to fit in in the mainstream societies of the big European metropoles an opportunity to be elevated to the property of whiteness 'by making at least the semblance of privilege and power, customs and behaviour available to them not so readily agreeable in their European environments' (Goldberg 2002, p. 172).

Whiteness has three dimensions:

(1) a set of social relations in which people are categorized hierarchically by race, and those who are accepted as white collectively hold power and control over material resources; (2) an ideology that renders white power and white people's participation in an oppressive system as invisible to them; and (3) an identity when people of European descent accept these relationships, this ideology, and ways of life lived within this system of relations as 'normal.' (Sleeter 2011, p. 424)

To put it summarily, whiteness stands socially for superiority, politically for power and control, economically for privilege and wealth (C. Harris 1995, cited in Goldberg 2002), and culturally for self-assertion and arrogance (Goldberg 2002). Built into whiteness is a set of elevated moral

dispositions, social customs and norms from which the working class, like immigrants and blacks, are taken to be morally degenerated (Bonnett 1998, cited in Goldberg 2002).

Since whiteness is an embedded set of social practices, it renders all white people complicit in larger social practices of racism (Yancy 2012). Historically, racism was expressed via a pseudo-scientific perspective that argued that some groups are inherently intellectually, culturally or socially superior or inferior to other groups due to some biological characteristic they do or do not possess (Hall 2005). In the twenty-first century, racism is increasingly articulated in terms of national self-image, of cultural differentiation linked to custom, heritage as well as of exclusionary immigration policies and anti-immigrant practices (Goldberg 1990a).

This book is premised on the view that a unified grammar of racist discourse does not exist, but what does exist is the body of racist discourse that consists of evolving racist themes and changing racist presumptions, premises and representations (Goldberg 1990b). In other words, racism is not theoretically conceived as a singular monolithic phenomenon in this book, but rather, I underscore and identify a manifold of racisms (Goldberg 1990a). Further, racism does not need to be affirmative in nature, meaning one need not take some action X to demonstrate a racist attitude or disposition (Hall 2005). One may further racist agendas by failing to challenge racist institutions and practices (Hall 2005).

For many white people, racism does not exist. For Europeans, racism died with the demise of the Third Reich (Goldberg 2006), for many Australians racism died when the country abandoned the White Australia policy, and for white New Zealanders, racism is something that happens in places like the United States and Australia. According to Goldberg (2006), for many twentieth-century seminal white intellectuals, the Holocaust signalled the horrors of racial invocation and racist summation. Consequently, race was seen as having no social place, and race was to be excised from any characterising of human conditions and relations (Goldberg 2006).

To that end, ethnicity became an acceptable concept to replace race with. As Goldberg (2006, p. 349) puts it, 'ethnicity is comprehensible, religious tension understandable if regrettable, migration and refugeedom unfortunate but perhaps unavoidable'. It is against this backdrop that race became only the United States' problem, and religious tension between Christian secularism and Islam became Europe's concern (Goldberg 2006).

The reality, however, is that race and racism have played a vital role in the global reproduction of capital for 500 years; it remains so today (Winant 2001). It is a truism to point out that after the World War II, the racial landscape discursively shifted. The current global racial dynamics reflect the uneasy tension between the centuries-long legacy of white supremacy and the post-World War II triumphs of the movements of the colonised and racially oppressed (Winant 2001). We are witnessing the dawn of a new form of 'anti-racist racism' (Winant 2001). Thus, in this post-World War II racial landscape, race is rarely ever invoked to legitimate social structures of inequality, and crude appeals to white superiority have been largely jettisoned (Winant 2001).

The new racism rejects the old racism which was heavily invested in biologism and notions of superiority/inferiority (Winant 2001). Instead, the new racism puts an emphasis on 'cultural differences', national belonging—basically it focuses on concepts that are ostensibly non-hierarchised but generally consistent with national borders and national identities, 'and with supposedly homogenous national cultures' (Winant 2001, p. 273). Among other things, the foregoing indicates that the new racism benefits from mainstream patriotic white discourses, which portray Western countries as having achieved the ideals of democracy (Winant 2001). It is against this discursive backdrop that when the new racism is charged with racism, its spokespeople often invoke national democratic ideals (Winant 2001).

The foregoing analysis highlights the notion that white supremacy is capable of absorbing political changes and adapting to new racial landscapes. It is quite capable of presenting itself as both conservative and democratic, it repackages itself as 'colour-blind', pluralist and meritocratic, while articulating popular fears in a respectable and intelligible way in respect to national culture (Winant 2001). It is within this discursive climate that this book argues that today racism operates in societies that explicitly condemn prejudice and discrimination (Winant 2001).

According to Winant (2001), the new racism has been largely detached from its perpetrators, and in its most advanced forms, it has no perpetrators; it is taken for granted and therefore it has become a commonsense feature of everyday life and global social structure (Winant 2001). In other words, under the current global racial dynamics, racist effects are sustained 'by their routinization in social and state practice, and by state silence and omission' (Goldberg 2002, p. 161).

With the foregoing in mind, this book investigates racism in an age of globalisation, an era in which liberal settler states have generally dispensed

with explicit racial hierarchies of the past (Winant 2001). This book will show that racism still distributes advantages and privileges to whites, racism still pervades the exercise of political power, and in settler states like Australia and New Zealand, racism still shapes ideas about history, society and national identity (Winant 2001).

Liberalism and Race

Dominant discourses that are often utilised to talk about difference, race and ethnicity in Australia and New Zealand are multiculturalism and diversity. This book problematises multiculturalism and diversity by pointing out that these discursive concepts are part of the liberal tradition, which has historically played a foundational role in the process of normalising and naturalising racial dynamics and racist exclusions (Goldberg 1993; Mehta 1999; Mills 1997a; Pitts 2005).

This work is premised on the view that modern liberalism is inherently racist because liberalism and racial ideas evolved together and shaped each other (Goldberg cited in Valls 2005). In other words, whiteness is the unnamed socio-discursive order that has made the modern world what it is today (Goldberg 1993; Mills 1997a). It is partly for this reason that some scholars, particularly scholars of colour, have argued that 'modern philosophy as whole (or at least major schools of thought within it) is deeply racist' (Valls 2005, p. 4).

It is against this discursive backdrop that European philosophers, from Voltaire, Kant, David Hume to Hegel, have depicted Africans as primitive, savages, backwards, irrational and essentially inherently inferior to whites—a people whose humanity is questionable and a people who have not contributed to modernity and thus a people who are in need of civilising influence (Goldberg 1993; Hoffheimer 2005; Sala-Molins cited in Bonilla-Silva 2012; Valls 2005).

Mainstream liberals often treat liberalism as a transcendent political philosophy— 'it comes into the human world untainted, all sweetness and light' (Bogues 2005, p. 230). However, I am of the view that no proper account of the history of liberalism can be presented without the histories of colonial empire (Bogues 2005). Ultimately, race is one of the central conceptual inventions of modernity, 'the concept assumes specificity as modernity defines itself, refining modernity's landscape of social relations as its own conceptual contours are mapped out' (Goldberg 1993, p. 3). Furthermore, the importance of race changes theoretically and materially as modernity is renewed, refined and redefined (Goldberg 1993).

Book Structure

This book analyses and discusses the data from Australia and New Zealand separately. The aim is to show sensitivity to historical context and political nuances that make the national identities of these two countries. There are too many complex historical and social issues to capture and to explain for each country, and it is only by separating the analysis of the data that I can attempt to convincingly explain the subtleties that shape the participants' lived experience. To discuss the data as if it were from one country would have obscured many important historical differences and would have led to a superficial analysis of each countries' political and social context.

Australia and New Zealand are two different countries, with two different histories, two different political systems and two different economies. Sociological imagination compels researchers to avoid obscuring these vital historical differences in our intellectual explorations. The objective is to produce nuanced, sophisticated and historically informed analyses of ideologies and discourses that shape the lived experience of differently situated black people. Separating the discussion of the data as I have done allowed me to be rigorous in my investigation, while contextualising issues within the relevant historical analysis.

Thus, while some participants' quotes in this study communicate a similar lived experience, my analysis of those experiences is informed by political and historical contexts that fundamentally differ. I do not aim to cover everything in this book nor does the book contain everything about Australia and New Zealand. Similarly, it was never the intention of this book to research 'everyone everywhere doing everything' (Miles and Huberman 1984, p. 36).

The book is divided into eight chapters. Following this Introductory chapter, Chap. 2 explores the theoretical and methodological assumptions that shape this research project. It locates the book within the Africana Studies tradition. The term Africana refers to people of African descent and Africa-descended communities, wherever they are found worldwide (McDougal 2014). Africana Studies researches the 'lived-experience of the black' (Rabaka 2015).

Chapter 3 is a theory chapter and thus comprehensively details the theory that is utilised to engage with the research data. This work developed its own theoretical concept, uncommodified blackness image, to deconstruct whiteness' imagining of a diasporic African identity as the

embodiment of warfare and the 'heart of darkness'. It argues that the ideological function of the uncommodified blackness image is to deny Africans full humanness and human qualities such as civility, refinement, beauty, intelligence, dignity and voice.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the Australian research findings. Chapter 4 argues that, in Australia, the dominant discourse on the uncommodified blackness image is characterised by the discursive simultaneity of dehumanisation and demonisation— 'each of which offers a narrowly defined inscription of blackness that elicits societal panic and fosters a climate justifying state violence against' Africans (Leonard 2006, p. 18). Chapter 5, on the other hand, explores ways in which the whiteness regimes of multiculturalism in Australia are employed to manufacture the illusion of a post-white Australia policy, while, in reality, normative whiteness maintains the view that Africans are not the embodiment of the true, legitimate Australian citizenry.

Likewise, Chaps. 6 and 7 discuss the research findings from New Zealand. Chapter 6 accentuates the discursive methods in which humanness of Africans is denied in subtle and commonplace ways in New Zealand. Chapter 7 foregrounds the colonial history of New Zealand to argue that the legacy of the white project to build a 'Better Britain' for white settlers shapes the discursive order in twenty-first-century New Zealand.

Chapter 8 is a concluding chapter. This chapter highlights key similarities between the Auckland findings and the Melbourne findings. It concludes that whiteness is what makes both Australia and New Zealand distinctively Settler States of Whiteness. The notion of 'Settler States of Whiteness' is derived from Goldberg's (2009) trope of 'States of Whiteness', and it is used in this book to point out that, historically, Settler States of Whiteness are states that become engaged in the constitution and maintenance of whiteness (Goldberg 2002). Within Settler States of Whiteness, racism has been reformed, cleaned up and streamlined (Winant 2001). Consequently, one of the defining features of the new racisms in Settler States of Whiteness is that the discourse of the new racisms openly condemns discrimination while it portrays whiteness as the norm and the rule (Goldberg 2002).

Conceptual Issues

Abstract This chapter locates the book within the Africana Studies tradition. One of the challenges facing African scholars in Australia and New Zealand is the lack of institutional power to forge and develop intellectual paradigms based on the lived experience of African people. What Rabaka (2010) terms 'epistemic apartheid' compels African scholars to utilise Western liberal discourses such as multiculturalism, diversity, the resettlement discourse and the integration paradigm to research issues faced by Africans in Australia and New Zealand. This chapter argues that by employing the Africana Studies framework, and through the introduction of the theoretical concept of the uncommodified blackness image, this book disrupts the prevailing academic refugee discourse and the migration studies which often locate Africans from a refugee background within a policy-oriented discourse.

Keywords Uncommodified Blackness Image • Negritude • Black Diaspora • Africana Studies • Epistemic Apartheid

THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

This book is a discursive venture that aims to ponder over the place of Africans in the diaspora, particularly in Australia and New Zealand. This study is inspired by Negritude and thus is of the view that black people in the West share a common set of experiences that centre around the

struggle against racism, white domination, the pursuit of economic freedom and slavery and colonialism (Bassey 2007; McLeod 1999).

The recurring themes of Negritude include exile, alienation and racial consciousness (McCulloch 1983). The writings of the Negritude movement present alienation as an essentially racial problem emanating more from the experience of lived racial experience than from being of a different class or nationality to the majority (McCulloch 1983). In other words, the Negritude movement foregrounded 'an abstract solidarity joining all members of the Negro race irrespective of the social or economic realities governing the interests of individuals' (McCulloch 1983, p. 8).

This work advocates for the recognition of the shared sense of identity and historical linked experience that binds the black diaspora irrespective of nationality, class and gender (Leonard 2006). The historical construction of blackness in Western countries largely revolves around an image of an uncivilised and an inferior Other to whites. This perspective is based on Mills' (1997a, p. 1) philosophical claim that 'white supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today'. Although different Western countries differ in their construction of blackness, the overarching theme that shapes the construction of blackness is that blacks are deviant, criminogenic and inferior to whites.

It was Fanon (1986, p. 173) who once said 'wherever he goes, the Negro remains a Negro'. In the United States, 'Negroes are segregated. In South America, Negroes are whipped in the streets, and Negro strikers are cut down by machine-guns. In West Africa, the Negro is an animal' (Fanon 1986, p. 113).

This study is cognisant of the historical fact that the white supremacist discourse has historically been used to argue that:

> Some non-whites were close enough to Caucasians in appearance that they were sometimes seen as beautiful, attractive in an exotic way (Native Americans on occasion; Tahitians; some Asians). But those more distant from the Caucasoid somatotype—paradigmatically blacks (Africans and also Australian Aborigines)—were stigmatised as aesthetically repulsive and deviant (Mills 1997a, p. 61).

Writing about the racialising processes in the United States, Vaught (2012) points out that the 'people of colour' trope has historically been constructed based on the ways in which whites perceive others as approaching the assigned characteristics of blackness or whiteness. Hence:

> Asian Americans, South Asian Indians, Chicanas/os or Latinas/os have not *become* White, and Chicanas/os, Southeast Asians, and Latinas/os (among others) have not *become* Black, in spite of various legal and cultural designations over time and geography. In dominant discourse and ideology, White and Black are racial categories *against which* other groups are often measured and defined (Vaught 2012, p. 571). (italics in the original)

At this juncture, it is worth pointing out that it is beyond the discursive scope of this book to explore the global history of white supremacy and how it has been deployed to racialise different groups in different countries over the past centuries. Rather, the point in the foregoing discussion is to underscore that, in this book, the label 'black' is utilised to refer to people of African descent. Moreover, historically, discourses about 'blackness' in Western countries have been conceptualised in reference to a white supremacist discourse about people of African descent.

Historically, whites, as a social group, have always regarded people of African descent as incapable of logic or reason, hence implying that people of African descent rely on animal-like instincts to negotiate their way through life (Dawson 2006). Whites used the same discourse to rationalise enslaving people of African descent. Through the same discourse, 'the Enlightenment articulated the language of democracy in spite of its dependence on the slave trade' (Eisenstein 2004, p. 5). When people of African descent in Haiti used the Enlightenment discourse to revolt against slavery, they paid heavily for their efforts to express their humanity (James 1989).

The larger point in the foregoing historical analysis is to show that people of African descent 'have a special place in the Western imagination' (Hoberman 1997, p. 207) as fantasy objects associated with childlike simplicity, alleged high-powered and unbridled sexuality and presumed low moral character. Obviously, these aforementioned discursive tropes have historically been expanded upon and employed differently in different Western contexts. Be that as it may, this study utilises the history of the overarching discourse of white supremacy in relation to alleged black inferiority to discuss the lived experience of Africans in Australia and New Zealand via the West's (in particular American) discourses about blackness.

This approach is consistent with the philosophy of Negritude and is inspired by Fanon's (1986) *Black Skin, White Masks*. Although Fanon was not an orthodox Negritudist, he explored and deconstructed 'Negritudesque themes throughout his oeuvre' (Rabaka 2015, p. 247). In other words, Fanon's philosophy asked and offered answers to questions that continental and diasporan Africans struggled with (Rabaka 2015).

Uncommodified Blackness

The originality of this book lies in its ability to bring numerous disparate discourses into critical dialogue and then employ them to interrogate the life struggles of Africans living in Australia and New Zealand (Rabaka 2015). This study attempts to make sense of the lived experience of Africans in Australia and New Zealand by employing disparate intellectual analyses ranging from institutional analysis to race analysis to discourse analysis. Among other things, my approach is influenced by Alfred Lee's (1976) question: 'Sociology for whom?' The debates around this question are long-standing in the discipline. According to Alfred Lee (1976, p. 925), 'the character of any sociological inquiry depends upon by and for whom it is conceived and applied'. It is in that spirit that my sociological inquiry is underpinned by Negritude and is conceived for Africans.

With the foregoing in mind, this study developed its own theoretical concept to analyse and to make sense of the data. The theoretical construct of the uncommodified blackness image was developed by the author with the aim of deconstructing whiteness' imagining of a diasporic African identity as the embodiment of warfare and the 'heart of darkness', as well as to interrogate stereotypical imagery that associates African diasporic identity with disease, poverty and famine. In the imagination of the Western public, the African diasporic identity is conceived as an unpalatable kind of blackness—the type of blackness that has fallen 'back into the pit of niggerhood' (Fanon 1986, 47).

In Western popular culture, African American celebrities have been passed by whiteness (Tate 2015) as embodying palatable blackness—black bodies that have been modified by 'technologies of whiteness' (Salter 2009) and thus commodifiable in Western mainstream media and popular culture. It is worth noting that the phrase 'technologies of whiteness' is derived from Foucault's notion of 'technologies of self'. According to Foucault, technologies of self enable individuals to modify their bodies, thoughts and their ways of being so that the presentation of self is consistent with the prevailing discourses of a society that individuals reside in (Thorpe 2008).

Dominant discourses of any society embody different types of logic for males and females. For instance, the discursive presentation of femininity in the West foregrounds white femininity as the ideal beauty standard, and thus all women in the West are compelled to aspire to this beauty standard through the use of 'technologies of whiteness'. Moreover, the discursive construction of white femininity in the West revolves around the notion of altering female bodies via dietary exercise and through cosmetics and surgery

(Hobson 2005). Within this discursive framework, African female bodies are regarded as largely unmodified, unfixed and 'unhealed' (Hobson 2005) by technologies of whiteness, and hence uncommodifiable. However, African American women celebrities such as Beyonce, Rihanna and Tyra Banks have been passed by whiteness (Tate 2015) as representing palatable blackness.

American popular culture has also constructed a commodified black male image that mainstream whites in Western countries find appealing, safe to mimic and to consume (Leonard and King 2010). Through hip hop and certain sports like basketball, black male bodies are increasingly admired and commodified in many Western countries (Leonard 2012). The construction of this commodified blackness is achieved through a complex and contradictory discourse which presents black male bodies as fashionable and deviant at the same time (Leonard and King 2010). The public discourse that shapes the commodification of black male bodies through hip hop and sports is characterised by the deployment of long-standing discursive practices of locating black male athletes or hip hop celebrities within an aura of deviance and criminality (Hoberman 1997; Leonard and King 2010). Thus, just as the black male athlete or hip hop celebrity may radiate an aura of criminality, 'so the black criminal can radiate a threating aura of athleticism' (Hoberman 1997, p. xxix) with hyper-masculinity often depicted in hip hop music videos.

This is a book about the African male experience in Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, it builds on the foregoing discourse about the commodification of American black male bodies by developing its own theoretical concept—the uncommodified blackness image—to locate a particular Western discourse that is often used to create a stereotypical image of African males that becomes central in the discussions about diasporan Africans in the West. Unlike commodified blackness, uncommodified blackness is not a discursive construct that mainstream Western society finds appealing. Uncommodified blackness derives from the long-standing racist image of the 'nigger-savage' (Fanon 1986). In the collective unconscious of mainstream Western society, uncommodified blackness equals ugliness, darkness and immorality (Fanon 1986). Through the image of uncommodified blackness, diasporic Africans are portrayed as humanity at its lowest and are associated with an Africa of poverty, chaos, black magic and primitive mentality (Fanon 1986).

The image of commodified blackness in Western countries has two discursive sides to it—fashionable blackness and criminogenic blackness. Uncommodified blackness, on the other hand, has only one discursive side—deviance and all the alleged pathologies that go hand in hand with deviance. Thus, the global construction and representation of blackness in

the public imagination of the West are defined by the fetishisation of com- modified blackness (Leonard 2006), which is associated with modernity and being Western (largely American), on the one hand, and the dehu- manisation of uncommodified blackness which is largely associated with underdevelopment, poverty, Africa, uneducated Others who speak poor English or an accented English and being a refugee, on the other hand.

The discursive power of the uncommodified blackness image is its abil- ity to frame its discursive articulations about uncommodified blackness as articulations relating to modernity and the liberatory values associated with the West, against the supposedly anti-social behaviour and allegedly oppressive social practices of the 'Third World'. It is against this discursive backdrop that African males are routinely typecast as deviant, misogynis- tic, aggressive and dangerous by Western mainstream institutions (Essed 1991). Thus, in their research project with Australian police informants, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2008, p. 46) found that informants understood Somalis primarily as people who 'have been living off their wits for years in the civil war; they've had to defend themselves; some have been child sol- diers'. Similarly, in her research project, Nunn (2010, p. 186) discusses a newspaper article that quotes an Assistant Police Commissioner saying that Sudanese Australians come from 'a culture of violence and boy soldiers'.

Racist discourses about African men have resulted in the racial profil- ing of Africans in Australia. For example, in 2006, the Flemington Police Station in Melbourne, Australia, rolled out what it termed 'Operation Molto' (Michael and Issa 2015; Waters 2013). The covert operation by the Victoria police force was tasked 'to find criminality in young African-Australians living in or visiting the Flemington public housing estate' (Waters 2013). According to Michael and Issa (2015, p. 8), who experienced Operation Molto first-hand:

> During Operation Molto, plain clothed police officers patrolled the parks using racial taunts to stir up some action. …This policing was different—it was indiscriminant targeting of African young men. It was compounding, perpetrating violence, constant harassment, intimidation and denigration. It freaked us out because no one knew if one of us would be killed.

Michael and Issa (2015) were lead applicants in the Federal Court Race Discrimination case in 2013, which resulted in commitments by Victoria Police to changing its practices and policing of African communities.

In New Zealand, racist narratives about supposedly barbaric, aggressive and violent African men have also led to the over-policing of Africans.

The practice of over-policing in New Zealand involves punitive police practices, police surveillance, racial profiling, harassment and sometimes police brutality of Africans. In their study of over-policing of African youth in Auckland, New Zealand, Nakhid et al. (2016) found that police subjected their participants to name-calling and racist abuse. Additionally, they found that the New Zealand police behaviour appeared to intentionally criminalise African youth and consequently, African youth arrested for minor offences at night were often taken to police stations and locked up for the night while their white friends were separated from them and taken home to their parents by the police. Research by Elliott and Yusuf (2014) and Mugadza (2012) also found that Africans are racially profiled as potential criminals at New Zealand airports and by the police.

This book introduces the concept of the uncommodified blackness image to interrogate the racist narratives about supposedly violent African men out to raise havoc in the West. It will show that via the image of uncommodified blackness, Africans residing in the West are cast as unschooled and pathological Others. In short, this book explores ways in which the whiteness regimes of truth about Africa underwrite Australian and New Zealand discourses about Africans.

Disrupting the Migration and Refugee Studies Discourse

Through the use of the theoretical construct of the uncommodified blackness image, this book disrupts the prevailing academic refugee discourse and the migration studies which often locate Africans from a refugee background within a policy-oriented discourse. Research about people from a refugee background often uses a resettlement discourse or integration paradigm to frame some of the challenges and issues faced by individuals from a refugee background. In their influential paper, entitled *Understanding Integration: A conceptual framework*, Ager and Strang (2008, p. 166) identify features 'central to perceptions of what constitutes 'successful' integration', which include access to housing, health care and employment. Although Ager and Strang (2008) point out that there is no generally accepted definition of 'refugee integration', the key domains of integration form part of the dominant research tools used by numerous researchers in the field.

For instance, research (see: Correa-Velez and Onsando 2009; Dhanji 2010; Haggis and Schech 2010; Marlowe et al. 2013; Wille 2011) on Africans in Australia often frames its discussion of research data by deploying an integration, resettlement or acculturation framework. Similarly, New

Zealand researchers often utilise the resettlement and integration paradigm to frame the experiences of Africans (see: Elliott and Yusuf 2014; Ibrahim 2012; Marete 2011a; Mugadza 2012).

The aforementioned studies are useful, but their intellectual approach limits the discursive exploration of the lived experience of Africans who live in Australia and New Zealand. This book neither subscribes to nor utilises the integration paradigm and the resettlement discourse. Rather, this book is interested in interrogating how societal institutions function and how these institutions operate according to prevailing ideologies and discourses which are rooted in history.

The point of an institutional analysis is to move from examining personal factors to investigating institutional factors (Albert 1995). Society is structured around institutions that allow its citizens to interact and accomplish a variety of functions that are key to life (Albert and Majavu 2012). Moreover, societal institutions are legitimised through ideologies and discourses that reflect the interests and values of the ruling class. According to Althusser (cited in Thompson 1984), society is produced through two types of institutions, namely: the state apparatus which comprise the government, the police and the courts, as well as the ideological state apparatuses which include schools, family and communication networks.

It should be noted that ideology is used in this book in a very broad sense (Therbon 1980). The production of ideology cannot be separated from the production of institutional roles and social practices (Susen 2014). Thompson (1984) further adds that the analysis of ideology is, in a fundamental respect, the study of language in the social world. This work utilises the concept of discourse to highlight the relation between language and ideology (Thompson 1984). The analysis of discourse includes a discursive analysis of linguistic constructions, as well as a social analysis of the conditions in which discourse is produced and received (Thompson 1984). Put differently, discourse analysis focuses on language and on forms of social interaction (Thorpe 2008). Language is often socially and politically charged, loaded with issues of race, class, citizenship and other forms of social identification (Alim and Smitherman 2012). Thus, this book researches the ways in which discourse functions and the effects that it has on Africans (Mills 1997b).

Africana Studies versus Epistemic Apartheid

One of the challenges facing African scholars in Australia and New Zealand is the lack of institutional power to forge and develop intellectual paradigms based on the lived experience of African people. What Rabaka

(2010) terms 'epistemic apartheid' compels African scholars to utilise Western liberal discourses such as multiculturalism, diversity, the resettlement discourse and the integration paradigm to research issues faced by Africans in Australia and New Zealand.

I define epistemic apartheid as being made up of narcissistic liberal whiteness and the Eurocentric mental outlook of the world and history. It is through epistemic apartheid that sociology has long overlooked the contributions of W.E.B. Du Bois to sociology (Rabaka 2010). The notion of epistemic apartheid gives us occasion to deeply reflect on the ways in which black contributors to sociology have been 'incessantly ignored, excluded, and/or erased from the history of sociology because of the gatekeeping and disciplinary decadence of the "white sociological fraternity"' (Rabaka 2010, p. 14). According to Angela Davis (1994), it used to be that any research conducted by a black scholar about issues facing black people was not acknowledged as 'real scholarship'. Thus, for decades, white thinkers were considered to be the only authoritative voices on racial and ethnic issues (Stanfield 2011). According to Stanfield II (2011), it has always been the norm in the social sciences to assume that Eurocentric empirical realities can be extrapolated to shed light on the social realities of people of colour. Feagin (2010) traces this academic practice to the long tradition of Western social science:

> Consider the still influential, towering intellectual giants of the Western tradition such as Max Weber, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Sigmund Freud. They loom large in much contemporary U.S. and Western social science, yet not one of these intellectual giants gave serious research or analytical attention to the systems of racial oppression that operated conspicuously within Western countries' imperial spheres during their lifetimes. (Feagin 2010, p. 5)

This book does not highlight the foregoing to argue that the insight of Western thinkers ought to be rejected *in toto*. The point, however, is that as much as black intellectuals have to be open to intellectual insights of European thinkers, on the other hand, black thinkers must never lose sight of some of the theoretical silences in the work of white theorists, especially as those silences relate to issues of class, gender, race and empire (hooks and West 1991). This approach is consistent with the Africana intellectual tradition, which includes thinkers such as Fanon, W.E.B. Du Bois, Leopold Senghor and Aime Cesaire. Among other things, the defining feature of the Africana intellectual tradition is the long-standing interest in developing dialectical relationships with both the Africana and European intellectual traditions in the interest of finding and grappling

with the most pressing problems confronting continental and diasporan Africans (Rabaka 2015).

As a qualitative Africana Studies research project, this book is interested in investigating the similarities among the lived experiences of differently located black people (Holt 1999). As far as Africana Studies is concerned, there are significant sociological lessons to be learnt from the experiences that unfold for different black peoples in different places and times (Holt 1999). What the Africana Studies approach affords black scholars is an opportunity for a genuinely relational account of racism, as well as the comparative outlook that illuminates (McLeod 1999) the lived experience of black people in the West. Be that as it may, this study is cognisant of the fact that 'no single explanation can capture the varied experiences of black people in diaspora' (McLeod 1999, p. xix).

Methodological Questions

African Men

All the research participants in this study settled in Melbourne, Australia and Auckland, New Zealand via refugee programmes. The African diaspora in Australia and New Zealand is largely made up of Africans from a refugee background. The decision to recruit research participants from Melbourne and Auckland was based on the demographics of these two cities. Most Africans in New Zealand live in Auckland. In Australia, the State of Victoria, which includes the metropolitan area of its capital and largest city, Melbourne, hosts the largest number of Africans (Robinson 2011).

As the title of the book suggests, this research project focuses on the lived experience of African men. The decision to research men only was partly informed by the view that African men are under-theorised in New Zealand and Australia. Many factors contribute to this state of affairs, among which is the fact that the majority of Africans living in Australia and New Zealand came to these two countries as refugees, and Australian refugee agencies are often preoccupied with the needs of women and children (Byrne 2006). Similarly,

> New Zealand requested primarily women and children in need from the UNHCR, which meant that the first generations arriving were primarily single mothers with many children. While the girls have in general done well, we have found that many of the boys lack an authority to control them and they might not have had an adult male in the family for ten or more years. (Guerin, Guerin, Abdi, and Diiriye, n.d.)

Consequently, the agenda and priorities of refugee agencies have partly shaped the research interest in African women from a refugee background in Australia and New Zealand. The few studies that research African men are often problematic theoretically because the theorisation of black masculinity in the literature of these studies is discursively narrow and consequently fails to account for many of the social dynamics that impact on the lives of African men in Australia and New Zealand. Much research into refugee men generally uses the integration and resettlement discourse, which posits that male refugees from third-world countries, once resettled, find themselves at a loss after their women and children are exposed to Western culture and granted human rights (allegedly for the first time) (Birukila 2012; Byrne 2006; Dhanji 2010; Ibrahim 2012; Machingarufu 2011; Marlowe 2011; Muchoki 2013).

This book challenges the assumptions that reflect long-standing Eurocentric interpretations of African cultures as inherently sexist and oppressive. It employs masculinities analysis to highlight the view that not all men are privileged (Dowd 2016). Although men in general collect evidence of success—money, prestige, power and women—to prove their masculinity, in Western countries however, the idealised masculinity is white (Cooper 2016). Consequently, for African men, the need to prove their masculinity is a constant source of anxiety (Cooper 2016). African men in the West experience masculine anxiety due to race and class. Put simply, being black and not being wealthy as a group like white men makes African men's masculinities suspect in Western countries (Cooper 2016).

Furthermore, the consequence of the discursive naturalisation of white manhood in Western countries is that African men are constructed as 'failed' men, 'men whose bodies (and bodily desires) control their minds; men who might more appropriately be referred to as "boys"; men with a "surplus" masculinity that must be quite literally policed' (Carbado 2012, p. 53). Mainstream discourse portrays white men as 'natural' men (Carbado 2012), as embodying hegemonic masculinity. The latter is a type of masculinity that is reserved largely for able-bodied white males (Gunn 2011).

Hegemonic masculinity is founded upon a pecking order among men that depends, in part, on access to socio-economic resources, as well as the sexual and physical domination of women (Collins 2004). In Western countries, hegemonic masculinity is attained through having access to political, economic and educational institutions. White males have more access to these institutions in comparison with males of colour (Majors and Billson 1992).

Recruiting Research Participants

Through voluntary sampling, 24 research participants were recruited for the author's PhD research project, which this book is derived from. All in all, the recruitment process took about six months. I recruited and interviewed 11 research participants in Auckland. The 11 research participants include one pilot interview that I did before commencing the actual collection of data. The pilot interview is not included in the data analysis.

In Melbourne, I interviewed 13 research participants. For this study, I only used interviews from 11 participants that I interviewed in Melbourne. I decided not to use the other two interviews because I discovered during the course of the interview that one of the two participants had mental health problems and the other one did not quite fit the profile of the participants that I was looking to interview. For instance, the second unused interview was from a research participant who left the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as a refugee and travelled to Cameroon and then eventually ended up in Canada where he worked as a journalist. He then decided to immigrate to Australia from Canada as a professional.

It is worth noting that I was quite mindful of the volunteer bias that is inherent in voluntary sampling. However, the research participants in this study are not ethnically homogenous but come from different African countries including Eritrea, the DRC, Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Interviewing participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds helped to counter any volunteer bias that goes with a voluntary sampling procedure.

The age make-up of the research participants is between the ages of 25 and 75. The data shows that although the age range of research participants is wide, the participants' lived experience is similar. At the time of the interviews, the majority of participants had been living in their host countries for more than three years.

Interviews were conducted in a variety of places, including participants' homes, refugee centres, participants' automobiles, participants' business premises and coffee shops. To analyse the data, this study used manual coding. This means that no sophisticated computer software programmes were used to code the data but rather, data was manually separated into categories based on patterns or themes (McDougal 2014). I coded the data with the specific aim of looking for patterns and themes in the data.

Lastly, I am cognisant of the limited number of research participants in this research project. However, this study is premised on the view that

in general, qualitative studies are often done on small populations and consequently produce results that are not generalisable in the statistical sense (McDougal 2014). In qualitative research, scholars are 'often less interested in finding representative samples of a large population than they are in studying some key aspect of social life in a smaller population' (McDougal 2014, p. 145). Thus, qualitative studies do not produce results that are generalisable in the statistical sense but rather produce generalisable theories (McDougal 2014). That is what this book aims to do, first and foremost.

The Genealogy and the Discursive Themes of the Uncommodified Blackness Image

Abstract This is the theory chapter. It introduces the concept of the uncommodified blackness image. Additionally, it comprehensively traces the genealogy and the discursive themes of the uncommodified blackness image. En route, it deconstructs whiteness' imagining of a diasporic African identity as the embodiment of warfare and the 'heart of darkness'. It argues that the ideological function of the uncommodified blackness image is to deny Africans full humanness and human qualities such as civility, refinement, beauty, intelligence, dignity and voice.

Keywords Dehumanisation • Infrahumanisation • Defeminisation • Simianisation • Media Representation

The ideological function of the uncommodified blackness image is to deny Africans full humanness and human qualities such as civility, refinement, beauty, intelligence, dignity and voice. Research (see: Bain et al. 2014) shows that dehumanisation is not just restricted to extreme or overt prejudice, but it can also be subtle—driven by hate or indifference, collectively organised or personal (Haslam and Loughnan 2014). Psychologists have coined the term 'infrahumanisation' to refer to the subtler form of dehumanisation (Haslam and Loughnan 2014).

According to Haslam (2014), infrahumanisation was conceptualised to highlight the indirect, implicit and covert form of dehumanisation

that can occur in the absence of inter-group antagonism and conflict. This book introduces the concept of uncommodified blackness to theorise both the racist infrahumanisation and the blatant racist dehumanisation that Africans are subjected to in the West.

Denying Africans full humanness serves a number of social and political functions. For instance, dehumanising Africans makes it morally just to treat Africans with subtle disrespect, condescension, neglect and everyday thoughtlessness (Bastian et al. 2014). If those people that institutions discriminate against are dehumanised, and therefore less deserving of moral concern, it becomes less of a problem to exclude, marginalise, belittle, harm or kill them (Bastian et al. 2014). Othering people who are perceived to have few human characteristics is likely to be a less dehumanising experience for people who occupy positions of power and privilege than it would be to other people whose human qualities are readily apparent (Bastian et al. 2014).

Furthermore, research on aggression and dehumanisation shows that dehumanised targets are the recipients of more aggressive punishments than humanised targets (Lee and Harris 2014). Additionally, when dehumanised targets are the victims of an offence, offenders are not punished as harshly as they are when they commit offences against humanised targets (Lee and Harris 2014). Meaning, when we view Others as lacking core human qualities, it makes it easier to 'see victims as somewhat responsible for their maltreatment, than it is to empathize with the full extent of their victimization' (Bastian et al. 2014, p. 212).

This book argues that the dehumanisation of Africans in the West enables mainstream Westerners to continue believing in the illusion that the world is a just and fair place. Mainstream Westerners prefer to see the world as fair and just. However,

> When people see others get harmed or treated unfairly, this belief is challenged. The world is not a just place when people are hurt, harmed, or killed when they do not deserve to be. Rather than give up the belief in a just world, people make sense of these the (sic) situations by derogating the victims of harm (Lerner, 2003). One way to do this is to blame victims for what happened to them (Ryan, 1976), making their ill-treatment appear fair and just. Another way to protect the belief that the world is just is by changing one's perception of the victims, by making them appear less deserving of fair and just treatment in the first place. (Bastian et al. 2014, p. 213)

Outlining the Discursive Themes of the Uncommodified Blackness Image

The infrahumanisation of Africans in the West is achieved through the employment of racist colonial discourses that continue to inform Eurocentric imaginings of Africa and Africans. Put another way, the discourses that are used to create the uncommodified blackness image are rehashed from long-standing racist discourses of illiterate and uncivilised Negroes who are 'up to the neck in the irrational' (Fanon 1986, p. 123). These colonial discourses not only function to give legitimacy to the way in which societal institutions in the West operate but also reflect the interests and the values of the dominant class.

The uncommodified blackness image is constructed and institutionalised via specific themes and representations of race and of blackness that support and maintain the marginalisation, exploitation and pathologisation of Africans (hooks 1992). These themes include the simianisation of Africans, the racist defamation of African masculinity, defeminisation of African women, the alleged 'arrested development' of African refugees, the 'Negro medicine' discourse and the denial of racism discourse. The following discussion highlights the ways in which these themes are constructed and then used to portray Africans as the embodiment of uncommodified blackness.

Simianisation of Africans

Whiteness has a long, rich tradition of identifying Africans via the monstrous physiognomy trope (Morgan 2002). Long before post-Darwinian 'scientific racism' began to develop, blacks were depicted as closer to apes than whites on the Great Chain of Being (Sebastiani et al. 2016). It is this history that white Italian football spectators draw upon when they throw bananas at black soccer players. According to Doidge (2015), Italian football has seen an increase in racism as increased global migration has changed the demographics in cities across the Italian peninsular. Doidge (2015, p. 249) adds that although racism in Italy is widespread across many ethnic groups, 'African footballers in particular have become the symbolic objects of abuse' from white spectators. Mario Balotelli, who is of Ghanaian descent, is imagined in the Italian public imagination as the embodiment of the racial pollutant. Thus, Italian spectators have in the past voiced loud anti-Balotelli slurs, including '"There are no black Italians" and monkey noises' (Doidge 2015, p. 250).

During the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, the London Review of Books published an RW Johnson article which likened Africans to baboons. It was forced to remove the article from its website after 73 academics and writers from across the globe wrote to the editor stating that RW Johnson was 'peddling highly offensive, age-old racist stereotypes' (Younge 2010).

It is the same racist history that enabled a British police officer to compare an inner-city borough to 'Planet of the Apes' in the aftermath of the public protests that erupted in 2011 in London after the police killing of a black man, Mark Duggan (Allen 2015). Similarly, in France, a group of racist police officers organised a so-called negro party in 2014 in which they painted their faces black, wore Afro wigs and essentially dehumanised blacks (Willsher, 214). The photos of the 'negro party' which appeared on Facebook show one police officer with bananas in front of him, scratching himself like a monkey. Moreover, in November 2013, the French right-wing weekly magazine, *Minute*, featured a racist photo of the former Justice Minister Christiane Taubira—France's most prominent black politician—with the title 'Crafty as a monkey, Taubira gets her banana back' (France24 2013). In the United States, the US President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama have been consistently compared to apes (Kahn et al. 2015).

Meanwhile, in Australia, *Green Left Weekly* reported in July 2010 that the Australia First Party—a right-wing political party—was distributing leaflets to the public in the western Sydney suburb of Seven Hills that compared Africans to monkeys (Robson 2010). This is the same racist discourse that Michelle Veronica Jacobsen, a white Australian, used to slander her Africans neighbours in 2015. Jacobsen subjected an African family to a nasty racist attack and later pleaded guilty to racial harassment in court. An online video footage of Jacobsen shows her hurling racist abuse at the black family. In the video, Jacobsen can be heard saying 'I don't deal with monkeys, go on now you …[expletive]… monkeys. Look at these …[expletive]… pigs, jungle …[expletive]… you are' (9 News 2015).

Likewise, on the other side of the Tasman Sea—in New Zealand—dehumanising Africans via the simianisation discourse is par for the course. For instance, Krishna Ogwaro, who came to New Zealand under the refugee quota as a five-year-old little girl with her grandmother in 2003, has experienced simianisation first-hand. In an article published in March 2016 by New Zealand's online publication, *Stuff*, Ogwaro recounts a racist incident that epitomises her experience with racism in New Zealand.

She writes that she was racially harassed by a group of kids while walking down a street and the kids called out 'you black monkeys, go back to where you come from'.

Similarly, Margaret John, who came to New Zealand via the refugee quota from South Sudan, told *Stuff* about the first day at her first job in a retirement home.

> My first morning at work, I needed to help two or three residents to bathe. I knocked on the door and the resident asked me who I was and where I came from. 'Look at you — your skin is too dark. You cannot take me to the shower, don't touch me.'

Within the simianisation discourse, the dark complexion of Africans becomes a signifier for the supposed inferiority of Africans. Whiteness imagines the black body as devoid of beauty, innocence, purity and humanity (Wallace-Sanders 2002). Since whiteness regards the dark complexion of Africans as a signifier of savagery, whiteness then banishes Africans from the human (Mills 2015) via a racist theory about a missing link between the Negro and the ape (Jahoda 2014), which allows whiteness to classify Africans as subhuman primates (Smith and Panaitiu 2015). For instance, in one of Gustave Flaubert's books, a 'pretty blonde' is attacked, 'raped and killed by a "monster with lips like a Negro's or a monkey's and thick black skin"' (Hund 2015, p. 55).

Ultimately, this book argues that although the simianised representation of Africans is associated with largely discredited racial science, it still shapes the commonplace thinking of Westerners about uncommodified blackness. The simianisation of Africans remains an effective instrument to dehumanise Africans (Sebastiani et al. 2016).

Racist Defamation of African Masculinity

In the Western imagination, the male imagery of uncommodified blackness 'is taken as a terrifying penis' (Fanon 1986, p. 177). In such a state of affairs, the black body is deemed a threat 'vis-à-vis the "virgin sanctity of whiteness"' (Yancy 2012, p. 4). This discourse is rooted in wide-ranging colonial myths about Africans possessing an uncontrollable lust which historically, it was claimed, led African men to engage in bestiality. In modern Western societies, men of African descent are cast as possessing an insatiable and dangerous lust for white women. In this racist narrative,

white women are featured in the role of the sexual victim, whereas white men are cast as chivalrous and heroic white male defenders who tirelessly have to fight against monstrous black rapists (Markovitz 2006).

This racist representation of African male sexuality has two social functions—to portray African men as deviant and to control white women's sexuality. Historically, the 'white woman's burden' has revolved around compelling white women to play the role of the breeder for the white race (Ware 1992). This is the recurring theme throughout the history of white supremacy, colonialism and slavery. Thus, the notion of protecting white womanhood from ever-encroaching and disrespectful black man (Ware 1992) is the mantra that whiteness invokes as the pretext for implementing draconian measures against uncommodified blackness.

Additionally, in Western countries, the African male is regarded as deviant, criminogenic, dangerous and fearsome (Anderson 2011b). Consequently, in many public places, the anonymous black male is often feared and considered guilty until proven innocent (Anderson 2011b). The black male is avoided in public, and when the black male appears in public, common codes of civility are tested (Anderson 2011b). On trains and other forms of public transportation, the anonymous black male is often the last person others will sit next to (Anderson 2011b). Others typically are not interested in getting to know the anonymous black male in public and, therefore, seek to distance themselves from him (Anderson 2011b). The black male generally '"put white people off" just by being black, and the younger he is and the more 'ghetto' he looks, the more distrust he engenders' (Anderson 2011b, p. 7).

Ultimately, the aim of mainstream Western institutions that make use of anti-black male stereotypes is to reclaim the long-standing history that foregrounds the importance of disciplining and punishing black bodies (Leonard 2006). The portrayal of black males as deviant is meant to activate the power of societal institutions to regulate, control, surveil and discipline black males (Leonard 2012). In other words, since black masculinity is viewed as inherently deviant, it therefore deserves to be controlled and dominated by white men (and sometimes powerful white women) and formal authorities (Brooks 2011).

Furthermore, the infrahumanisation of African men is used by mainstream society in Western countries to justify undermining the legitimacy of the views and needs of Africans (Bain et al. 2014) and to rationalise 'long-standing discursive articulations about the necessity and burden of whiteness controlling savage, child-like blackness' (Leonard 2012, p. 122). It is against this discursive background that,

in 2007, the then Australian Immigration Minister Kevin Andrews questioned the ability of some African migrants to 'integrate' into Australia. These racist discourses have further resulted in the racial profiling of Africans in Australia and New Zealand (see: Elliott and Yusuf 2014; Michael and Issa 2015; Mugadza 2012).

Defeminisation of African Women: Helpless and Sexually Unrestrained Other

Since the eighteenth century, Western knowledge about Africa and Africans has always been characterised by fact and fantasy. According to Wheeler (1998), Britons first learnt about Africa and Africans through travel writing. The common theme that ran through the writings of European travel writers was that Africa was a 'hotbed of monsters', arising out of bestiality and lascivious intercourse (Sebastiani et al. 2016). Through this dehumanising and colonising white gaze, African bodies have become, throughout the history of the Western imagination, sexually repulsive. But in a perverse white supremacist logic, African bodies simultaneously elicit desire and allure.

Perhaps, no other figure epitomises the history of the Western imagination about African sexuality—that is, the connections between grotesquerie, animalism and hypersexuality—than Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus' (Hobson 2005). According to Hobson (2005), the Hottentot Venus was cast as a repulsive icon of wildness and monstrosity, representations which elicit both fear and attraction. The so-called Hottentot Venus was an African woman (Sara Baartman) who was kidnapped from South Africa and brought to England and France for public exhibition, held and displayed in a cage between 1810 and 1815, and who, over time, came to symbolise both the presumed ugliness and heightened sexuality of the African femininity (Hobson 2005).

The foregoing history informs the discursive construction of African female sexuality in the West. During enslavement, African women were regarded as having bodies suited to reproduction, whether that was in providing sexual services to white men, or producing children to keep the slave system afloat, or basically giving the labour necessary to ensure white leisure (Tate 2015). In the twenty-first century however, African female reproductive capacities shifted from being viewed as a benefit to Western societies to being regarded as a burden on the national economy of Western countries (Collins 2002).

Thus, both in Australia and New Zealand, African women are cast within a policy-oriented discourse that portrays them primarily as social security dependents, battered wives or teenage mothers (Weekes 2002). In Australia, Eurocentric discourses are used to blame African women for supposedly contributing to the disintegration of society by giving birth to fatherless, state-dependent children, and thus burdening the welfare system with undue excess (Foster 2007). For instance, Ngum Chi Watts (2012) writes that teenage pregnancy among African teenagers has become a social problem for both the African-Australian community and mainstream Australian society.

In New Zealand, African women are largely cast as victims of misogynistic and barbaric African customs. In this narrative, the role of white liberals is to save helpless African women from irrational, misogynistic African men (Oyewumi 2003). The dominant theme is that African women are subjected to domestic violence in their homes, and it is argued that this is due to the alleged backward thinking and patriarchal values of Africans. The fact of the matter is that domestic violence is widespread in New Zealand. For instance, research (see Craigie 2011, p. 28) shows that in 2008, 44 New Zealanders died due to family violence, and in the same year, 88,545 cases of domestic violence were recorded by the police, 'equal to 200 a day, or one every seven minutes'. To put these numbers in perspective, one has to keep in mind that New Zealand has a population of about 4.5 million people.

This book argues that the discourses used to research and to understand the lived experience of African women in Australia and New Zealand are, first and foremost, preoccupied with the surveillance of black bodies, and if necessary the management and the control of black bodies. Discourses that are rooted in public health studies, public policy studies and epidemiology do not produce meaningful or fair representations of the complex 'realities' that many African women face in Australia and in New Zealand (Foster 2007). Instead, these discourses often avoid addressing issues that are deeply inscribed in society, such as racism and Eurocentrism, and the way in which Eurocentric values are used to perpetuate black women's Other status.

The Alleged 'Arrested Development' of African Refugees

Of all the different African immigrants that make up what the West regard as uncommodified blackness, African refugees are viewed by Western states as the worst social burden. Hence, in November 2015, European countries compelled African countries to take almost €2bn in return for agreeing to the deportation of African refugees from Europe (Traynor 2015).

Africans from a refugee background are often portrayed as psychologically damaged by pre-settlement traumatic experiences. To use Cross' (1991) insight, the psychologisation of Africans conflates the reality of traumatic pre-settlement experiences as a debilitating factor in the lives of a fraction, with the possibility of that traumatic experience to define and to shape the lives of the majority. The psychologisation of Africans often goes hand in hand with paternalism that is motivated by '"good intentions" to "help"' Africans cope with the pressures of Western society (Essed 1991, p. 203). In other words, the psychologisation of Africans draws from the long-standing discursive trope of 'the white civilising influence' (Hughey 2014, p. 61), while simultaneously rehashing commonplace efforts to cast whites in the role of a 'white saviour' (Leonard 2012).

Moreover, the psychologisation of African refugees forms part of the broader discourse on uncommodified blacks as the embodiment of poverty. Uncommodified blacks are said to be uneducated, mentally unstable Others who speak poor English or an undesirably accented English, and who are not only non-Western but essentially 'un-Western' Others who threaten the social cohesion of Western countries. Writing about Canada, Kumsa (2006) argues that African refugees are feared and Othered as though they embody the violence that created them. Through this infra-humanisation process, the category 'refugee' becomes a label of exclusion, signifying as it does the mentally unstable, dangerous Other (Kumsa 2006).

Browne (2006) writes that when he conducted research at a refugee camp in Kenya in 2003, a senior United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees staff member expressed indignation about the prejudice among resettlement countries against Somalis. According to Browne (2006, p. 94), 'Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Nordic countries are reluctant to take them… because they see Somalis as what they call "an integration challenge"'. Western states regard African refugees as an 'integration challenge'—a euphemism for saying that Western societal institutions see African refugees as culturally incompatible with a Western lifestyle. In Western countries, African refugees are portrayed as illegitimate residents, irrational and primitive people who for one reason or another have been playing tom-toms in refugee camps or in the African bush for decades, living outside of modernity. This book traces the discursive roots of the perspective that argues that African refugees are an 'integration challenge' to the nineteenth-century racist discourse that viewed Africans as the embodiment of 'arrested development'.

The 'arrested development' doctrine views Africa as 'the land of childhood', a place of spiritual infancy and, as Hegel put it 'what we properly

understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature' (Gooding-Williams 2006, p. 36). Whiteness regards Europe as the sole driving force behind modernity (Hesse 2007). 'Whiteness, Christian, the West, Europeanness comprise a series of racial tropes intimately connected with organicist and universalist metaphors so frequently assumed in various canonical accounts of modernity' (Hesse 2007, p. 643). Put simply, what the 'arrested development' doctrine communicates is that blacks in Africa are unmodern, un-Western and uncivilised, and still reside in a state of nature characterised in terms of wilderness, jungle and wild animals (Mills 1997a).

The 'Negro Medicine' Discourse

Through a sophisticated medical discourse, Africans are often portrayed as the diseased Other in the West. This medical discourse is characterised by its use of medical codes to talk about diseases and disorders that are associated with Africans. This book refers to this medical discourse as 'Negro Medicine'. The latter aims to highlight the fact that many diseases and disorders have been 'effectively coded "white" or "black", depending on whether they are associated with modernity ('white') or socially backward ('black') ways of life' (Hoberman 2012, p. 66).

Through the Negro Medicine discourse, uncommodified blackness is labelled with the language of contamination and disease (Sebastiani et al. 2016). In this narrative, Africa is a contagious continent incubating pestilence of all sorts in hot muggy jungles, which is then spread by sexually unrestrained Others (Sebastiani et al. 2016). For instance, one of the narratives about the origins of AIDS is that it came about via the careless dealings of Africans with simians, 'which they eat or whose blood they use as an aphrodisiac' (Sebastiani et al. 2016).

The presence of uncommodified blackness in Western countries is thus interpreted as a threat to the health of whites. Interestingly, diseases that mainstream white societal institutions associate with Africans are often diseases tied to sexuality (Ferber 1998). Hence in the Western mainstream discourse, the HIV/AIDS body has been conflated with the African body (Bloodsworth-Lugo and Lugo-Lugo 2010). Thus, the first settlement of African refugees in New Zealand in 1993 led the public, politicians and government officials to call for mandatory HIV testing of all African refugees (Worth 2002). Research by Birukila (2012) shows that in the imagination of the New Zealand public, Africans are constructed as a source of HIV infection.

Similarly, the medical defamation of African people by whites in positions of authority in Australia (see: Perrin and Dunn 2007) has taken many forms over the past two decades. For example,

> In December 2006, Australian media… reported that a number of African refugees arrived carrying communicable disease such as tuberculosis, hepatitis C and AIDS, despite obligatory health checks in ports of departure. (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2008, p. 42)

It is not the objective of this book to affirm or refute the health images of blacks put forth by white authorities, rather, the study's main objective is to understand and to document the dominant health images of Africans created by white authorities and to explore the reasons why these images are dominant (Scott 1997). As far as this book is concerned, the political function of the discursive association of Africa with disease is to mobilise consent (Leonard 2012) in Western countries for stricter medical checks and regulation, and for elaborative medical screening and surveillance of uncommodified blackness.

Denial of Racism

In Western countries, the dominant discourse that shapes the thinking of mainstream society on race is the perspective that the globally triumphant ideology of the early twenty-first century is liberalism, which has supposedly helped to 'disappear' racism in the world (Susen 2014). The problem with this viewpoint, however, is that the liberal association with whiteness is deep (Mehta 1999). Historically, liberalism served as the cornerstone in establishing racialised reasoning and its racist implications which are central to modernity's common moral and socio-political sense (Goldberg 1993).

What liberalism perpetuates is the continuation of whiteness and white privilege in a political climate of modernity. Within this discursive climate, norms of whiteness are represented as the ideals of colour-blindness, raceless world and culture (Goldberg 2002). In such an ideological state of affairs, there is an expectation that when blacks are confronted with white racism, they should respond in a passive manner (McClendon 2012). This logic upholds the erroneous view that black passive behaviour towards white racism facilitates and enables the gradual transformation of white racist thinking and thus racist practices (McClendon 2012). Essentially, what the foregoing asks blacks is that they should become martyrs for the struggle against white racism (McClendon 2012).

It is in the interests of whites to misunderstand or misrepresent the extent to which whites, as a group, are racially privileged (DiTomaso 2013). Moreover, the denial of racism discourse is used by mainstream whites as a psychological tool to emotionally manage the guilt and the stresses induced by other's suffering (Hodson et al. 2014). For instance, the denial of racism discourse facilitates seeing the victims of racism who accurately attribute their oppressive situations to racism as engaging in subterfuge and slander about whiteness, and thus responsible for their maltreatment (Bastian et al. 2014).

Equally important is the white misconception that since Western main-stream culture celebrates and mimics commodified blackness, this automatically translates into whites divesting of whiteness. The inclusion of blackness in white society as an object of consumption does not necessary disrupt whiteness imaginings of black people as primitive and animal-like (Sullivan 2006). The white commodification of black bodies is made available for profit and pleasure (Lott 1993; Sullivan 2006). In other words, the commodification of black bodies is packaged for white middle-class consumers who desire the novel and exotic (Sullivan 2006).

Although the commodification of blackness is about generating profits, its discursive function is to promote the view that racism has been eliminated in line with the notion of the 'American Dream' (Leonard and King 2010). In the final analysis, the white commodification of black bodies is consistent with the long history of whiteness which is characterised by enslaving black people, thievery of land and the fruit of black people's labour (Sullivan 2006).

This work theoretically predicts that, if and when commodified black-ness no longer brings pleasure to white people, it will be cast aside so that new desires can be manufactured (Sullivan 2006). Put different, when commodified blackness loses its desirability to whites, it becomes something merely to avoid or, discipline, punish and incarcerate (Sullivan 2006).

Conclusion

The concept of the uncommodified blackness image accentuates discursive methods in which the humanness of Africans is denied in subtle and commonplace ways in the West (Haslam and Loughnan 2014). The interrogation of the discursive themes that are used to construct the uncommodified blackness image shows how the racist infrahumanisation of Africans enable Westerners to 'morally disengage' from Africans

and to rationalise treating Africans as less human (Bain et al. 2014). The discussion of the discursive themes of the uncommodified blackness image also highlights ways in which Africans are demonised while being dehumanised at the same time.

Additionally, the foregoing discussion captures whiteness' paternalistic manipulation of Africans—viewing Africans as objects of affection while 'nonetheless treating them as less human and thus less valuable' (Hodson et al. 2014, p. 103). In short, the image of uncommodified blackness socially functions to reassure mainstream whites' feelings of superiority (Bogle 2003).

The Wizardry of Whiteness in Australia

Abstract This chapter engages and analyses the Australian data. The discussion in this chapter is based on four themes, 'being a refugee', 'personal encounters with racism and vicarious experience of racism', 'racist bullying' and 'denial of racism'. The analysis of data indicates that Africans in Australia are infrahumanised through a racist discourse that portrays Africans as threatening, dirty and disturbing and therefore have to be avoided on public transportation or controlled by the authorities. Furthermore, this dehumanising discourse cast African males, in particular, as being overly physical and out of control, prone to violence, unruly and inherently dangerous and therefore "in need of civilizing" (Ferber 2007, cited in Leonard, *After Artest: The NBA and the assault on Blackness*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2012).

Keywords Integration Challenge • African Refugees • Racial Profiling • Racist Violence • Demonisation • Hidden Curriculum

The African community is one of the major emerging communities in Australia (Correa-Velez and Onsando 2009). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data shows that 'the number of people born in Africa rose from about 250,000 in 2006 to around 338,000 in 2011' (Ndhlovu 2014, p. 1). It should be pointed out, however, that while the African community in Australia is made up of Africans from diverse countries such as

Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sierra Leone and Liberia (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2008), nearly half of all Australians said to be of African origin are white South African migrants.

White South African migrants in Australia (and in New Zealand for that matter) are people of European heritage and many of them came to Australia to escape a democratically elected black government in South Africa. White South African migrants in Australia are social and cultural products of the white supremacist apartheid government. Many of them are highly educated and are wealthy owing to the unfair and unethical advantages they received from the white supremacist apartheid government. The children of white South African migrants in Australia enjoy the economic windfall of the wealth unfairly gained via a white supremacist socio-economic structure—apartheid South Africa, a system that the United Nations labelled a crime against humanity (Bultz 2013; Slye 1999; Tutu 2004).

This book's conceptualisation of an African excludes white South African migrants in Australia and New Zealand. White South African migrants in Australia are beneficiaries of the 'global whites only immigration policy'. Whiteness plays a pivotal role in shaping ideas about freedom of movement, who has the right to travel and who belongs where (Chomsky 2014). It is within this discursive climate that people of European descent are seen as having the right to travel anywhere (Chomsky 2014). In other words, people of European descent have a birthright to freedom to travel anywhere in the world (Chomsky 2014).

Historically, ordinary Africans have been allowed to travel and to live in the West as slaves and guest workers. In Australia, African immigrants are regarded as an 'integration challenge' by societal institutions. For instance, in 2007, the then Immigration Minister Kevin Andrews questioned the ability of some African migrants to 'integrate' into Australia. According to Haggis and Schech (2010), when the Australian government reduced the quota of refugees from African war zones in 2007, it stated that African refugees were difficult to 'integrate'.

The dominant discourse portrays Africans in Australia in the context of the problems it is assumed they create for the government and ordinary Australians (Essed 1991). In the past, Africans have been spoken of as not fitting in socially and through the media as deviant and criminogenic. Neighbourhoods that are predominantly African are characterised in the mainstream press as 'no-go-zones' and 'hotspots' for youth violence (Windle 2008). Sudanese Australians are viewed as being 'too tall, too dark' to be Australian (Ndhlovu 2011). Moreover, negative media coverage of 'dark-skinned Africans' has generated stereotyped perceptions of all African people (Ndhlovu 2014).

With the foregoing in mind, this chapter interrogates ways in which whiteness in Australia excludes Africans from the 'human essence' (Haslam and Loughnan 2014). Psychologists argue that the social process of excluding others from the human essence is often subtle, 'in contrast to the blatant denials of humanness described by early dehumanization theorists' (Haslam and Loughnan 2014, p. 402). As already pointed out in the previous chapter, psychologists coined the term infrahumanisation to describe this social process. The discussion in this chapter is based on four themes, 'being a refugee', 'personal encounters with racism and vicarious experience of racism', 'racist bullying' and 'denial of racism'.

BEING A REFUGEE

Participants in this research project were of the view that the label refugee is used in mainstream Australian society to Other Africans. For example, Scottie, originally from Sierra Leone, explained that mainstream Australia uses the label refugee to exclude Africans and 'to keep them down'.

Larry, originally from South Sudan, added that the label refugee has been transformed into a 'dangerous weapon' to hurt people:

> It is incomprehensible that someone who has been in the country for ten or twenty years is still called a refugee. That is why I say the word refugee is used to hurt people, it is used like a weapon. It has become a dangerous weapon that people use to fight with.

The quotes from research participants suggest that respondents find the label 'refugee' offensive because they argue that mainstream Australia associates being a refugee with being ignorant and stupid. Charles, originally from the DRC, pointed out that as far as mainstream Australians are concerned, being a refugee means being uneducated:

> That's the belief. If you've been in the refugee camp, people think that you're very slow; your mind is limited. You're stupid, you have to sit down and learn from the beginning. That's how people perceive refugees. It's not true; it's not true information. Just because someone lives in a refugee camp does not mean someone is stupid. No.

Charles' quote above indicates that Africans feel that the label refugee is utilised to portray Africans as unschooled, childlike and as 'essentially broken' people (Hughey 2014). This study theorises the foregoing quotes by linking them to the long-standing Western liberal ideology that is of

the view that Africans are in 'dire need of improvement', and therefore it becomes the duty and the responsibility of whiteness to develop forms of tutelage that could eventually lead Africans into modernity and Western civilisation (Bogues 2005, p. 221). In the logic of John Stuart Mill, until the freed African slaves in the Caribbean colonies embodied 'the trappings of whiteness' (Cunningham 2009), they were not citizens but colonised subjects beholden to the power of whiteness (Bogues 2005).

According to Kevin (originally from Liberia), however, the main reason that the general public has a distorted view of refugees is lack of knowledge about what it means to be a refugee.

> Well, when people hear the word refugee—few people know exactly what that means. Australians think that refugees are people who come to this country to take away opportunities from Australians.

The quote from Kevin implies that the general public is ignorant about what it means to be a refugee, and that if people had access to the 'right knowledge', then they would relate to refugees differently. As far as this study is concerned, ignorance and domination are often ideologically connected, 'as ignorance may be "actively constituted or reproduced as an aspect of power"' (Feenan 2007, cited in Steyn 2012, p. 10). For instance, white ignorance is one of the defining features of every racist socio-discursive order. That is why some white South Africans, for example, could enjoy the benefits of a white supremacist regime—apartheid South Africa, for almost five decades and then after the demise of that white supremacist regime claim that 'they did not know what was happening during apartheid' (Steyn 2012, p. 8). Similarly, citizens of Western nations—countries that benefit from the unethical global political order—are often ignorant of the dialectic relationship that exists between rich and poor nations. The idea of ignorance is a central element of this work, 'a non-knowing, that is not contingent, but in which race—white racism and/or white racial domination and their ramifications—plays a crucial causal role' (Mills 2007, p. 20).

Tony, originally from Ethiopia, one of the participants who works as a taxi driver in Melbourne, pointed out that one of his unofficial job duties is to educate the public about why refugees leave their countries of birth and come to Australia. Tony recounted the following story: 'Well, I meet a lot of people in my line of work. And they always ask me: "why are Africans and other immigrants being smuggled into our country?"'

Tony added that some of his clients showed empathy for people from a refugee background. According to Tony, some of his clients understand the political situation that 'compelled people to leave their countries of birth. They say if refugees and other migrants had a good life in their countries of origin, they wouldn't come to Australia.' However, some of his clients were of the view that refugees 'take away job opportunities and make the country overpopulated'.

The remark about Australia being 'overpopulated' is interesting for various reasons. Research in North America has shown that since whiteness assesses the quality of space by the absence of blacks (DiAngelo 2011), whenever blacks are present in historically white spaces, whites enthusiastically buy into the perception that they are being crowded out, leading to 'white fright' (Myers 2005). Further, thinking of refugees as the cause of overpopulation and as people who take away job opportunities helps justify one's lack of empathy for refugees. Lack of empathy is considered a source of dehumanisation (Haque and Waytz 2012, cited in Leyens 2014).

Participants like Charles argued that white Australians ought to show empathy to refugees and be more understanding towards refugees because, as Charles put it, their forefathers came to Australia as convicts:

> What I do not like is that even after being resettled in Australia they keep referring to us as refugees. Why? Australia was built by convicts. But the offspring of those convicts are not called 'convicted generation'.

Scottie made a similar point:

> Why I'm against the refugee label is that it is used when they are talking about Africans. They don't even call us Africans anymore. They always say 'Oh... from a refugee background.' There are also refugees who come here from Europe and there are refugees who come from Asia, from the Middle East but because they have fair skins, they blend in easily with the majority, you know, the Europeans, so they are not labelled 'refugee background'. But Africans, even if you're not from a refugee background, we are all labelled refugees.

The foregoing quotes suggest that participants feel that the word refugee is often used to communicate to Africans that they do not racially belong in Australia. The quotes imply that participants feel that the use of the label refugee to refer to them implies that they are stateless, lacking citizenship and therefore not fully human (Bogues 2005; Goldberg 1993). This study argues that one of the social functions of the uncommodified blackness

image is to enforce the notion that Africans from a refugee background will forever remain stateless—in other words, perpetual refugees. The perpetual refugee trope dehumanises Africans because it portrays them as illegitimate social Others, as a people with no home and a people who do not belong anywhere. Perceiving Africans in this manner makes it seem that doing so is just to treat them as outsiders, it makes it seem reasonable to deny them economic opportunities and it makes it seem reasonable to view them as social and cultural inferiors.

Personal Encounters with Racism and Vicarious Experiences of Racism

Only three participants among the Australian cohort argued that racism was not a social problem in Australia. The majority of the research participants in this project experienced racism in all spheres of society—in the labour market, in the educational sector and in society as a whole.

Take Lucas's lived experience for instance. Lucas, originally from Ethiopia, was one of the first African refugees to be resettled in New Zealand in 1994, but he immigrated to Australia in 1998 after struggling to find employment for four years in Wellington, New Zealand. According to Lucas, it is not uncommon to be called 'black nigger' by members of the public in Melbourne. Lucas narrated a racist encounter he had recently had with a white man he described as an immigrant from Russia. The white man called Lucas a 'fucking monkey blood'.

Lucas worked as a taxi driver in Melbourne for years before he was able to buy and own his own taxi and, therefore, his line of work has given him a unique opportunity to extensively deal with the members of the public, far and wide. And, Lucas' observations about Australian racism suggest that anti-black racism in Australia is on one level characterised by simianisation of Africans. Although other groups like the Irish and the Japanese have been simianised in the past, historically, Africa and Africans have been the central targets of simianisation (Hund et al. 2015). Whiteness has always regarded black people to be apes 'because they are subhuman, and they were thought to be subhuman because they are apes' (Smith and Panaitiu 2015, p. 96).

Other participants pointed to the subtle nature of racism they have to deal with on a day-to-day basis in Melbourne. Rodman (originally from Somalia), for example, described the subtle and indirect racism Africans are subjected to in Australia as 'the twenty-first-century' version of racism. Rodman further explained that the twenty-first-century version of racism is invisible:

You cannot see it. But when you apply for private accommodation and you meet all the financial and character requirements, you will still struggle to secure private accommodation. No one is going to say to you 'since you are a black African, I will not rent out my property to you.' What will happen though is that when you submit your application, no one will get back to you.

Rodman's definition of the twenty-first-century version of racism suggests that he is referring to what some scholars term 'everyday racism'. As far as this study is concerned, one of the defining features of everyday racism is infrahumanisation—the subtle denial of black personhood. Being treated with subtle rudeness, neglect, callousness and everyday thoughtlessness makes Africans feel like their personhood has been denied or denigrated (Bastian et al. 2014). Another defining feature of everyday racism includes invisibility and deniability (Hill 2008). Consequently, everyday racism is both everywhere and nowhere, consisting largely of silences and the careful failure to notice social interactions that are shaped by the logic of whiteness (Hill 2008).

According to Tim, originally from South Sudan, this kind of racism also manifests itself on public transport, such as the train or the tram:

For example, when you are travelling to work or you are going somewhere to attend to your private affairs, and you sit next to someone on the tram. That person will get up and go stand or sit somewhere else as soon as you sit next to them. And you will remain sitting on that seat all by yourself.

The foregoing quote suggests that Tim feels that some white members of the public avoid sitting next to Africans on public transportation because they view Africans as socially beneath them and because some white members of the public regard Africans as subhuman creatures who one ought to avoid sitting next to on public transportation. Ultimately, Tim's quote implies that he feels that these kinds of interactions on public transportation send a clear message to Africans that they are regarded as inferior and socially immature (Bastian et al. 2014).

Moreover, what comes to mind after reading Tim's quote is Fanon's (1986, p. 109) opening sentence to chapter five of '*Black Skin, White Masks*': '"Dirty nigger!" or simply, "look, a Negro!"' The image of uncommodified blackness has narrative significance for it portrays Africans as 'historically received legends and stories about Negroes tend to portray them'—as causing fear in white people (Gooding-Williams 2006, p. 9).

When asked to reflect on why someone would avoid sitting next to him on public transportation, Tim said:

I don't know, I don't know. This is very common. Look, whether it is racism, or whether it is because they don't know you… On the public transport service you can sit next to anybody… as long as you are not racist to anyone or pose a threat to anyone. But here in Melbourne, some passengers do not want to sit next to a black person. It is really confusing. Because you are a human being like everyone else. I don't know why they do that. It has negatively impacted the community. We are not sure if this has to do with racism or if this is a cultural misunderstanding. But I don't think it is a cultural misunderstanding because in multicultural society, people should be able to share a seat on a public transport. To refuse to share a seat with someone on a public transport comes across as racist to me. And that hinders social networking and the integration of people into society.

At this juncture, it is worth reiterating the point that in his research in North America, Anderson (2011b, p. 6) reports that 'systematic observations on trains show that the anonymous black male is often the last person others will sit next to'. According to Anderson (2011b), black men of all social classes understand that most whites avoid them on public transportation. The quote below from Kenny, also from South Sudan, suggests that the blackness of African males in Australia puts some white people off.

I speak from my experience, and from the experiences of people that I've met. Some people—if I'm walking down the street in a white suburban area, they'll look at me like 'this guy's a gangster and he's a thug.' They'll just judge me without saying a word to me. I've faced that so many times.

According to Pager (2011), black men are routinely associated with criminal activity in the minds of whites. These negative social perceptions of black men have resulted in the 'New Jim Crow' in North America, writes Alexander (2010). The media representation of uncommodified blackness in Australia portrays African males as 'bad' and 'mean' (Fanon 1986). Thus, neighbourhoods that are predominantly African are characterised in the Australian mainstream press as 'no-go-zones' and 'hotspots' for youth violence (Windle 2008).

Kenny recounted an anecdote to make a point that stereotypical media representation of Sudanese men negatively impacted his life. He says one night he was in Melbourne city centre and was making his way home:

Yeah, after midnight. I was going home. I was in the city. And then, all of a sudden, I see this white guy coming towards me, mid-thirties. I was trying to move out of his way, but he blocked me. I tried to go the other way, he

again blocked me. I looked at him and I was like, 'What's up man, what's your problem?' He says to me, 'You think you're a gangster, huh?'

Kenny responded to the man by saying that:

> Yeah. I was like, 'Dude, listen. You don't know me, I don't know you, please just move out of my way and let me go.' And he says, 'what are you gonna do? What are you gonna do? You look like you're a gangster, wearing all these black clothes and stuff, you're a gangster, huh?' And then I told him, 'man, listen. I know what you're looking for right now. But I'm not going to give it to you. You know, you see all these cameras up here, watching. They can't hear what conversation that we're having, but they see the action part of it. So I know what you want to achieve right now. You want me to beat you up, so tomorrow it can be all over the news—a Sudanese man beat this guy up and took his money or whatever for no reason. And you're not gonna get that from me, man.' He looked at me like, 'Is that all?' So we do face that a lot.

The quote above suggests that Kenny is aware that Australian discourse casts African men, Sudanese in particular, as towering seven-feet 'brutes' who symbolise danger and primitiveness. Moreover, the quote above implies that Kenny knows that these anti-black stereotypes are used to justify the racist violence that is intermittently meted out to blacks as part of routine efforts to display the power of whiteness (Leonard 2004). Whites find it easy to scapegoat blacks or to accuse blacks of criminal acts in order to unleash the institutional power of systemic whiteness (Crosset 2007).

It is within this racial climate that racist discourses about Sudanese have resulted in the racial profiling of Africans in Australia. For instance, Scottie pointed out that 'I have seen things like that, where like young Africans have been harassed by the police'. Scottie further adds that if the police see a group of young Africans walking together, they often search them for no reason:

> Yeah, this practice… the police harassing young boys, yeah, young Africans. They were really targeted by the police here for nothing, you know. The police would see Africans walking in a group, and they would immediately want to search them or separate them. For what? Personal interest?

Tim shared a similar story. He says if the police in Melbourne see 'a group of black children sitting together, the police will approach them and search them, looking for any excuse to arrest them'. According to Scottie, this practice has caused a lot of debate in Melbourne. He says, for example, there was a major seminar at Melbourne University on this very topic.

Kevin, who describes himself as a community leader, says that 'one time we had a meeting with the Sunshine Police Department' to discuss some of these issues.

The experiences of participants suggest that the discourse of whiteness portrays the African male as the embodiment of everything that is the opposite of whiteness. Participants' quotes imply that Africans are portrayed as the repository for the Australian fear of crime (Russell 1998). In other words, the experiences of participants suggest that Africans are viewed by the Australian public as being synonymous with crime, deviance and a number of other social problems (Jackson 2006).

Furthermore, Kenny's quote below suggests that institutions, in this case the police, protect white racists who carry out racist violence against Africans.

> But you don't see a black person complaining about a white person beating them up—nah, you don't hear that shit. I know what's going on around here. A lot of young black Africans get beat up by the police. And a black person's word against the police in the courts? Come on man, you will never win. My friends' younger brother, he got beat up by the police and they killed him. They broke his ribs and he couldn't breathe. His rib punctured his lungs, and the kid was killed. And the next day they went to his parents' house and they said the kid committed suicide—fell from six floors up. No, the kid didn't commit suicide! If he fell from six floors up, he would have broken a lot of bones in his body. It wasn't like that. The ribs were broken. And what happened to the police? Nothing.

What the quote from Kenny implies is that armed with pistols, tasers, pepper spray, batons, handcuffs and white privilege to boot, racist police brutalise Africans with impunity. This study theorises the foregoing by arguing that, since the image of uncommodified blackness is synonymous with crime and deviance, white racists conclude that Africans deserve to be subjected to police surveillance, racial profiling, harassment and sometimes police brutality (Mensah and Firang 2010). In other words, the infrahumanisation of Africans in the Australian media makes it morally acceptable to treat Africans harshly.

Racist Bullying

Racism in the form of racist taunts, racist harassment and racist bullying is widespread in Australian schools. Although different researchers employ a variety of research methods in investigating bullying at schools, 'the reality of assessing a complex, underground behavior involving multiple participants

and influenced by multiple factors is that there may be no single "gold standard" for accuracy' (Hymel and Swearer 2015, p. 294). Therefore, researchers investigate bullying through parents, teachers and peer reports, as well as direct observations, 'but most rely on self-report assessments, despite concerns about biases related to social desirability, self-presentation, and/or fear of retaliation' (Hymel and Swearer 2015, p. 294). This study investigates the matter largely via parents, based on their lived experience and their interaction with the schools that their children attend.

Kenny is the only participant who had first-hand experience of racist harassment in Australian schools as he was a teenager when he first arrived in Australia in 2003. According to Kenny, he experienced 'a lot of racism' in high school:

> There was a lot of racism. There was a lot of … I mean, all the negative stuff. But that's how they work, you know? Because they just didn't know where we were coming from, they didn't have any knowledge of who Sudanese people are, or who these black people are.

When asked to give an example of a negative school experience, Kenny pointed out that:

> Negative experiences, man. I faced that every day in life. Back then at school… an example is, if another black kid got into trouble—there was only a few black people in the school, right… They don't accuse anybody else, just you, you know—you're the black kid, you probably did that.

The foregoing quote implies that African students in Australian schools are stereotyped as deviant and criminogenic. This book traces these racist sentiments about Africans to the long-standing dehumanising ideology that associates Africans everywhere with being crafty, thievish, treacherous and thuggish. The same dehumanising discourse enables whiteness to view African children 'as more adult, less innocent, and more deserving of harsh treatment than white children of the same age' (Smith and Panaitiu 2015, p. 92).

Two participants in this study blamed the former Australian Immigration minister, Kevin Andrews, for the misperception that African children are problematic and therefore deserve harsh treatment. As already pointed out in the previous chapters, Kevin Andrews remarked in 2007 that African refugees were difficult to 'integrate' into Australian society. According to Steph, a former community leader and originally from South Sudan, the comments by Andrews had a negative impact on the school experiences of black children. Steph explained that after Andrews made the comment

about Africans, some teachers used that as an excuse to treat black children differently. Steph argued that some teachers interpreted Andrews' comments to mean that Africans of all ages and from every walk of life are a difficult people to deal with.

Tim talked about the widespread bullying that African children are subjected to at Australian schools. According to Tim, African children 'get bullied too much, too much'. Tim further pointed out that teachers and other children at school portray African kids as being violent:

> For example, if a black kid has a disagreement with a white kid, a teacher will side with the white kid. Some teachers even say 'black African children are violent.' It does not matter if a white kid said something bad to the black kid. Teachers do not even bother investigating conflicts, they just assume black kids are a problem.

Tim's analysis of the situation seems to be consistent with the theoretical view that the dehumanisation of Africans in the West goes hand in hand with their demonisation. In other words, although whiteness regards uncommodified blackness as primitive and inferior, it, simultaneously, views it as powerful, violent and threatening. This discursive standpoint allows whiteness to rationalise its unstated permissive culture of racist harassment and racist bullying of African children in Australian schools. It is against this backdrop that, according to participants, some schools do not treat complaints about racism seriously. For instance, Tim argued that when African parents approach schools to get an explanation for a racist incident, 'we are told we are the ones who are bad'.

At this juncture, it is worth noting that three research participants in this study saw bullying as 'part of growing up'. For instance, according to Austin, 'even in Africa there is bullying. The difference is that in Africa it is not discussed openly. And there is no legislation against bullying in Africa.' Larry attributed bullying to 'misunderstanding and lack of respect'.

The quotes from Larry, originally from South Sudan and Austin (originally from the DRC), seem to suggest that racist bullying is an unimportant issue. As far as this study is concerned, both Larry and Austin seem to miss the larger point that racist bullying in Australia forms part of the hidden curriculum at Australian schools. The notion of a hidden curriculum refers to the discursive values and norms that shape school knowledge and the overall educational experience. In Australia, the hidden curriculum revolves around the celebration of whiteness. Therefore, since uncommodified blackness is

conceptualised as being the antithesis of whiteness, it is thus regarded as deserving of being harassed and terrorised by other children. For African students to thrive in such an environment requires them to constantly adjust in order to accommodate whiteness and racist bullies. It is an educational experience that aims to socialise African children to accept the white lie that they are unlikeable and less human and therefore deserve to be treated with contempt and ridicule.

Denial of Racism

At certain points of their narratives about their lived experiences, four participants in this study appeared to subscribe to what this book refers to as 'the denial of racism discourse' to either rationalise or downplay acts of racism. For example, Charles argued that it is neither a matter of prejudice nor racism when white Australians avoid sitting next to a black person on public transport:

> But some of my friends seem to think when a person avoids sitting next to them on the train that means the other person is being racist. I personally do not think that is racism. I'm not sure how to make sense of it though. I still need to research it so that I can understand the source of problem. But as far as I am concerned, it is not racism. If someone verbally attacks me or refuses to serve me because I'm black, then that would be racist. In such a situation, there will be proof to show that such a behaviour is racist. But if you stand up and walk away the minute I sit next to you on public transport, I do not think that is racism.

It is striking how Charles' argument seem to echo the widespread white discourse that requires racism to be defined in a way that white people can see and understand before it may be granted validity (DiAngelo 2011). The way in which this discourse is often employed by mainstream society is by accusing people of colour who object to being subjected to subtle forms of racism of misinterpreting the incidents and then compelling them to 'accept the perpetrator's statement: "race had nothing to do with it"' (Sue 2010, p. 74).

As far as this study is concerned, some Africans subscribe to the denial of racism discourse because, among other things, it makes mistreatment relatively easier to bear (Bastian et al. 2014). Rather than give up the illusion that the world is a fair and a just place where black people are treated with dignity, and are attributed full human qualities, it is easier

to minimise the pain of racism and its demeaning impact by choosing to either not to see racism or to misinterpret it for something else benign like misunderstanding (Ruggiero and Taylor 1997; Sue 2010).

Research also shows that some blacks excuse whites' racism by blaming the racist behaviour of whites on alcohol (Feagin 2010). The quote below from Tony seems to be consistent with this viewpoint. Talking about racist white clients that Tony sometimes drives around Melbourne in his taxi, he pointed out that:

> They often say things like, 'you black cunt, go back to wherever you came from.' If the guy saying that is drunk, there is nothing you can do about that. You are supposed to leave him alone. You are just meant to focus on your work. Actually, if people are drunk and verbally attack me and call me names, I try not to make a problem out of the situation.

This study further theorises the quote above by framing it around the perspective that argues that part of being tolerant of the 'error' of racism requires blacks to work hard at not killing the joy of white people by crying racism (Ahmed 2008; Essed 1991). Thus, in the quote above, Tony seems to suggest that alcohol is the problem, and not the racist behaviour.

It is worth pointing out that two research participants in this study questioned the notion that Africans in Australia experience high unemployment rate and are under-employed due to racism. For instance, Larry pointed out that:

> Well, people think that they can't get jobs because of racism. But people need to look at themselves honestly to understand why they can't find jobs. They must ask employers for feedback when their job applications are not successful. Based on the feedback they receive from employers, they must make efforts to improve on whatever weaknesses they may have.

Larry's quote above implies that Africans are partly to blame for the high unemployment rate among Africans. Meanwhile, research shows that the reasons for the high levels of unemployment among Africans in Australia vary. For instance, some studies (see: Correa-Velez and Onsando 2009; Hebbani and Colic-Peisker 2012; Kifle and Kler 2008) report that Africans from a refugee background in Australia experience high levels of unemployment due to barriers such as language, accent and discrimination. Other studies (see: Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; Torezani et al. 2008) argue

that Africans cannot access employment in Australia because Australian employers insist on a 'cultural fit' for an individual to be considered employable. Be that as it may, Larry's quote above seems to suggest that human beings who do not measure up to the cultural and social expectations of Australian employers do not deserve opportunities and our moral concern.

Steph is another participant who questioned the idea that Africans experience high rates of unemployment in Australia. He pointed out that 'apart from uneducated refugees, economic African migrants who have education qualifications have no problems finding work in Australia'. Steph added that:

> Educated migrants easily adjust to Australia and find work relatively easy. I'm talking about doctors and engineers. But because refugees are uneducated and come to Australia in large numbers, they struggle to find employment. The problem has nothing to do with being African per se.

Research, however, shows that skilled African migrants in Australia experience a different kind of infrahumanisation. For example, in their article, *Negotiating Diasporic Black African Existence in Australia: A Reflexive Analysis*, Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo (2013) recount their lived experience in Australia. Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo (2013, p. 68) describe themselves as 'migrant academics' who have not openly experienced the 'structural racism in the labour market that other black African migrants (may) have'. However, they point out that their lived experience in Australia is characterised by being Othered (Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo 2013). In other words, despite their professional credentials, in Australia, they are subject to the '"white gaze", with all of its prejudicial embodiments and connotations' (Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo 2013, p. 69).

The point that this study wants to make is that it is true that factors such as class and education have the potential to minimise, but not eradicate, the impact of racist dehumanisation. Whiteness regards Africans everywhere and from all walks of life as a people who have no capacity to contribute to the progress of modernity (Sebastiani 2015). The long-standing white civilising discourse is based on this discursive viewpoint, and this racist discourse cultivates a social climate in which no amount of education or public acclaim exempt highly educated Africans from the burdens that come from being black in the Western world (Jackson 2015).

CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted fours themes with which whiteness uses to infra-humanise Africans in Australia. The racist infrahumanisation of Africans is not only confirmed by the empirical evidence explored in this chapter, but the academic literature on Africans residing in Australia supports the findings of this chapter (see: Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007; Fozdar and Torezani 2008; Hatoss 2012; Losoncz 2013; Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo 2013; Mergia 2005; Oliver 2012; Phillips 2013; Tilbury and Colic-Peisker 2006).

The theoretical concept of the uncommodified blackness as well as the racist history of Australia predicts the racist infrahumanisation of Africans. The uncommodified blackness theory predicts that the dark complexion of Africans which whiteness interprets as a marker of savagery (Affeldt 2015), and the long-standing trope that associates the African continent with the wilderness and inferior humanity, is used in Western countries, in subtle and sometimes blatant ways, to discursively cast aspersions on Africans as a people who transgress the boundaries of the human (Sebastiani 2015).

In such a racial climate, Africans are then portrayed as threatening to liberal values and to Western democracy (Garner 2015). It is this discourse that emboldened Kevin Andrews, the former Immigration Minister, to question the ability of some African migrants to 'integrate' into Australia in 2007. Similarly, this discursive climate has enabled the Australian mainstream media to represent Africans as a people who are prone to undemocratic behaviour and, consequently, are struggling to fit in Australia (see: Ndhlovu 2014).

Ultimately, the lived experience of participants suggests that the social consequences of such a discursive racial environment are that Africans in Australia are infrahumanised through a racist discourse that portrays Africans as threatening, dirty and disturbing and therefore have to be avoided on public transportation or controlled by the authorities. Furthermore, this dehumanising discourse cast African males, in particular, as being overly physical and out of control, prone to violence, unruly and inherently dangerous and therefore 'in need of civilizing' (Ferber 2007, cited in Leonard 2012, p. 12).

The Whiteness Regimes of Multiculturalism in Australia

Abstract This chapter continues with the analyses of the Australian data. The discussion in this chapter is structured around four themes, namely, 'African masculinity', 'neighbourhood life', 'employment and workplace issues' and 'being Australian'. The discussion is framed around the critique of multiculturalism and thus argues that Australia's multiculturalism is a liberal tool that ultimate serves to preserve white normativity (Ward 2008). It argues that the analysis of data suggests that Australia's multiculturalism encourages those who are considered white to live in a racial fantasyland shaped by white mythologies of 'mateship' and 'fair go' and invented Africans (Mills 1997)—also known as uncommodified blackness. The invented Africans are then presented to the public by the authorities (the likes of Kevin Andrews) as failures at integration.

Keywords Multiculturalism • Mateship • Alienation • Ubuntu • Liberalism • African masculinity

It has been argued that ever since Australia adopted multicultural policies in the 1970s, it has become a 'more pluralistic and richly diverse' society (Galligan et al. 2014, p. 1). According to Galligan et al. (2014), Australia's multiculturalism is guided by the principles of tolerance for individual differences, respect for women and the rule of law and the subscription to liberal democratic values. Critics of multiculturalism (see: Hage 1998) are of

the view that white racists and white multiculturalists share a conception of the Australian nation structured around whiteness. In such a state of affairs, Indigenous peoples and other people of colour become mere objects to be moved or removed according to a white national will (Hage 1998).

Ndhlovu (2014) writes that the policy of multiculturalism in Australia has outlasted its usefulness and now exists as a shadow of its former self. Galligan et al. (2014) point out however that they regard Australian multi-culturalism as a 'noble lie' rather than a clever swindle. They argue that the noble lie of multiculturalism has helped to 'integrate' migrants and refu-gees into the Australian society (Galligan et al. 2014). It is within this cli-mate of 'noble lies' that mainstream Australia defines the country's national identity by referencing multiculturalism and diversity (Moran 2011). For instance, in their research, Lentini, Halafoff and Ogru (2009, cited in Moran 2011, p. 2162) found that participants regarded multiculturalism as the '"major factor for making Australia a very tolerant society", and felt that "multiculturalism helped transform 'Australianness' into a distinctive Australian identity, and that it is a significant component of contemporary Australian identity"'.

Mainstream Australia is of the view that the country is characterised by qualities such as 'a fair go', 'giving it a go' and a 'laid-back' attitude—essen-tially a relaxed and easy-going approach to life where enthusiasm is married with a sense of fairness and justice (Phillips and Smith 2000). Moran's (2011) research participants echoed these sentiments and further added 'mateship' as one of the defining features of social community in Australia.

This book argues that the discourse of mateship was originally concep-tualised around whiteness and has evolved to include assimilated or 'inte-grated' Others. The twenty-first-century notion of mateship is a discourse that views society as consisting of culturally different individuals who are unaffected by history, societal institutions and the discourses that bind societal institutions. In other words, the discourse of mateship does not disrupt white normativity. Rather, mateship often functions as a kind of colour-blindness, an inability to think critically about whiteness and white privilege (DiAngelo 2011).

This inability to think critically about whiteness in Australia helps main-tain the view that Westerners have better cultural traditions, customs and family values than Africans (Feagin and O'Brien 2004). In other words, the inability to think critically about whiteness facilitates the maintenance of the Western discourse of white cultural and value superiority (Feagin and O'Brien 2004). Through this Western discourse, African traditions and

customs are misrepresented as primitive and unmodern. Consequently, liberal whiteness then argues that for Africans to 'integrate' into Australian society, the African way of life has to be 'fixed'.

The discussion in this chapter accentuates ways in which whiteness in Australia morally disengages from Africans, an attitude that enables mainstream whiteness to regard Africans as inferior people whose perspective and cultural practices are illegitimate and illiberal. The chapter is structured around four themes, namely, 'African masculinity', 'neighbourhood life', 'employment and workplace issues' and 'being Australian'.

Neighbourhood Life

Most of the research participants in this study found neighbourhood life in Australia unfriendly, unwelcoming and alienating. Alienation happens when an individual's immediate society comes to seem remote, impersonal, hostile, discriminatory and exclusionary (Nisbet 1962).

For instance, Charles pointed out he finds it difficult to get along with his neighbours due to their different social values:

> Neighbourhood life is a problem. Australians are not interested in getting to know their neighbours. They don't care who you are. Sometimes a neighbour will greet you. But people generally keep to themselves—you mind your own business, they mind their own business. Sometimes you can be lucky and have a good neighbour who takes an interest in you. In my case, I have been unfortunate because I have a neighbour I never see. But I get phone calls from the city council saying that my neighbours are complaining about my friends who have parked their cars in their parking spaces. Why can't the neighbours call me and talk to me about this issue? There is no good relationship. It's not like back home… There is no… some neighbours are friendly, and some of them are not.

Charles' quote suggests that what shapes the thinking of his neighbours is the white discourse that confuses democratic values with the notion that champions individualism at the expense of collectivism (Macpherson 1962). Western liberalism constructs a false dichotomy that presents the notions of individualism and collectivism as the opposite ends of a social scale (Macpherson 1962). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that individual rights in the West have historically been translated to mean 'white people's rights'. Africans have generally been excluded from equal status in liberal thought and have been viewed as 'subpersons'

rather than full persons, thereby justifying their dehumanisation and oppression in the various racialised socio-political structures such as African slavery and African colonisation (Pateman and Mills 2007).

Austin is another participant who struggled with individualism in Australia. For instance, he characterised Australia as being 'very individualistic':

> Australians believe in the saying 'mind your business.' The duty of care is there, but it's not expressed in the same way as in Africa. Australians are concerned about their own issues. With regards to neighbourhood life, yes, you may live in an area for ten years without ever getting to know your neighbour. Neighbours greet each other on the streets. In contrast, in Africa when somebody moves in in your neighbourhood, it's your responsibility to make that person feel welcome.

At this juncture, it is worth contextualising the quotes from participants by referencing the colonial history of Australia. When the British settlers claimed sovereignty over Australia, they rationalised the colonisation process through John Locke's philosophy (Short 2003). Macpherson (1962, p. 231) writes that the core of Locke's individualism is the contention that every person is naturally the sole proprietor of his or her own person and capacities—'the absolute proprietor in the sense that he owes nothing to society'. Naturally, this contradicts traditional African ethics of Ubuntu, which the foregoing quotes from participants gestured towards. According to Kwamwangamalu (1999, cited Muyingi 2013, p. 564), Ubuntu is a philosophy that advocates a community-based mindset 'in which the welfare of the group is greater than the welfare of a single individual in the group'.

It is against this backdrop that participants like Tony argued that there is 'no culture anywhere' in Australia; rather, Australians have a 'way of life'. Tony adds that he bases his observation on the fact that he has lived in different African countries with different cultural values to his own but found it relatively easy to adapt to those African societies in comparison with his Australian experience. Tony's opinions about Australia seem to raise questions about the suitability of the liberal individualistic prescription in relation to Africans, and he seems to suggest that liberalism needs supplementing (Van Dyke 1977).

Scottie echoed Tony's observation.

> The culture that we have back home is the communal. Over there it's a communion, it's the community; over here it's a society. There it's communion because we care for each other, you can knock at a neighbour's door in the

middle of the night… so there's a communion there, a community over there and it's that communion, it's that community that is missing when you come here which is more of a society here, here it's more of a society, it's an individual thing, nobody cares for one another.

Scottie's quote is consistent with the long-standing left-leaning political criticism that argues that modernity has weakened the sense of the established social community in the West and has replaced it with 'a kind of suburban horde' (Nisbet 1962, p. xv). Larry suggested that if Africans want to maintain their sense of community in such a social climate, then the solution lies in encouraging African communities in Australia to celebrate and embrace their African heritage.

So the sense of community, and the communal way of doing things no longer exists in Australia. But the question is: 'how can we really fit in in this country without losing our cultural values?' We could celebrate Africa Day, Sudanese Day. We could make sure that we preserve our native languages by coming together as a community and forming African organisations that serve our cultural needs.

What the above quote does not address, however, is the racial dynamic of the social situation. The white discourse explains the legitimacy of the authority of society over the individual by referencing the philosophical notion of the social contract, which historically did not include Africans and other people of colour who were generally seen as savages and barbarians by Westerners (Pateman and Mills 2007). This history and Eurocentric philosophy allow whiteness to undermine the legitimacy of the cultural needs and perspectives of Africans in Australia. One of the discursive strategies that is often used to carry this out is by constructing the image of uncommodified blackness as being unsuited to the Western way of life and therefore unable to 'integrate' into Australia.

It is worth noting that one participant in this study reported that he has a good, neighbourly relationship with his white Australian neighbours. Scottie explained that he has a good relationship with his neighbours:

I link up with my neighbours very well, I'm very friendly… No, I get along very well with my neighbours. They are European, white people… but … we have a good connection and we greet each other…. So yea…we get along very well. …When they have events or a party going on, they put an invitation in my letterbox. If I have something coming up myself, I'll put an

invitation in their letterbox, and if they are not going to make it, you know, they can give me a call or drop a reply saying they can't make it, yeah... I live well with my neighbourhood.

In the quote above, Scottie describes his relationship with his neighbours as being characterised by friendliness. Scottie further pointed out that in his current neighbourhood he has not experienced racism or discrimination. Scottie's experience at a neighbourhood level suggests that his neighbours treat him as their equal and with dignity. It should be noted however that Scottie's experience is different to most of the participants' experiences in this study.

In the main, the neighbourhood experience of participants was characterised by indifference, alienation and sometimes hostility. This study theorises the experiences of participants by pointing out that, among other things, the discourse of mateship and the rhetoric about multiculturalism serve to manufacture the illusion of a post-white Australia policy and thus hide the normative whiteness that shape the everyday life in Australia.

Employment and Workplace Issues

Western societal institutions often use factors such as nationality, English proficiency, race and immigration status to rationalise social inequalities, as well as to force migrants to work 'in society's dirtiest, hardest, and most dangerous jobs' (Chomsky 2014, p. 25). The way in which this impacts on Africans is that employers deploy statistical discrimination about Africans from a refugee background, through asserting that they might be uneducated or that they do not speak 'good English', and then based on these assumptions, make hiring decisions without reviewing the credentials of an individual applicant (Wilson 2011).

Tim recounted how statistical discrimination has negatively impacted his chances of accessing a high-paying, good job in Australia. Although Tim has a university degree, he is of the view that the only jobs that are easily accessible to him are manual labour jobs:

As a black person I can get a job working at a meat factory or some other physical job. If I were not black I would be able to get a big job in a different industry. There are many black people with university degrees who are unemployed in Australia.

The foregoing suggests that in a social environment where Africans are infrahumanised and are viewed through the dehumanising ideological lens of uncommodified blackness, it follows that societal institutions will reserve menial jobs for Africans. The dehumanising ideology of uncommodified blackness leads Westerners to offer less help to Africans and generally, to prefer white job applicants to black ones for professional jobs (Kahn et al. 2015).

Steph, who graduated with a BA degree from La Trobe University, says that after he graduated, he could not find employment in his field. So, since he has responsibilities, 'I had to take any job I could find. So I got a job at a hotel.'

It is worth noting that Steph arrived in Australia in 2003, whereas Tim arrived in 2005. They are not newly arrived migrants. This study argues that Steph's and Tim's experience also suggest that whites in Western countries hoard economic opportunities in order to not only exclude 'outsiders' but also protect themselves from market competition (DiTomaso 2013). Given the unpredictable global economy, whites find ways to protect themselves against the increasing volatility of the economy. One of the ways in which whites protect themselves is by favouring each other in the labour market, 'and the net result is the perpetuation of white privilege in an environment of racial liberalism' (DiTomaso 2013, p. 8).

Participants further pointed to the 'old boys' network' as one of the tools used to filter out African job applicants from the hiring process. According to Kenny, the way it works in Australia is you have to know 'the right people':

> And sometimes even if you have a degree or a diploma, without knowing the right people, forget it! You got to know the right people to get a job. Being an African or coming from a third world country, people don't trust you like that with their jobs, they don't give you jobs like that, unless they do know you or they've heard something good about you.

Kenny's observation is consisted with this study's theoretical view that high-paying, good jobs in Western countries are often accessible via white social networks. In Western countries, whites are generally surrounded by and are included within white networks with well-placed contacts who can provide significant assistance with relatively little effort (Royster and Steinberg 2003). On the other hand, the social networks of Africans largely

consist of others who do not have much influence or power. This means that when participants search for employment they rely on contacts who are not well-placed in socio-economic institutions in Australia. Participants in this research project understand that their social networks partly contribute to their unsuccessful efforts to access high-paying, good jobs in Australia.

However, two participants in this study blamed Africans for their own precarious economic situation. For instance, according to Kevin, Africans struggle to find employment because they are uneducated:

> They don't want to go to school, because they rely on the money they get from Centrelink when they turn sixteen years old. So they get used to the benefit money. When they turn eighteen, they become factory workers. Factory work leaves them with very little time and energy to pursue education.

The Centrelink that Kevin references in the quote above is the 'Commonwealth agency responsible for the administration and provision of income support payments' (Victoria Youth Protocol 2003). Kevin's analysis of the situation that Africans find themselves in Australia suggests that the country's societal and economic institutions do not function in such a way as to consistently produce racial disparities between whites and people of colour as far as wealth, education and opportunities are concerned. This study argues that Western societies have gatekeepers who control valued access to opportunities (Rivera 2015) based on the dominant discourse that views whites and other Westerners as more deserving of opportunities and support than Africans. Whites in Australia occupy position of power and generally are gatekeepers who control access to opportunities. Australia's history and this study's theory predict that white gatekeeper will generally perceive whites and white students as more intelligent and more motivated than Africans, and thus whites will receive favourable treatment at schools and in the job market (Rivera 2015). The foregoing theoretical analysis partly explains the marginalisation of Africans in the Australian economy.

Larry is another research participant who viewed the poor economic situation of Africans in Australia as being largely due to Africans lacking work experience and employment credentials. According to Larry, 'if you do not have the work experience, employers will not hire you. If you have the experience, employers will hire you straight away.'

Larry's observation seems to discount evidence (see: Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; Correa-Velez and Onsando 2009; Hebbani and Colic-Peisker 2012; Kifle and Kler 2008; Torezani et al. 2008) that shows that,

in Australia, the rates of social mobility are often low for immigrants, and even lower for Africans from a refugee background. This study theorises the low rates of social mobility for Africans in Australia by pointing out that powerful economic and social positions in Western countries are largely inherited and not achieved through effort and strong character (Rivera 2015). Through white privilege and via the white discourse that regard whites as more deserving of support and opportunities, whites generally inherit empowering and high-paying jobs in Western countries. On the other hand, through the dehumanising ideology of uncommodified blackness, Africans are inferiorised and are portrayed as less capable and incompetent even when they are university educated, and therefore seen as suited for menial jobs such as working at meat factories or as waiters at hotels.

African Masculinity

Some research participants in this study voiced unhappiness with the male gender roles available to them in Australia. For instance, as far as Rodman is concerned, the source of the problem is what he perceives to be a gender role reversal between men and women in Australia. He pointed out that in Africa 'the man is the head of the family. But, in Australia, the man is not the head of the family.' The consequences according to Rodman are that:

> The wives want to tell men what to do. They say you have to do this and that … blah, blah. And that is difficult for African men to deal with because we do not know how to cook. It's true I can make coffee or tea, but nothing else.

Austin agreed with Rodman's analysis and further argued that the Australian system 'is the opposite of African culture. Because in Africa, the man is the head of the family. In Australia, the woman is seen as the head of the family.'

The quotes from Austin and Rodman imply that patriarchy is unique in African societies. However, a feminist analysis of Western countries shows that men in Western countries are 'fed daily a fantasy diet of male' power (hooks 2000, p. 121). Furthermore, men, particularly white men, in Western countries exert power over others through the control of public societal institutions. On the other hand, the private sphere is largely dominated by women and mothers in Western countries. And, in cases

where women work professionally, women are often cast as being 'naturally inclined to care work' in Western capitalist economies (Toffanin 2011). Moreover, under the Western capitalist system, women are generally associated with lower productivity, 'mainly due to the reproductive cycle' (Toffanin 2011). The aforementioned socio-economic factors largely shape the gender dynamics in Western societies.

Since African men in Western countries have limited access to public societal institutions, the participants in this study seem to regard the private sphere as a place in which they should have complete dominance. Therefore, participants blamed Australian societal institutions like Centrelink for undermining their positions at home. According to Austin, social institutions like Centrelink recognise women as 'the leader of the family':

> Centrelink recognise women as the head of the family. They make women responsible for family finances. As a result, some women abuse their positions, and that is the source of the problem. Because some women tell their men 'I'm the one. My word is law.' And that is causing a lot of marital problems for African families.

Austin's quote above suggests that in families where financial resources are chronically strained, family conflicts about who in the family should have power and control over the government financial assistance can have serious, far-reaching consequences (Lareau 2011). Additionally, the quote from Austin implies that socio-economic factors like under-employment and low social class status further distort the source of resentment that some participants seem to have for African women in Australia.

Masculinity theory points out that paid work is an important site of masculinity construction because, among other things, it allows men to fulfil what they perceive to be their patriarchal duty—'the man as breadwinner' responsibility (Dowd et al. 2012). The quotes from research participants suggest that they feel societal institutions like Centrelink undermine their patriarchal duty because as far they are concerned, Centrelink empowers women to take over the role of the breadwinner. Consequently, participants feel that they are put in a social situation where masculine behaviour is unachievable for them and thus participants feel that their masculinities are challenged and threatened by both African women and Centrelink (Cooper 2016).

To boost their masculine self-esteem (Cooper 2016), participants blamed African women for their lack of patriarchal power in Australia. By scapegoating African women for their masculine anxieties, participants do not have to deal with the social reality that in Australia, 'the normative man is not only appropriately masculine, he is also white' (Carbado 2012, p. 53). Masculinity theory predicts that race sometimes trumps the patriarchal dividend (Dowd 2010, cited in Dowd et al. 2012).

Instead of grappling with some of the foregoing social factors, participants like Steph chose to reference African culture in their explanation of how the gender dynamics between African men and women have changed in Australia. According to Steph, African women in Australia misunderstand the difference 'between family responsibilities and women's rights':

> In African culture, men and women play different roles in a family. In Australia, there is no strong family structure. So when refugees are resettled in this country, they are briefed on Australian culture. But everybody is only interested in their individual rights and not their responsibilities. That causes problems.

It is important to historicise the traditional African gender dynamics that research participants continually reference when rationalising their positions. African feminists argue that the struggle to overcome gender hierarchy has a long and rich tradition in African societies (Mikell 1997). For instance, the anti-colonial struggle provided an opportunity for African women to become political and thus to make demands on the state and society as a whole for the full inclusion of women in society as autonomous subjects (Mcfadden 2005). According to Mcfadden (2005), the engagement of women with African and European patriarchies during the struggle for independence is widely reflected in the history of Africa.

Granted, the fact that the struggle for women's rights in Africa rose alongside nationalist movements meant that African women had to fight a 'two-pronged struggle' (Chadya 2003). This is because for the most part, the anti-colonial struggle overshadowed the feminist struggle because women were encouraged to concentrate on nationalist goals first (Chadya 2003). However, this is not unique to Africa. The nation-building process has often identified the needs of the nation with the needs and aspiration of men (McClintock 1991). In every nation state, women have been traditionally cast as the '"bearers of the nation", its boundary and symbolic limit, but lack a nationality of their own' (McClintock 1991, p. 105).

Hence in his exploration of the founders of the Australian nation, La Nauze (1968) identifies male politicians only. In an article entitled 'Who are the fathers?', La Nauze (1968, p. 334) wrote that:

> I am concerned to identify the Fathers of the Constitution… The Referenda of 1898 and 1899 were Yes-No choices, and the final choice for Yes left the Australian people holding a baby. Who the Mother was, and whether we are investigating a case of affiliation or polyandry, I leave to political sociologists to determine.

In 2010, Baird wrote an article highlighting the trajectory of female politicians in Australia. According to Baird (2010), ever since the first woman was elected to Australian parliament in 1919, political women in Australia have been encouraged to debate, defend or dodge the question of their gender, depending on the electoral environment and their political parties.

The point in highlighting the foregoing history is to show that one of the defining features of every society in the world is patriarchy. Obviously different societies differ in their patriarchies in degrees and in how those patriarchies manifest themselves. In Western countries, men express their hegemonic masculinities by dominating the public sphere. African men have limited access to the public sphere in Western countries. The lived experience of participants suggests that they struggle with masculine angst over their lack of patriarchal power in Australia.

Patriarchal power in Western countries is reserved for able-bodied white males. In Western countries, white masculinity is privileged and powerful. Patriarchal power in Western countries encourages white men to feel entitled to prestige, wealth, power, fast cars, wealth and sexual access to women. On the other hand, the public narrative about African men in Western countries revolves around infrahumanising stereotypes, namely, that black men are generally incompetent, uneducated, lack leadership qualities, innately incapacitated and violent (Jackson 2006).

Being Australian

Participants in this project struggled with the notion of being Australian. The following quote from Rodman captures the tension that participants struggled with when trying to develop an Australian identity: although Rodman loves Australia and he sees Australia as his home, 'the other people don't see me as an Australian'. According to Rodman:

> When they see a black man like myself, they ask 'where are you from?' I'm not going to change my skin colour. I'm proud to be black, I'm proud to be African. I'm Australian also. I'm an Australian citizen.

Rodman's quote implies that the question 'where are you from' is used as a 'distancing device' (Phillips 1998) to map out racial boundaries and to mark the unfamiliar in the imaginary geography of whiteness. The colonial history of Australia shows that whiteness has always imagined the country as a geographically white space. Black bodies become hypervisible in spaces that are historically considered to be white spaces. Thus, in Australian parlance, Africans are referred to as 'visible migrants' (see: Baak 2011; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007; Dhanji 2010; Oliver 2012).

Africans are visible migrants because in the public imagination whiteness is constituted as the integumentary social system that holds together white bodies and casts those white bodies as familiar (Yancy 2014). In such a geographical space, the presence of uncommodified blackness becomes a puzzling phenomenon that from time to time is called upon to explain itself and justify its presence. It is important to note that when the question 'where are you from' is posed, uncommodified blackness is not being asked to speak its mind but rather is being summoned to appear in front of whiteness (Duncan 1998), which is to say to present itself as the happy and smiling Other, grateful for the supposed generosity of whiteness, and is generally expected to make whiteness feel good about itself (Bunjun 2014; Duncan 1998).

The question 'where are you from?' or 'where were you born?' is also posed to Africans who were born in Australia. Take Rodman's children, for example. Rodman's children were born in Australia, yet they are constantly asked 'Where are you from? Where were you born?'

> My children respond by saying we are Australians. When people ask 'where are you from', it means they are saying 'Australia is not your home'. My children tell me 'daddy, everybody asks us where are we from.' They always respond by saying 'we are Australians', because they were born here.

To reiterate, as far as this study is concerned, the questions 'where are you from'? or 'where were you born' are meant to communicate the view that Rodman and his children are 'not one of "us" but one of "them"' (Lippi-Green 2011, p. 288). These kinds of questions are distancing devices used to create a social distance, and in turn social distance facilitates lack of empathy, which sustains a climate where the infrahumanisation of Africans is ordinary.

It is within this discursive climate that some research participants in this study defined being Australian in terms of citizenship. For example, when asked if he considered himself an Australian, Tim responded 'yeah, because I am an Australian citizen'. By foregrounding his legal immigration status—Australian citizenship—Tim appears to want to disrupt the dominant white citizenship discourse that shapes the nation-building process in mainstream Australia by bringing attention to the discursive sociality that is produced by being a naturalised Australian citizen in the twenty-first-century Australia.

However, according to Kevin, mainstream Australian institutions will always view him as an outsider irrespective of whether or not he is a naturalised Australian citizen.

> I will always be African. Because, when police walk past my shop and they see me and they ask, 'who is the owner of the shop?' I say, 'Me.' They say, 'Oh, it's an African shop.' You know what I'm saying? I will always be identified as African, whether I am a citizen or not. At the end of the day, yes, we accept Australian citizenship, we respect the citizenship, we love Australian citizenship, but I will always be African—no matter what.

Kevin's quote suggests that he personally struggles with mainstream society's refusal to include Africans in the conceptualisation of what it means to be Australian. The Australian mainstream discourse centres on the indexical capacity of racialised visibility to determine who is Australian and who is not (Fikes 2009).

Some research participants gestured towards the notion of diaspora consciousness in their talk about home, belonging and Australia. For instance, Tony, who had been living in Australia for eight years at the time of the interview in 2014, said that:

> Eight years is a long time... some people who have lived in Australia as long as I have consider themselves Australians. But I don't see myself as an Australian. I have my own culture. So as long as I have my own culture, I can't say I'm an Australian.

The foregoing quote appears to reflect the participant's diaspora consciousness in the sense that it gestures towards a cultural, national and transnational intersections (Zeleza 2009). In other words, although Tony is originally from Ethiopia and therefore regards Ethiopia as his cultural

compass, he had been living in Australia for eight years at the time of the interview, and that lived intersectionality makes him a transnational migrant. Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants settle and become incorporated in the socio-economic institutions, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside, while they, simultaneously, maintain social connections and cultural values of the countries they emigrated from (Schiller et al. 1995).

Only three participants in this research project were comfortable calling themselves Australians without foregrounding their legal immigration status. For example, Kenny pointed out that he feels comfortable calling himself an Australian because 'the real Australians are black'. Kenny seems to be referencing the colonial history of Australia when he says that 'the real Australians are black'.

During the colonisation of Australia, the British colonisers labelled Aboriginal peoples black. Thus, George Gawler, who was the governor of South Australia between 1838 and 1841, said in his address to Aborigines in Adelaide in 1835: 'Black men. We wish to make you happy. But you cannot be happy unless you imitate white men' (Moses 2000, p. 94). The awareness of this foregoing history seems to give Kenny the confidence to claim commonality with the Indigenous people of Australia. Further, Kenny's invocation of this colonial history suggests an attempt at disrupting the Australian colonial hangover discourse that presents whiteness as the embodiment of the true, legitimate citizenry.

Conclusion

Contrary to the claim that Australia's multiculturalism is a 'noble lie' that has helped integrate migrants and refugees into the Australian society (see: Galligan et al. 2014), this book argues that Australia's multiculturalism is a liberal tool that ultimate serves to preserve white normativity (Ward 2008). In other words, Australia's multiculturalism is the liberal version of the Settler and Racial Contract (see Mills 1997a) that Australia was founded upon.

The Racial Contract that Australia was founded upon excluded all Aborigines from citizenship when Australia became a nation in 1901 (McGrath 1993). The same Contract made it possible for white authorities in Australia to remove Aboriginal children from their families to institutions to be trained to behave white and be 'civilised' (Haebich 2001).

Similarly, following the establishment of the Federation in 1901, the Commonwealth government introduced the Immigration Restriction Act which effectively ended all permanent Chinese immigration (Inglis 1972). The Act was motivated by white settlers' deep-seated fear of being 'invaded' by Asians 'who were intent upon "threatening" and "polluting" Australia white race' (Babacan and Babacan 2007, p. 26).

In today's Australia, white normativity—the idea that white norms and values are natural and superior (Ward 2008)—is maintained via multi-culturalism and concepts such as 'mateship'. The research participants' lived experience discussed in this chapter suggests that white normativity naturalises ways of thinking and knowing; it is the dominant ingredient of Australia's mainstream culture and shapes the prevailing norms for communication and behaviour (Ward 2008).

Australia's multiculturalism facilitates structured colour-blindnesses and racial opacities in order to maintain white normativity (Mills 1997a). In simple language, Australia's multiculturalism encourages those who are considered white to live in a racial fantasyland shaped by white mythologies of 'mateship' and 'fair go', and invented Africans (Mills 1997a)—also known as uncommodified blackness. The invented Africans are then presented to the public by the authorities (the likes of Kevin Andrews) as failing at integration. Among other things, this discursive construction of Africans encourages the public to view uncommodified blackness as alien, out of place, perpetual refugees irrespective of how long they have been in Australia.

Technologies of the 'Kiwi' Selves

Abstract This chapter analyses the New Zealand data via four discursive themes, namely, 'being a refugee', 'personal encounters with racism and vicarious experience of racism', 'racist bullying' and 'denial of racism'. The analysis of data suggests that Africans in New Zealand are viewed through the discourse of the racialised deficient Other, and that is the core on which the construction of the uncommodified blackness image occurs. Further, the data indicates that Africans in New Zealand are portrayed via the discursive simultaneity of infrahuminasation and demonisation—"each of which offers a narrowly defined inscription of blackness that elicits societal panic and fosters a climate justifying state violence against" Africans (Leonard, *Screens fade to black: Contemporary African American cinema*. Westport: Praeger, 2006, p. 18).

The phrase 'technologies of the Kiwi selves' is derived from Foucault's notion of 'technologies of self'. According to Foucault, technologies of self enable individuals to modify their bodies, thoughts and their ways of being so that the presentation of self is consistent with the prevailing discourses of a society that individuals reside in (Thorpe 2008). The technologies of the Kiwi selves are used in this study to signify that whites in New Zealand

are socialised to embody the discourse of being Kiwi to be able to fit in and benefit from the fruits of whiteness. This book contends that, historically, one of the ideological functions of the Kiwi discourse is to rehabilitate and transform colonial whiteness into a native in New Zealand.

The Kiwi identity reflects several discursive myths such as fairness—expressed via the phrase 'fair go', a 'do-it-yourself attitude', and concepts of 'punching above our weight', 'fiercely determined', yet 'modest and lacking pretension' (Cosgrove and Bruce 2005; Falcous 2015). The foregoing are some of themes that mainstream New Zealanders draw upon when talking about the Kiwi identity. The construction of a Kiwi identity is rooted in the 'Better Britain' trope.

The British settlers originally conceptualised New Zealand as a 'Better Britain' where there would be little distinction between the classes and where interpersonal relationships would be characterised by a friendly, relaxed and informal attitude (Pratt 2006). Thus, the country's colonial national identity was constructed around a white mythology of a classless society, and it was envisaged that handshakes and greetings to strangers would become a feature of the country's social etiquette (Pratt 2006). What the foregoing partly means is that the New Zealand national identity project has historically foregrounded the angst of colonial whiteness.

It is worth pointing out that unlike Australia, New Zealand is a small country with a population of about 4.24 million people. Similarly, the number of Africans living in New Zealand is tiny compared to the size of the African community in Australia. According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), there are around 13,464 Africans residing in the country. The countries of origin for Africans residing in New Zealand include Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea and DRC. Most Africans living in New Zealand came to the country via humanitarian efforts.

Africans in New Zealand are 'one of the most marginalized and disadvantaged' social groups in the country (Tuwe 2012, p. 52). Furthermore, research (see: Guerin et al. n.d.-a; Ibrahim 2012; Adelowo 2012) shows that Africans living in New Zealand are routinely subjected to public racist harassment. The New Zealand public uses harassment as a social tool in the armamentarium for indicating contempt and hostility for Africans (Gardner 1995).

The public harassment of Africans in New Zealand has become a feature of black people's lives. For instance, according to Meager (2005, p. 1), her Ethiopian neighbours in Christchurch described how, in 'addition

to the problems faced by residents of the impoverished neighbourhood we shared, my friends faced racist abuse from neighbours and were often frightened for their safety, particularly since there was no adult male in their household'. To escape racism, Meager's (2005) neighbours in Christchurch moved to Auckland in order to be closer to more Ethiopians.

Moreover, Africans in New Zealand have to put up with police harassment as well. Research shows that Africans are racially profiled as potential criminals at New Zealand airports and by the police (see: Elliott and Yusuf 2014; Mugadza 2012; Nakhid et al. 2016). The case of George Gwaze who was 'tried twice for a murder and sexual violation that had never occurred' (Goodyear-Smith 2015, p. 135), based partly on the New Zealand police's racist assumptions that Africans practice anal intercourse with virgins to cure HIV/AIDS, illustrate to what extent the New Zealand police will go to criminalise Africans. Gwaze is an African man who was charged and acquitted twice for murder and sexual violation of his 10-year-old adopted daughter—Charlene. The retrial of Gwaze in 2012, on the same charges that he was previously acquitted on in 2008, is legally unprecedented in New Zealand, if not in the entire world. According to Goodyear-Smith (2015), from the outset, the dominant view was that the crime had occurred and that the family were covering it up to protect George. Goodyear-Smith (2015, p. 153) further adds that:

> Certainly there were racist connotations in Detectives Johannsen suggesting to George (and also to George Junior) during their interviews that one or other of them raped Charlene because of a Zimbabwean belief that having sex with a virgin would rid them of AIDS. The day after Charlene's funeral the media reported that police were being briefed on these African beliefs. It is unlikely that the police would have used this line of questioning had the family been white immigrants.

Talkback radio in New Zealand is another discursive site where the ventilation of racist infrahumanisation of Africans takes place. Michael Laws, a right-wing former politician and a former radio talkback host, unleashed an irrational tirade meant to dehumanise Africans on air in his Radio Live morning show on March 16, 2012. For instance, he wondered 'if there is something wrong about the refugees from the Horn of Africa. ...Their worldview is simply too alien for us, and wrong.' He added that

I've got something against Somalian refugees. No, I'll be honest about it. I don't think they should be here… They don't fit in and they conspicuously don't fit in and they're just a bit too much of a problem.

A male listener who called in to Michael Laws' radio show echoed Laws' sentiments and asked rhetorically: 'what are these people doing in our country? I don't want them. Who the hell asked me if I want them? Get them out!' A female listener recounted the following story to Laws:

> I was driven out of my rented Housing New Zealand home by a Somalian refugee. Prior to that I had nothing against refugees. In fact I taught English to them voluntarily. Not paid. But this one certainly put me off. I'm 65 years old and I've been living in this flat for about 10 years, which I loved. And a Somalian refugee came to live underneath me. And as you say all his hangers-on and everybody, family, and what have you… and every night they will play music, and shriek and scream all night. And at 7 o'clock in the morning they went to bed because they weren't working of course. So this went on and on and on. I asked politely at first for them to stop it. In the end I complained. I actually wrote to the then… Minister of Housing, and in the end we went to court and they got an eviction order, but it was never acted upon by Housing New Zealand. And so he stayed there and went on …and exactly the same behaviour… so in the end I gave up, I asked for a transfer which was another battle but I eventually got it now and I am happy where I am.

The quotes highlighted above from the Michael Laws talkback radio show are consistent with the West's dominant discourse on uncommodified blackness image, which is characterised by the discursive simultaneity of infrahuminasation and demonisation—'each of which offers a narrowly defined inscription of blackness that elicits societal panic and fosters a climate justifying state violence against' Africans (Leonard 2006, p. 18).

At this juncture, it is worth pointing out that the label Somali is used by New Zealanders as a discursive trope to refer to all Africans living in New Zealand. This is partly because Somalis were one of the first African refugee groups to be resettled in New Zealand in the 1990s, and it is also due to the fact that Somalis are the biggest African group (at about 1620) in New Zealand, according to the 2013 New Zealand census.

This chapter documents the lived experience of research participants with the aim to map out ways in which Africans are infrahumanised in New Zealand. Additionally, the chapter theorises the lived experience of participants via four discursive themes, namely, 'being a refugee', 'personal encounters with racism and vicarious experience of racism', 'racist bullying' and 'denial of racism'.

Being a Refugee

Just like the Australian participants, Africans who took part in this research project in New Zealand objected to the use of the label refugee to refer to them. For instance, according to John—originally from South Sudan, New Zealanders use the label refugee to stigmatise people:

> New Zealanders use the label refugee to stigmatise people. All New Zealanders know about refugees are the bad and tragic things that are associated with refugees' pasts. New Zealanders do not care how long you have been in the country, all they know is that you are a refugee and therefore you don't know anything.

John's quote suggests that the ideology behind the label refugee encourages the public to view refugees as tragic Others who do not have much schooling. This study theorises the foregoing quote by arguing that whiteness uses the word refugee as a literary trope to construct a racialised deficient Other who has to be instructed on the ways of modernity (Hughey 2014). The discourse of the racialised deficient Other is the core on which the construction of the uncommodified blackness image occurs.

Manu (originally from the DRC) unpacked what the label refugee means to him. As far as Manu is concerned, all Africans in New Zealand are considered to be poor and refugees, irrespective of their backgrounds:

> First of all, New Zealanders think that all African men are poor and that's why they come to New Zealand. That's what New Zealanders think about Africans in general. They think all Africans are poor and refugees. It doesn't matter if you did not come to New Zealand as a refugee and have never experienced war, when they see an African they immediately think refugee. By putting you in the refugee category, they underestimate you as a human being.

Manu's quote seems to echo this study's theoretical standpoint that the image of uncommodified blackness centres around blacks who are poor and from Africa, people who supposedly have never invented anything and therefore are deep in the irrational (Cesaire 1969; Fanon 1986).

However, according to Chris (also originally from the DRC), the New Zealand public holds ill-informed views about African refugees due to ignorance about Africa and not necessarily because of racist sentiments:

> People often ask me 'do you have houses where you come from or do people live in trees?' Some people are not trying to be malicious when they ask

those kind of questions. It's just ignorance, they don't know anything about your country and that's why they ask those kinds of questions. … And the media broadcasts images about Africa that show starving people, people who live in misery. So when the general public sees Africans on the streets, they associate Africans with those images.

Blake, from the DRC as well, blamed the media too for the ill-informed opinions that mainstream New Zealand holds about Africans.

What New Zealanders know is what they see on TV. They associate black Africans with wars and poverty. When they see a black African in real life, they assume that you are poor and uneducated and you are from an African bush.

This work problematises and theorises the notion of ignorance though. What people know is often shaped by their social location (Bailey 2007). Interestingly, what the mainstream seems to know about Africa derives from the long-standing Western discourse that regards Africa as the world of chaos, disorder, overpopulation and irrationality (Goldberg 1993). This is the Africa that Hegel presented as being populated by childish Negroes who embody the 'first stages of the phenomenology of consciousness'—a consciousness 'still not separated from nature, unaware of the existence of God and law' (Hoffheimer 2005, p. 203). This book argues that the elite in Western countries employ these long-standing discourses about Africa and Africans to frame narratives about Africans in the Western media as a people who are broken and need to be redeemed by kind Westerners (Hughey 2014). Such imposing patronage enables Westerners to emerge as messianic figures that can bestow the fruits of modernity on the African (Hughey 2014).

In both Australia and New Zealand, participants feel that they are cast as a people who are in need of white tutelage about the ways of modernity. In both countries, the prevailing imagery of African refugees is that they lack citizenship, they are perpetual refugees, and participants suggested that such a viewpoint encourages the public to treat refugees as if they are not fully human. This book theorises these findings by pointing out that the ideological subtext in the mainstream discourse about African refugees in both Australia and New Zealand is that for Africans to be fully human and therefore become citizens of Western countries, they have to embody the protocols of whiteness, 'to become in the words of the nineteenth-century English writer Anthony Trollope a "Creole Negro"' (Bogues 2005, p. 222).

Personal Encounters with Racism and Vicarious Experiences of Racism

All the participants interviewed in Auckland indicated that they struggle with everyday racism in their day-to-day social lives. Jordan—originally from the DRC—gave examples of the kind of everyday racism Africans struggle against in the city:

> As a community leader, the problems that we deal with range from assisting Africans who have neighbours who do not like immigrants, to dealing with cases of immigrants' homes that are vandalised by xenophobes.

The quote above suggests that the type of racism that Jordan is referring to is characterised by xenophobia. The discursive conflation of a nation and race is part and parcel of the liberal discourse. As an ideological concept, 'nation has both a conceptual and social history intersecting with that of race' (Goldberg 1993, p. 78). Thus, 'the popular Enlightenment concern with national characteristics often explicitly identified these characteristics racially' (Goldberg 1993, p. 78). It is on these ground that this book theorises Jordan's quote by arguing that since Africans are regarded by mainstream New Zealanders as not part of the national lineage, they are therefore viewed as not properly of the nation (Goldberg 1993). It is within this discursive climate that Africans are constructed as racial pollutants—deserving of being terrorised and having their homes vandalised.

In some cases, homeowners and real estate agents simply refuse to rent houses to Africans. Bruce, originally from the DRC, told a story of a friend who was discriminated against by a prospective landlord:

> A friend of mine, a Congolese guy, he got married last year. So he and his wife were looking for a house to rent. He made an appointment over the phone to meet up with a prospective landlord. Upon seeing him, the landlord said 'I cannot rent out my house to you. I thought you were a white person.'

According to Bruce, his friend has a New Zealand accent and so he 'sounds white' over the phone. Bruce's friend arrived in New Zealand at a young age as a refugee and grew up in the country. Drawing on the concept of 'linguistic profiling' allows us to theorise what happened to

Bruce's friend. According to Alim and Smitherman (2012), since outright racial discrimination is legally banned in Western countries, language has become an important vehicle in the denial of access to resources to blacks, particularly housing. Citing American research, Alim and Smitherman (2012, p. 56) point out that 'rental agents now use linguistic cues over the phone to assign prospective renters to racial categories and then vary their behaviour systematically to discriminate on the basis of inferred race'. In other words, whiteness discriminates against blacks who speak English with an undesirable accent or blacks who speak a different variation of English that does not reinforce white values.

However, the quote from Bruce implies that even when Africans can speak English very well, 'the Negro remains a Negro' (Fanon 1986, p. 173), meaning that, irrespective of how highly educated or accomplished an African is, whiteness has a 'firmly fixed image of the nigger-savage' (Fanon 1986, p. 198). It is through this image that the cultural practices and cultural tastes of Africans in New Zealand are viewed. Chris recounted a story of how some New Zealanders find African music offensive:

> I think it was in 2007 / 2008… I stopped at a traffic light. I was playing loud music in my car with the windows closed. A car pulled up in a lane next to me. The driver was a woman, and she looked at me and she said something. She kept talking while looking in my direction. I ignored her. But she kept talking. So I rolled down my window to hear what she was saying. I asked if she was okay. That's when she started swearing at me and told me I was not allowed to play my kind of music in New Zealand.

Chris was playing African music at the time of this incident. Chris explains that he apologetically explained to the person that New Zealand is a free country and so he could play whatever music he chose:

> I said 'sorry, but I live here now. New Zealand is a free country and so I can play whatever music I like'. She replied 'no, you are not allowed to play that kind of music here, go back home, go back home!' And as soon as the traffic lights turned green, she threw a coffee cup in my direction. The coffee splashed all over my window and she sped off. Maybe she thought I was going to go after her. I don't know why she did that.

Chris' quote suggests that some New Zealanders regard African music as a source of cultural pollution (Leonard 2012). The quote further implies

that since Africans are not regarded as part of the national lineage of New Zealand, their musical tastes and cultural practices are seen as disrupting attempts to maintain cultural traditions that are viewed as part of the legitimate cultural tradition of the country. The quotes suggest that the woman was offended by African music that Chris was playing in his car because, among other things, the woman views African music as part of the 'alien' culture. Further, the foregoing quotes are consistent with the theoretical viewpoint that the expression of culture throughout modernity has been significantly racialised (Goldberg 1993).

It is within this discursive climate that European culture is seen as superior to all other cultures. It is against this backdrop that African culture is associated with barbarism and primitiveness. In this discourse, the term 'progress' becomes a literal trope that assumes moral and cultural judgement of civilised superiority (Goldberg 1993). According to Goldberg (1993, p. 166), this assumption is partly due to the projection of European Enlightenment values as universal, 'as the standard against which all judgements should be measured'.

John recounted an anecdote which suggests that the thinking of some people who work with refugees is influenced by the racialised discourse that associates the West with progress and the Third World with underdevelopment and backwardness. According to John, his colleague said demeaning things about Africans: 'It was a Kiwi woman. She said "oh, all these refugees come here and they do this and they do that".'

The woman in question was complaining about African youth who she claimed had broken a toilet in her workplace. The woman further claimed that African refugees

> need to be taught how to go to the toilet, that's what she said. I asked 'didn't they use toilets before they came to New Zealand?' And she said 'what are you talking about?' I told her 'maybe you are the one who doesn't know how to go to the toilet'. So don't talk about refugees.

The foregoing quote implies that John's colleague is of the view that African refugees are in need of potty training, a view that infantilises Africans. In this narrative, uncommodified blacks are constructed as a people who need to be taught by benevolent whites how to behave and who also require tutoring from whites on how to be 'modern'. In such thinking, whiteness emerges 'as an iron fist in a velvet glove, the knightly savior of the dysfunctional "others" who are redeemable as long as they

consent to assimilation and obedience to their white benefactors of class, capital, and compassion' (Hughey 2014, p. 8).

The infantilisation of Africans reifies the denial of full humanness to Africans. Jordan attempted to define the logic that underpins this infrahumanisation process:

> I don't know the English word for it, but in French we call it 'complexe de supériorité' [superiority complex]… people who think that they are better than others. They think that their race is superior compared to other races. That's really a big problem.

According to Jordan, one of the ways in which this infrahumanisation process has a damaging impact on black people is that white people often perceive blacks as being 'stupid, someone who doesn't know anything, a beggar and a thief. So they attach every evil to being black'.

The quote from Jordan is consistent with the theoretical standpoint of this book which states that in the West, uncommodified blackness is conceptualised as being characterised by the discursive simultaneity of infrahumanisation and demonisation. Thus, the racialised discourse in the West often portrays uncommodified blackness as 'primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces' (Bhabha 1994, p. 82).

The quotes that follow from research participants seem to suggest that the racialised discourse about uncommodified blackness is used among other things to rationalise racial profiling of Africans. Manu, for example, talked about being racially profiled at the Auckland International Airport:

> Although you have a New Zealand passport, the customs official still want to double check to make sure you are who you say you are. So they ask 'have you got other documents from New Zealand? Like a drivers licence?' Other people, like whites, are not asked to produce other documents, they are let through without questions.

Manu's quote implies that Africans are targeted and racially profiled as potential criminals by customs officials at the Auckland International Airport. Manu's observation is consistent with this book's theoretical view that Western societal institutions often regard a black man 'as though he has a deficit; he has a hole to climb out of before he can be trusted as an ordinary law-abiding person' (Anderson 2011a, p. 19).

John is of the view that racial profiling at Auckland International Airport is one of the biggest problems facing Africans living in Auckland. 'A lot of my colleagues have been detained at the Auckland International Airport', John said in his interview. Blake further pointed out that Africans have in the past attempted to get to the bottom of this issue:

> We organised a meeting and we invited a representative from Immigration New Zealand to come and explain to us why Africans were being profiled at the airport. The person from Immigration said that they searched people randomly at Auckland International. They 'randomly' always chose black Africans!

The findings under this theme show that in both Australia and New Zealand, participants are regarded as potential criminals and thus were racially profiled by the authorities. What this reveals is that whiteness in these two countries draws on the West's racialised archive of information (Goldberg 1993) about uncommodified blackness. Under the guise of scholarship and science, whiteness has historically produced social knowledge about the racialised Other, and therefore has established a racialised library about Negroes—their sexuality, personality, customs and habits (Goldberg 1993). Thus, although the discursive contexts of Australia and New Zealand differ, what the findings confirm is that the racial knowledge about uncommodified blackness is adaptable to any Western country.

Racist Bullying

Racist bullying is a reality for many children of African descent living in New Zealand. Mainstream discourse and research into bullying in New Zealand often neglect the racist dimension of the situation and instead mainly frame the issue around the category of common childhood bullying. Take, for example, the recently published Ministry of Education's *Bullying Prevention and Response: A Guide for Schools* document (NZ Ministry of Education 2015). There is no discussion of racist bullying anywhere in the 76-page-long policy document. What the document does discuss though is verbal bullying which it points out includes 'discriminatory remarks' (NZ Ministry of Education 2015). Similarly, a 2013 research report, entitled *Bullying in New Zealand Schools: A Final Report*, by Green, Harcourt, Mattioni and Prior also fails to explore the topic of racist bullying.

It is against this backdrop that this study grapples with the experiences of parents of African children who are subjected to racist bullying in New Zealand schools. Of the ten research participants interviewed for this project in New Zealand, four had children who had experienced racist bullying in New Zealand schools. The rest of the participants either had no children or children who were too young to attend school. The parents of school-going children in this study pointed out that behind the 'fair go' rhetoric, racist harassment, racist bullying and Othering social practices are taking place against Africans at schools.

Jordan recounted the following story to illustrate how the concept of 'fair go' is not socially extended to African children:

> A lot of African children are subjected to bullying in New Zealand schools. Children are traumatized and the teachers are not doing anything to protect them. It hurts to see your child crying because they are being called names. My son came back from school one day and asked me 'dad what can I do to straighten my hair because other kids at school say I have monkey hair? They say my hair is too hard and too short. So what can I do to make my hair grow?' That is a difficult conversation to have with your child. To make things worse, the child refused to go back to school.

The quote from Jordan suggests that some children in New Zealand associate African hair with 'monkey hair'. The monkey trope derives from the long-standing racist stereotype that depicts blacks as being apelike. The monkey trope is part of the larger simianisation discourse that has been used to portray iconic black figures like Barack Obama as apes. For instance, at the end of 2011, an American news publication reported that a Tea Party politician had hit out against President Obama saying that 'assassinate the f….. n….. and his monkey children' (Hund 2015, p. 44).

Research (see: Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001) shows that young children are not immune to discourses circulating in society. Children learn early on that whites and Africans are portrayed differently in society. Through media portrayal of whites and blacks, white children develop not only negative images of racial others but also positive images of themselves as whites (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001).

The quote from Jordan further implies that some children in New Zealand schools use racial images that are circulating in society to dominate and humiliate others. According to Jordan, what makes matters worse is that the schools are not doing enough to protect African students from racist bullies. For example, Jordan pointed out that:

African children refused to go to school because they were being teased and called names. My son came back from school a few times with bruises on his face. I went to the school and complained to the principal. I was told 'your son has not said anything to us about this. But we are going to look into it.' The school failed to resolve this issue. I went to see the principal three times.

Similarly, John's daughter, from South Sudan, was subjected to racist jokes and racist harassment at school, and the teachers did not take his complaints seriously: 'I met with the principal who told me they were in control of the situation. But the bullying did not stop.'

The foregoing quotes suggest that some New Zealand schools do not take complaints of racist bullying seriously. Ultimately, what the quotes under this theme reveal is that racetalk is used as a social weapon of choice to harass, bully, infrahumanise and dehumanise black students. Racetalk includes the ventilation of racism in the form of jokes, name-calling, threats, complaints, insinuations and other gossip about Africans (Essed 1991; Myers 2005).

According to Myers (2005), racetalk outlines social boundaries between whiteness, blackness and brownness. It is within this discursive climate that when Blake's daughter took a family photo to school, the other children at school teased her saying that the photo was taken in an African jungle. The reference to Africa was utilised by other children at school to racially situate Blake's daughter as a primitive other, an outsider who has to be constantly reminded of her place.

Interestingly, Blake is of the view that the solution to the problems faced by African children in New Zealand lies in educating children in New Zealand about Africa. According to Blake:

I told the teacher you have to teach them about Africa. I suggested that the school develop a course to teach children about African culture, food and music. I suggested that through such a course the other kids will learn about Africa. The course also encourages African children to not be ashamed of being African.

The quote from Blake is consistent with the theoretical view that specific incidents of racial discrimination often trigger a personal and collective sense of powerlessness among black people, and thus when black people begin anti-racist educational initiatives it often gives them 'a sense of accomplishment' (Feagin and Sikes 2013). As far as this project is concerned, for anti-racist education initiatives to be effective, they should

also involve encouraging non-black teachers to overcome their denial 'about the seriousness of racial prejudices, emotions, and discrimination in their own lives, the lives of their friends and relatives, and the larger society' (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001, p. 29).

The findings of this study suggest that racist bullying forms part of the hidden curriculum at Australian and New Zealand schools. The objective of this kind of hidden curriculum at Australian and New Zealand schools is to partly provide Africans with extra lessons in frustration and in the power of whiteness (Lareau 2011). Another goal of racist bullying of African students is to discourage the presence of African students in 'white spaces' (Myers 2005).

Denial of Racism

This theme highlights the complexities and ambivalences that emerge from immigrants' experiences of racism, infrahumanisation and xenophobia (Kusz 2010). The participants' quotes that are analysed under this theme appear to contradict the mainstream white perception that blacks in general often conclude that social situations are racist without evaluating a situation carefully before judging it discriminatory (Feagin and Sikes 2013). Further, the quotes discussed under this theme imply that some blacks prefer not to regard racist social situations as racist because to do so is often emotionally taxing and could result in a struggle against racism that drains one's emotional energy (Essed 1991). The quote from Chris below appears to grapple with some of these issues.

> As a person living in a Western country, I do think about racial discrimination. But I do not put myself in social situations that have a racist dynamic. I do not use force or violence to avoid such situations. I only use humour to disengage from racist situations. If I realise that a situation has the potential to become racist I defuse it by joking around.

Chris' quote suggests that he sees it as his responsibility to preserve and sustain the racial comfort of others. The quote also implies that Chris uses humour to defuse racially awkward situations as a way to minimise the impact of racism because he wants to avoid escalating the conflict and avoid being 'seen as a 'troublemaker' and as having an 'axe to grind' about race issues' (Sue 2010, p. 56).

When asked to give an example of how he defuses racially awkward situations, Chris gave the following example:

> At university I have white friends. Some of them like say things like 'hi, my black friend.' So in reply I say 'my pink friend.' From there everyone jokes around and an uncomfortable situation is replaced by a playful atmosphere.

By highlighting the foregoing scenario as racially awkward, it suggests that Chris is aware that race is constructed as residing in black people (DiAngelo 2011). It implies that Chris understands the white logic that views being a human outside of a racial group as a privilege afforded to white people only (DiAngelo 2011). Thus, instead of challenging the subtext of 'hi, my black friend', Chris chooses to use humour to protect the racial feelings of his white friends.

The humour lies in Chris' reply to 'hi, my black friend'—Chris chooses the colour pink and not white to describe his friend. Sociologically, the racial colour pink does not exist, however, being white is to occupy a social category that historically has meant unfair social advantages, wealth gained though bad faith and racism. To accept being called white is to accept the history of that social category. White racists have no problem with this history because as far as they are concerned, whites are innately superior to all other races and therefore deserve white privilege and all the unfair advantages that come with that. White liberals, on the other hand, are largely uncomfortable with this history, and thus when it is brought up it often produces in them emotions of guilt, awkwardness, self-consciousness and generally emotional and physical discomfort.

This study theorises Chris' use of the colour pink to describe his white friend as an attempt at erasure of this history. It allows white people to see themselves as non-racialised—as a people who do not bear the social burden of race (DiAngelo 2011). It is also an attempt to put whites at ease by confirming to them that he (Chris) subscribes to the narrative of colour-blindness, and therefore he is not conscious of race or that race does not matter to Chris (Kusz 2010).

It is against this backdrop that one research participant in this study did not object to the racially profiling of Africans at the Auckland International Airport. Trevor, originally from Burundi, recounted the following experience:

> When I went to pick up a friend of mine from the Auckland International Airport, I understood that my friend was going to be searched for hours before the customs cleared him through. They are very strict at the airport, especially when it comes to people they do not trust.

Trevor explained that:

> There are terrorists in this world. Africans and Arabs have a worldwide reputation of carrying out terrorist acts. So if you are African and your plane lands at the Auckland International Airport, they are going search you thoroughly. No one is going to push you around or abuse you, but they will take their time to search you and ask you questions. What can I say, they are doing their jobs. That can't be discrimination.

This study theorises what Trevor refers to as 'worldwide reputation' of Africans and Arabs as largely consisting of racist stereotypes of Africans and Arabs as inherently violent and therefore a people who carry out acts of terrorisms at the drop of a hat. In this narrative, the acts of violence and terror by Western countries are almost never questioned. Ultimately, the narrative of violent 'Coloured Others' is a construction of the white imagination aimed at restricting the mobility and the freedom of travel of people of colour. In the Western imagination, the freedom to travel is the birthright of Westerners (Chomsky 2014).

Some globetrotters and immigrants of colour choose to rationalise acts of racism directed at them by arguing that customs official, for example, have a job to do. This allows people of colour to understate racist acts towards them because the subtext in mainstream discourse on immigration says that 'the duty of the migrant is to let go of the pain of racism by letting go of racism as a way of understanding that pain' (Ahmed 2008, p. 11). The quotes below from Wade (originally from South Sudan) and John seem to confirm the foregoing theoretical observation. Wade, for instance, pointed out that: 'I could say I'm being discriminated against, but that's the nature of the workplace. You will always have problems at the workplace, it does not matter where you work.' Similarly, John explained that:

> Even in South Sudan, where I come from, we discriminate against other tribes. As a result, there is a lot of nepotism in South Sudan. Although South Sudan is supposed to be one nation, we still discriminate against other tribes. Foreigners who go to South Sudan are treated like we are treated here in New Zealand. It's human nature to discriminate against people who are not part of your group.

This study further theorises the quotes above by highlighting the fact that non-sequitur responses about discrimination or racism often rationalise

or minimise the impact of racism by pointing out that discrimination and racism happen all over the world. Such responses are part of the liberal discourse which reproduces the comforting illusion that race and its problems are part of the human condition and, as such, are intractable (DiAngelo 2011). According to Goldberg (1993), liberalism has historically played a foundational role in the process of normalising and naturalising racial dynamics and racist exclusions. Even John Stuart Mill, who opposed slavery, rationalised colonialism and empire and developed a theory of liberalism that did not recast classical liberalism's foundations of racial exclusions (Bogues 2005).

Conclusion

Among other things, this chapter highlighted the contradictions of being Kiwi and the ways in which these discursive contradictions negatively impact Africans. For instance, the discursive themes of being Kiwi include myths about 'fair go' and 'do-it-yourself attitude' while whites benefit from white privilege on a daily basis. The mainstream understanding of being Kiwi centres around being modest and lacking pretension while foregrounding white values, norms and aesthetics.

The Kiwi identity is misleading because it signals a raceless society in a socio-economic environment whereby whiteness remains unquestioned as the arbiter of value, the norm of acceptability and standard of merit (Goldberg 2002). Furthermore, the discursive themes of being Kiwi include myths about New Zealand as a nation that punches 'above our weight' while in reality the country has historically benefited from global whiteness in the form of support from the British Empire (e.g. see Singleton and Robertson 1997).

Therefore, the technologies of the Kiwi selves require individuals to be able to hold all these discursive contradictions together in one's head without experiencing cognitive dissonance. The subtext in this narrative is that integrated and assimilated Others will not bring attention to these discursive incongruities. Moreover, the technologies of the Kiwi selves enable whiteness to Other Africans without any blatant dispatch of white supremacy. Instead, by foregrounding white values, norms and aesthetics, white normativity is reified, while blackness is portrayed as the sign of nothingness and an embodiment of a tradition of belonging elsewhere (Goldberg 1990a).

Africans on an 'English Farm in the Pacific'

Abstract This chapter continues the discussion of participants' lived experience in New Zealand by framing and analysing participants' lived experiences via four themes, namely, 'neighbourhood life', 'employment and workplace issues', 'African masculinity' and 'being a New Zealander'. The analysis of data suggests that mainstream society does not fully accept Africans as legitimate New Zealanders but, instead, regards Africans, at best, as sojourners and, at worst, as perpetual refugees—a stateless people. The lived experience of participants discussed in this chapter suggests that Africans feel marginalised in New Zealand. Ultimately, the participants' lived experience reflects modernity's race logic which claims that Africans ought to be modified and 'fixed' by whiteness in order for whiteness to launch Africans from the long dark night of prehistory into modernity and Western civilisation (Goldberg, *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993).

Keywords Harassment • Sapphire stereotype • African feminism • Idi Amin • Perpetual refugees

Harold Macmillan once described New Zealand as an English farm in the Pacific (Singleton and Robertson 1997). Macmillan's description of New Zealand was based on the fact that New Zealand's economic prosperity in the early twentieth century was due to New Zealand's access to the British markets for its dairy pro-

duce, meat and wool (Singleton and Robertson 1997). In fact, after World War II, Britain encouraged New Zealand to expand its livestock and dairy industries (Singleton and Robertson 1997). According to Singleton and Robertson (1997, p. 329), 'in 1950, Britain consumed 66 percent of New Zealand's total exports, and in 1960 its share was still 53 percent'.

It is within this historical context that for most of the twentieth century, the New Zealand Immigration Policy favoured protestant Anglo-Celtic immigrants. According to Brooking and Rabel (1995), successive New Zealand governments throughout most of the twentieth century favoured white immigrants, preferably white people from Britain, Western Europe and North America. When New Zealand was asked to make a contribution to the resettlement of displaced people in Europe at the end of World War II, New Zealand favoured whites from northern Europe rather than groups such as Jews and Slavs (Beaglehole 2013). According to Beaglehole (2013, p. 44), 'this was justified by the assumption that a small community such as New Zealand could not afford to have "alien groups who are not at one with ourselves"'. The foregoing also shows that whiteness comes in shades; thus, Jews and Slavs were regarded by the New Zealand government as not possessing the whiteness that conform to racialised understanding of Europeanness (Fox et al. 2012).

Moreover, what this history shows is that for the greater part of the twentieth century, New Zealand had an unofficial White Immigration Policy. This book argues that this unofficial White Immigration Policy was deployed to specifically strengthen the colonial white project of building a 'Better Britain' for white settlers. The legacy of this history largely shapes the social order in New Zealand.

This chapter continues the discussion of participants' lived experience in New Zealand by framing and analysing participants' lived experiences within the foregoing history. The chapter is structured around four themes, namely, 'neighbourhood life', 'employment and workplace issues', 'African masculinity' and 'being a New Zealander'.

Neighbourhood Life

Most participants in this study found it difficult to adjust to neighbourhood life in New Zealand. One of the common themes in the lived experience of participants is the discovery that Africans are regarded by mainstream New Zealanders as outsiders who are unworthy of respect and undeserving of neighbourly common courtesy. According to Wade, originally from South

Sudan, the source of the problem is that New Zealanders are not socially welcoming like Africans. He says that, for example, he has been living for ten years next to a neighbour who he only greets occasionally when they meet at the post box.

Charlie (originally from Ethiopia) agreed with this observation and further highlighted the difference between New Zealand and Ethiopia:

> Ethiopia has a very kind and generous culture. In our culture we love each other, we share meals as a family and with our neighbours.

The quotes from participants imply that participants and their neighbours are not neighbourly towards each other. The quotes suggest that participants feel that they have been relegated to insignificance. This study theorises the participants' situations by pointing out that whiteness compels white people and other non-black Westerners to regard Africans as a people who do not matter and therefore not worthy of taking serious interest in as neighbours or co-workers (Yancy 2012). That is partly why even when whites and other non-black Westerners live in physical proximity | to Africans—like in the case of Wade and Charlie, racial distanciation occurs on multiple levels (DiAngelo 2011). As been pointed out by Sleeter (1997, p. xi), while in an abstract sense white people and other Westerners may not like the idea of reproducing whiteness, 'and in a personal sense, do not see themselves as racist, in their talk and actions, they are'.

The following quotes show that some participants' neighbourhood life made it difficult for them to create a safe family life in certain parts of Auckland. For instance, Paul (originally from Ethiopia) recounted a story of a neighbour who was xenophobic and racist towards him:

> He was always verbally abusing me. He was very racist. One day he was drinking with his friends and when I came outside, he hit me with a glass bottle in the face. I was bleeding and so I called the police. But the police did not arrest him. They just moved me to a new house. They relocated me to New Lynn from West Coast Road.

Paul's experience reflects the theoretical view that in the Western imagination, the black body is deemed something to be harassed, hounded, flogged, insulted (Bogle 2003) and in some cases killed—'just for fun'(Yancy 2012). It is against this backdrop that the neighbour who assaulted Paul was not arrested on the spot by the police. Although Paul was relocated by Housing New Zealand to New Lynn, he points out that the neighbour was not charged with assault by the police. Paul rhetorically asks:

> Why was he not arrested? He verbally abused me, calling me a 'fucking immigrant'. He punched me for no reason. He hit me with a glass bottle in my face. And the police didn't even ask him too many questions at the time. Why was he not arrested?

Paul's quote seems to confirm the research findings that show that when dehumanised targets are the victims of an offence, offenders are often not punished as harshly as for offences towards humanised targets (Lee and Harris 2014). Further, Paul's experience with the police also suggests that the everyday infrahumanisation of Africans in the mainstream discourse makes their maltreatment and suffering easier to trivialise (Bastian et al. 2014). Thus, physical assaulting of an African and terrorising him out of his home did not result in the perpetrator being arrested in this case.

Trevor is another participant who was harassed and scapegoated by a neighbour. According to Trevor, he once had a neighbour who accused him of bumping and scratching his car. The neighbour came to Trevor's house and made wild accusations about Trevor and his friends allegedly scratching his car:

> He came here and said one of my friends scratched his car. I asked him 'how do you know for a fact that one of my friends scratched your car?' I told him that maybe another neighbour scratched his car. He was trying to take advantage of me because I'm the only African here. He kept insisting that it is one of my friends even though he had no proof. He would come to my house and become aggressive with me.

Trevor explained that the neighbour pushed him around:

> He would push me around. He would come to my house around 8pm… I would see him coming, shouting 'hey [name deleted]… where is my money? You have to pay me for what your friends did to my car.' I told him I did not have money to pay him. He demanded that I sell my TV and my furniture so that I could pay him. It made me laugh but it also made me sad. He threatened me by saying that his wife was a manager at Housing New Zealand and so if I did not pay him, I would find myself homeless. This was intimidation. And when I couldn't bear it any longer, I reported him to Housing New Zealand and the police. Housing New Zealand evicted him and the police asked me if I wanted to press charges against him.

Trevor was happy with how the situation was resolved by Housing New Zealand and the police. The police issued a restraining order against the

neighbour. Trevor's experience with his neighbour reflects the theoretical view that blacks associated with uncommodified blackness image are consistently scapegoated and demonised in the West. Trevor's neighbour scapegoated Trevor via the long-standing dehumanising commonsense understanding of blackness as pathology and a social problem in need of disciplinarity and punishment (Leonard 2012). Trevor was however fortunate in this case that the government agents supported him.

It is worth noting that participants who got along well with their neighbours pointed out that neighbourhoods that are culturally diverse in terms of demographics tend to be more welcoming than culturally homogenous neighbourhoods. For instance, Jordan noted that:

> In Mt Roskill, you find a lot of immigrants. And that brings the community together because you share a similar background. My former neighbour was from Tonga and they were very good neighbours. They left for Australia. An Ethiopian family has moved in and we get along with them very well. We also have neighbours who are Māori, and they have family relatives who are into Black Power. We get along with them very well.

The foregoing quote reflects the view that social environments that are affirming and that provide a sense of acceptance towards immigrants reduce feelings of social exclusion (Franklin and Boyd-Franklin 2000). Such supportive milieu are vital for creating safe and welcoming neighbourhoods for immigrants, particularly for immigrants of colour. The discursive irony about Jordan's quote, however, is that neighbourhoods that are diverse in terms of demographics in Western countries are often associated with poverty and criminal elements. The quality of space in Western countries is measured in large degree through the absence of undesirable people of colour, which includes uncommodified blacks (DiAngelo 2011).

EMPLOYMENT AND WORKPLACE ISSUES

Inequality in New Zealand has been on the rise for the past three decades, since 1982 (Easton 2013). It is worth noting that this is the period during which neoliberal economic policies were introduced to New Zealand. Participants not only have to contend with these socio-economic realities and the social status of being working class but they also have to deal with socio-economic institutions that overvalue the abilities of whites over Africans.

Thus, participants pointed out that this is partly why job seekers with non-English names find it difficult to access employment in New Zealand.

According to John, 'any non-English name will make it difficult for you to get a job. Asians also face the same challenge.'

John seems to draw similarities between the lived experiences of Africans to that of Asians. It might well be the case that some New Zealand employers discriminate against Asian names, but the dominant discourse around Asians in the country revolves around the 'smart Asian' stereotype. Africans, on the other hand, are infrahumanised as illiterate people who have been living in refugee camps playing tom-toms.

Participants further pointed out that even when Africans are educated at New Zealand institutions, they still struggle to find employment. Wade, who described himself as a community leader, explained that New Zealand employers have a way of screening out African job seekers.

> People who studied and received their degrees at New Zealand universities struggle to access employment in this country. This is despite the fact that New Zealand employers always say they want to hire people with Kiwi qualifications. But if you have that, then they will ask 'have you got Kiwi work experience?' Employers will look for any excuses not to hire Africans.

The quote from Wade is consistent with the research findings on this issue (see: Machingarufu 2011; Mugadza 2012). This study theoretically speculates that being an African job seeker in New Zealand confers just about the same disadvantage as having a criminal record (Pager 2011).

Interestingly, one of the participants, Blake, applied for a job at one of the Auckland Corrections Facilities, and he was invited to attend an interview as part of the hiring process. At the interview:

> I was told that 'you are going to have a problem if we hire you.' I was told that since I do not sound like a New Zealander, the prisoners are going to use that against me by saying that they do not understand me. So they said 'we can't hire you on that basis.'

Blake's experience reflects the theoretical view that, in the West, social groups that are viewed as not speaking the correct standard English are often denied access to economic opportunities and positions of power and privilege (Winford 2003). It is also worth noting that New Zealand institutions regard English proficiency as a sign of a 'successfully integrated' immigrant and, therefore, Africans who speak English with an accent are generally viewed as people who are failing at 'integration'.

The New Zealand's language stance is consistent with the Western ideology that requires citizens to speak a state-mandated language in the public realm as a condition for full participation in the wider society (May 2011). Consequently, society's gatekeeping institutions in New Zealand use notions of language ideology to exclude participants from socio-economic opportunities.

Participants in this research project also pointed out that even in situations where their English proficiency was accepted as 'good English' and where they were therefore offered employment, they still had to negotiate anti-black stereotypes in the workplace. For instance, Jordan who worked at a New Zealand bank for five years was forced to leave because of racism. Jordan recounted some of his daily experiences at the bank:

> If there was a drop of water on the bathroom floor, I got blamed for that. People would come to my desk and ask 'why did you make a mess in the bathroom?' It didn't matter if I hadn't been to the bathroom the whole day. And if someone used the microwave in the kitchen to warm up their food and in the process made a mess, I got blamed for that too.

The quote from Jordan suggest that his colleagues infantilised him and scapegoated him for transgressions of social norms due to their racist assumptions that Africans need to be instructed by Westerners about kitchen etiquette and on how to use the bathroom. The infantilisation of Africans is one of the long-standing discursive themes that Westerners have used to deny Africans full humanness. This history has resulted in the following logic: 'if blackness equals child, then whiteness equals mature and rational adult with the necessary wisdom, values, culture, and knowledge to help (parent) the immature black child' (Leonard 2012, p. 86).

Among other things, the foregoing logic is utilised to rationalise the over-supervision of black employees at the workplace. The over-supervision of black employees by managers at the workplace typically goes hand in-hand with the unfair negative evaluations of the work of black employees (Feagin and Sikes 2013). Thus, if black workers make mistakes, reactions occur swiftly and are probably more severe (Essed 1991). The following quote from Manu (from the DRC) reflects this theoretical view:

> I resigned from my previous job because of stress. For example, if I made a small mistake that everybody else makes regularly, the boss would remind me of my mistake every single day. Even if the mistake did not warrant issuing a written warning, the boss kept reminding me of my mistakes. I feared losing my job.

Manu is of the view that his manager constantly reminded him of his mistakes to control him and to remind him of his vulnerable position as a worker in the company. On another theoretical level, this book underscores Manu's experience to highlight the notion that employers sometimes use mistakes done by black employees to 'confirm racially biased suspicions' (Royster and Steinberg 2003, p. 178).

Ultimately, research findings under this theme suggest that gatekeepers, in the form of employers, steer Africans from economic opportunities and positions of power. The lived experience of participants also indicates that even when Africans are hired, some colleagues infantilise and harass Africans. For example, Michael (originally from South Sudan) who worked at one of the retail stores in New Zealand shared the following anecdote. Michael was belittled and harassed by a colleague:

> Every day he called me names. This one time I was in the bathroom and washing my hands. He came in and pushed me saying 'why are you using the paper towels to dry your hands?' He said that 'I have heard that black people are very stupid and what you are doing confirms that.' I told him that there are lots of smart black people in the world and so he must stop making generalisations about black people.

This study theorises Michael's experience by pointing out that the harassment and the withholding of the rituals of civility were meant to communicate to Michael that he is not entitled to the small courtesies of everyday life which are routinely accorded to other people (Gardner 1995). Michael informed management about his colleague's behaviour, and he was eventually transferred to a different work station. But the colleague who was bullying him would seek him out and continue with the harassment.

In the end, Michael resigned from the retail store because he felt that his managers were not doing enough to protect him. Michael's experience suggest that he felt he was being unfairly tasked with the responsibility of deescalating a racist situation (Bogle 2003). In protest, he resigned. In Western countries, the expectation is that black bodies have to remain stoic, generous and receive racist insults without escalating racist conflicts (Bogle 2003).

African Masculinity

Like their Australian counterparts, research participants in New Zealand voiced unhappiness with the male gender roles that they are expected to play within the kinship sphere in New Zealand. As far as participants are

concerned, the New Zealand government supposedly gives women a lot of power over men. For instance, Blake observed that:

> But where we come from, the man is the head of the family. In New Zealand, the government empowers women. Some women have become arrogant as a result. They know they have power and they use that power. And this causes a lot of marital problems between couples. It leads to broken marriages, I know of four or five broken families.

At this juncture, it is worth noting that black feminists have often pointed out that black women in the West have long occupied a category of 'Untrue Women' (Brody 1998; Hobson 2005; Tate 2015). The situation is not different for black women in New Zealand. What Blake seems to be gesturing towards however in the quote above is the emasculating Sapphire stereotype. The Sapphire stereotype is an American representation of a hostile black woman who emasculates black men around her because she is always telling them off (Jewell 1993). For both the Australian cohort and the New Zealand participants, the emasculating Sapphire stereotype is a discursive trope that participants use to explain what they seem to describe as a masculine anxiety.

This masculine anxiety revolves around the patriarchal logic that says that for a man to receive respect from his community and therefore exercise patriarchal authority over women, he must bring home a paycheck and occupy a position of power and prestige in society (Anderson 2011a). This patriarchal logic impacts all men irrespective of their racial identity. The social and economic situation for many African men in New Zealand and Australia makes it difficult for them to achieve patriarchal authority. White men, on the other hand, have consistent access to the socio-economic resources to fulfil their dreams of masculinity (Majors and Billson 1992).

The dynamics of patriarchy may be hidden in Australia and New Zealand, but it does not mean that patriarchy does not exist. What is not hidden is that some research participants in this study seem to blame African women for their lack of patriarchal authority. Some participants seemed to implicate societal institutions as well. For example, John noted that:

> The problem arises when husband and wife have separate bank accounts and receive the benefit in those separate accounts. For example, if a man wants to send money to his family back in Africa and the woman does not want the man to have access to her bank account, that causes problems in the house. That leads to arguments and before you know it your children or your wife will call the police on you.

John seems to be arguing that Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) encourages spouses to set up separate bank accounts to receive their benefits, and this often creates financial disagreements in African families about how the money ought to be spent. John gives an example of how setting up separate bank accounts for wives and husbands contributes to family conflicts about sending remittances to Africa. The sending of remittances back to Africa is a significant item in the household budget for many African families residing in the West. Research shows that for some African countries remittances exceed foreign direct investment (Kifle 2009).

Many African families in New Zealand are working class, and, as John observes, the precarious financial situation of many African families sometimes leads to family conflicts that are perceived as gender power struggles by some participants. On another theoretical level, participants seem to expect intimate relationships with their spouses to restore their sense of power, which they equate with masculinity (hooks 2000). When this does not happen, participants appeared to cast African women within an emasculating Sapphire stereotype.

It is against this discursive backdrop that Bruce (originally from the DRC) argued that it would be better to marry a white woman if he had to marry someone from New Zealand. When it was pointed out to him that perhaps a white woman would also refuse to play a subordinate role, Bruce replied that he would be more accepting of a white woman behaving in that way than he would be with an African woman:

> If a white woman behaves like that, then she is doing something that is consistent with her culture. But Africans have different cultural values. When African women arrive in New Zealand, they want to forget about African culture.

One of the defining features of the modern world is patriarchy. It is a truism to point out that the logic of patriarchy manifests itself differently in different cultural contexts. In the foregoing quote, Bruce seems to think that just because Western women experience patriarchy differently, then patriarchy does not exist in the West. It is also worth pointing out that black feminists have always argued that it is misleading to view white feminism as the only legitimate feminism. It is a historical fact that Western feminism emerged from universal struggles of resistance such as the slave trade and colonialism (Eisenstein 2004; Ware 1992).

To portray African women as a people who learnt about resistance to patriarchy for the first time when they came to New Zealand is historically

inaccurate. Yet participants in this study seemed to forget this history. The quote from Charlie who is originally from Ethiopia—the oldest state in Africa—captures this viewpoint.

> Women in New Zealand play the role of a boss. Men are expected to obey women. …In Africa, the man is the head of the family. In Africa, people are religious and therefore do not behave like this. In Africa, people understand that the bible says that Adam was created first, and Eve was created from Adam's ribs and Eve respects Adam. In New Zealand there is no respect for Adam, and that is not a good thing.

Charlie's analysis of African gender relations lacks historical nuance. The history of Ethiopia shows that 'Ethiopian women as a whole have been marginalized even in the midst of the drastic reforms and government changes toward democratization that have occurred in the 1980s and 1990s' (Berhane-Selassie 1997, p. 183). However, throughout the history of Ethiopia, women have always challenged patriarchy. For example, the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association (REWA) which was established by the Marxist-Leninist government of Mengistu Haile Miriam in 1974 advocated for women's issues in Ethiopia (Berhane-Selassie 1997). Charlie, who at the time of the interview was 72 years old, was a member of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) before he left Ethiopia to seek refuge in Sudan. The EPRP took part in the Ethiopian revolution that saw the monarchy abolished in 1974. Yet, Charlie does not reference this history in his analysis of African gender relations.

Ultimately, this book highlights the foregoing history to demonstrate that gender hierarchy in Africa is a continually contested issue. African feminism traces the logic of exploitative patriarchal structures in African countries to the colonial introduction of a new capitalist economy, the imposition of racist government systems, religious and state laws, changes in marriage African practices and gender relations (Amadiume 2000).

In the final analysis, the quotes discussed under this theme reflect the participants' sense of powerlessness. Masculinity theory posits that although men as a group are powerful, individual men do not always feel powerful (Kimmel 2004, cited in Dowd et al. 2012). This feeling of powerlessness originates from competition among men to conform to an ideal of the hegemonic masculinity, an ideal that research participants cannot achieve due to their race and their class position (Dowd et al. 2012).

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BEING A NEW ZEALANDER

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Participants in this research project defined 'being a New Zealander' in terms of citizenship, as opposed to defining 'being a New Zealander' by referencing feelings of attachment to the broader mainstream culture. Further, except for one participant, none of the participants highlighted a sense of affinity with the imagined white mainstream community that gives shape to the national identity of the New Zealand settler state.

For instance, Blake argued that he does not feel like he belongs in New Zealand '100 per cent' because members of the public often 'Other' him by calling him names. Blake has been called Idi Amin by members of the public he has no relationship with.

> I think I was in Hamilton, I can't remember. But people started calling me Idi Amin. I said what?

Idi Amin was a dictator who ruled Uganda with an iron fist from 1971 to 1979. It is worth noting that he came to power with the full support of Britain but fell out with the British after taking over the Ugandan state. Thus Amin was portrayed in the British press as an example of 'primordial Africa, a primitive brute in plain language, an anthropological oddity in academic jargon' (Mamdani 1993, p. 266).

The Idi Amin reference is part of the larger discourse that is utilised to infrahumanise Africans, while, simultaneously, reifying the image of uncommodified blackness. The Idi Amin reference was also invoked to express a sense of intimate racial knowledge about Africa and Africans (Fikes 2009). As already pointed out, whiteness has historically established an archive of information about Africa and Africans, which makes some Westerners feel that they have deep intimate knowledge about the mind and habits of Africans (Goldberg 1993).

On another theoretical level, the Idi Amin reference was used as a distanciation device—basically to say that Blake is an outsider and to remind him of his foreignness. Michael's quote below seems to capture how some participants feel about New Zealand. Michael says that as refugees:

> we were told that we would be part of the society. But people in the broader society treat us like we are outsiders. I do not feel like I belong in this country, instead I feel like I am imposing myself on society.

The foregoing quote suggests that mainstream society does not fully accept Africans as legitimate New Zealanders but, instead, regards Africans, at best, as sojourners and, at worst, as perpetual refugees—a stateless people. However, according to Paul, the attitude of some New Zealanders towards Africans does not reflect the policies of the New Zealand government, because as far as Paul is concerned, the government is generous towards Africans. According to Paul, the New Zealand government:

> Gives Africans a benefit and a house. The New Zealander government tries to meet the needs of Africans. I like the New Zealand government, I especially like the democracy and freedom in this country.

The quote from Paul reflects what seems like an attempt at reconciliation of the discursive paradox of a liberal welfare state with an unwelcoming settler society. As pointed out in Chap. 6, the New Zealand liberal welfare state was originally conceptualised as part of the 'Better Britain'—a white discourse that sought to eliminate class distinction between white settlers. Since the mid-1980s, however, the New Zealand liberal welfare state has been under attack as a result of the discursive shift to a market-driven economy (Cosgrove and Bruce 2005).

Moreover, both the liberal welfare state and the market-driven economy have not disrupted whiteness in New Zealand. Whiteness is the idea that a certain group of people are by virtue of their heredity all too human and more intelligent than other groups; it is the Eurocentric notion that whites are beautiful and universal beings, and therefore are better suited to lead, and that their socio-economic needs deserve to be prioritised over other groups, and they are entitled to greater privileges than other social groups (Bonilla-Silva 2012; McClendon 2012; MacMullan 2009; Yancy 2012).

Whiteness is what makes both New Zealand and Australia settler states. In other words, as nation states, both New Zealand and Australia are a creation of what Goldberg (1993) terms a 'racist culture'. The great thinkers of this racist culture—from Voltaire, Kant, David Hume to Hegel—have depicted Africans as savages, ugly, monkeys, childlike, inferior to whites, a people who have not contributed to modernity and thus a people who are in need of white tutelage (Goldberg 1993; Hoffheimer 2005; Sala-Molins cited in Bonilla-Silva 2012; Valls 2005). In short, whiteness undermines the sense of belonging for Africans in both New Zealand and Australia.

Conclusion

The lived experience of participants discussed in this chapter suggest that Africans feel marginalised on a post-colonial English farm in the Pacific. Through the uncommodified blackness image, Africans are infrahumanised as the personification of the 'heart of darkness' and therefore viewed as undeserving of neighbourly common courtesy, unemployable, banished from the masculine ideal, and are regarded as perpetual refugees who do not embody the true, legitimate Kiwi citizenry.

Whiteness shapes twenty-first-century New Zealand. It is partly for this reason that participants' quotes discussed in this chapter reveal that, irrespective of varied participants' experiences, 'the dimension of race usually hovers in the background' in how mainstream New Zealand views research participants in this study (Feagin and Sikes 2013, p. 252). Ultimately, the participants' lived experience reflects modernity's race logic which claims that Africans ought to be modified and 'fixed' by whiteness in order for whiteness to launch Africans from the long dark night of prehistory into modernity and Western civilisation (Goldberg 1993).

Conclusion: New Racism in Settler States

Abstract This concluding chapter highlights key similarities between the Auckland findings and the Melbourne findings. It concludes that whiteness is what makes both Australia and New Zealand distinctively Settler States of Whiteness. The notion of 'Settler States of Whiteness' is derived from Goldberg's (*Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(7):1271–1282, 2009) trope of 'States of Whiteness', and it is used in this chapter to point out that, historically, Settler States of Whiteness like Australia and New Zealand are states that become engaged in the constitution and maintenance of whiteness (Goldberg, *The racial state*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). Within Settler States of Whiteness, racism has been reformed, cleaned up and streamlined (Winant, *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge, 2001). Consequently, one of the defining features of the new racisms in Settler States of Whiteness is that the discourse of the new racisms openly condemns discrimination while it portrays whiteness as the norm and the rule (Goldberg, *The racial state*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

Keywords Hegemony • World War II • Colonialism • DuBoisian problem • Opportunity hoarding • Black looks

The analysis of data suggests that despite the significant limitations that democratic reforms have imposed on racial practices, racism survives in both Australia and New Zealand (Winant 2001). However, racism has largely been transformed from a system of domination to a system of hegemony (Winant 2001). Hegemony is used in this book to refer to an organised collection of meanings and social practices, dominant cultural values and actions which are lived (Apple 2004). Hegemony operates via the adoption by the state, the media, large corporations and other key societal institutions of cultural narratives drawn from competing racial discourses (Winant 1994).

As a system of hegemony, racism has been reformed, 'cleaned up', 'streamlined', and that reflects the changed political conditions that accompanied the worldwide racial break connected to the defeat of fascism in World War II and the destruction of what remained of European colonialism (Winant 2001). The new racism operates in far more subtle and contradictory ways—it presents itself as colour-blind while foregrounding whiteness; it champions meritocratic values while perpetuating white privilege.

The foregoing describes the kind of mainstream racism that exists in Australia and New Zealand. This is not to argue that this is the only type of racism that exists in these two countries. After all, racist discourses are always subject to rearticulation and social structures undergo reform, and therefore, racism has no permanent content (Winant 2001). One of the rearticulated logics within the discourse of the new racism is that it openly condemns discrimination while it portrays whiteness as the norm and the rule (Goldberg 2002).

Similarly, consistent with the ideological move from racist domination to hegemony, Australia and New Zealand present themselves as liberal, Western countries rather than as Settler States of Whiteness. The notion of 'Settler States of Whiteness' is derived from Goldberg's (2009) trope of 'States of Whiteness', and it is used in this book to point out that, historically, Settler States of Whiteness are states that become engaged in the constitution and maintenance of whiteness (Goldberg 2002). These are states where white governance and social norms of being white historically prevail (Goldberg 2002).

In the twenty-first century, a dominant theme in the racist agenda of Settler States of Whiteness is immigration and local urban arrangements (Goldberg 2002). These themes are expressed through an introduction of stringent immigration policies to make it difficult for the 'racially uncivilized' to come into Settler States of Whiteness and by

over-policing racial Others in white neighbourhoods and other 'white spaces' (Goldberg 2002).

Furthermore, within Settler States of Whiteness, the reinterpretation of racialised differences as matters of culture and nationality, rather than as fundamental human attributes linked to biological make-up of individuals, turns out to justify racist politics and policy far better than traditional white supremacist arguments can do (Taguieff 2001, 1988, cited in Winant 2001). The foregoing is consisted with the view that post-World War II, white superiority could no longer be taken as a given of nature (Goldberg 2002). Therefore, whiteness had to be altered, renegotiated and projected anew (Goldberg 2002).

What the above analysis suggests is that 'racisms have a history of travelling, and transforming in their circulation' (Goldberg 2006, p. 333). The itinerant quality of racism enables one to identify prevailing modalities of racisms—and by extension of race, in different parts of the world. As Goldberg (2006) suggests, such prevailing modalities might include the Americanisation and Southern Africanisation of racism and even the Latin Americanisation of racism. The objective in highlighting these modalities is to illustrate the point that particular countries or regions have taken on elements of racial modalities 'developed and finessed elsewhere, out of related histories of racial articulation not quite their own' (Goldberg 2006, p. 333).

Goldberg (2009) identifies colonialism as one of the important sources for the prevailing modalities of racisms. This is because colonial outlook, interests and arrangements set the tone and terms, its framework for thinking about, the horizons of possibility for engaging, exploiting and governing those conceived as racially different, and relatedly for privileging those deemed racially superior (Goldberg 2009). This is not to argue that there are no differences in how racisms get to be expressed under the current global racial dynamics (Goldberg 2006).

In fact, there are differences having to do with national and local specificities, with differing colonial and post-colonial histories,

> as well as with different experiences of empire; with weightier or lighter legacies of colonizing and scientific racisms; with distinct population presence or absence as a result of migration and refugee crises; with uneven modes of situatedness in relation to postindustrialization and globalization, different experiences of economic decline and reinvention, and contrasting standpoints in relation to World War II and postcolonial decadence and melancholia, resurgence and euphoria. (Goldberg 2006, p. 350)

With the foregoing in mind, this work sought to examine the changing racial conditions in Australia and New Zealand. This book was inspired by the view that as racial conditions change globally, prevailing racial modalities in these two countries must be reexamined and theory must be developed or revised as appropriate (Winant 1994). The ultimate objectives are to describe and theorise developing racial trends and then to communicate these views between the countries involved (Winant 1994).

The analysis of data suggests that, in both Australia and New Zealand, race serves as invisible borderline, demarcating who legitimately belongs or does not belong (Goldberg 2006). The theory used to analyse the data—the uncommodified blackness image—predicts that Africans will always be seen only as a DuBoisian problem (Goldberg 2006) in Western countries. The study's findings confirm the prediction.

In the main, although Australia and New Zealand have different colonial histories and socio-economic structures, the findings of the study generally overlap. This has to do with the historical fact that both Australia and New Zealand come from the same genealogical tree—colonialism and the British Empire.

This concluding chapter aims to underscore ways in which the image of uncommodified blackness is employed by means of identical discursive strategies to infrahumanise and, in some cases, to blatantly dehumanise Africans in these two countries. The analysis of data suggests that the infrahumanisation of Africans in Australia and New Zealand is achieved through the deployment of discursive themes that legitimise whiteness. The following discussion comparatively explores discursive methods in which the uncommodified blackness image impacts on and shapes the lived experience of participants in both Australia and New Zealand.

Personal Encounters with Racism and Vicarious Experiences of Racism

The analysis of data indicates that the type of racism that participants have to contend with in both Australia and New Zealand is 'everyday racism'. Everyday racism includes blatant, subtle and covert actions taken by white people and other dominant groups, wilfully or half-consciously, to ostracise, marginalise, restrict or otherwise harm black people (Feagin and Sikes 2013). One of the features of everyday racism is that it is 'attributionally ambiguous', meaning that when people experience everyday racism, they find it difficult to be certain whether the negative treatment they receive is owing to their race or another reason (Deitch et al. 2003).

Another feature of everyday racism is the infrahumanisation of Africans—the view that Africans are relatively less human than whites and other Westerners. This perspective has roots in liberal thought which historically regarded blacks as inferior 'but argued that this inferiority was not ordained by nature and therefore could be overcome by contact with civilization and a process of tutelage' (Bogues 2005, p. 222). In this narrative, civilisation and a process of tutelage are envisioned in terms of white normativity (Bogues 2005).

In Australia and New Zealand, this liberal narrative is framed around discursive concepts such as multiculturalism and diversity. Both multiculturalism and diversity are derived from liberalism's notion of cosmopolitanism. According to Mehta (1999, p. 36), 'liberalism has come to represent, even in its original motivation, political thought that was cosmopolitan in its imagination and potential reach'. Modood (2007, p. 7) writes that multiculturalism is 'a child of liberal egalitarianism'. Kymlicka (2007) concurs and further points out that multiculturalism was first introduced by left-liberal political parties.

New Zealand is a 'de facto multicultural nation', according to Ward and Masgoret (2008, p. 228). Australia, on the other hand, formally adopted multicultural policies in the 1970s, and the rationale behind Australian multiculturalism has been described in terms of liberal democratic values (Galligan et al. 2014). Thus, in both Australia and New Zealand, the racist infrahumanisation of Africans occurs within a discursive climate of multiculturalism.

Furthermore, the discourse of multiculturalism enables societal institutions in Australia and New Zealand to blame Africans for their poor socioeconomic situation, making their discrimination and ill-treatment appear just (Bastian et al. 2014). It is against this discursive backdrop that African refugees were characterised as difficult to integrate and problematic when the Australian government reduced the quota of refugees from African war zones in 2007 (Haggis and Schech 2010).

In New Zealand, the language deficiency trope (Essed 1991) is used as the standard rationalisation for the economic marginalisation of Africans. Thus, discursive tropes such as 'language barriers', 'language problems', 'language limitations', 'language proficiency' and the 'lack of cultural knowledge' are frequently used to blame Africans for their own economic situation. Ultimately, in both Australia and New Zealand, Africans are elevated above their alleged primitive status only in proportion to their mastery of the English language (Fanon 1986), as well as their adoption of 'the trappings of whiteness' (Cunningham 2009, p. 49).

Africans who do not master the English language or speak it with an accent are seen as failing at integration, and Africans who do not embrace the trappings of whiteness are considered to be struggling to fit in in Western societies. This perspective dovetails with the right-wing view that Africans are pathological and an intrinsic social problem in need of discipline and punishment (Leonard 2012). This was reflected in participants' lived experience which suggests that Africans in both Australia and New Zealand are regarded as potentially dangerous and hence New Zealand participants were racially profiled at Auckland International Airport. Australian participants, on the other hand, faced regular police harassment and were also racially profiled by the police.

What the foregoing discussion reveals is that whiteness regards itself as eternal and omnipotent (Marcos 2001), and hence mainstream society assumes it as the norm (Low 2009). While the literal existence of Africans may be acknowledged from time to time in this white socio-discursive order, 'such acknowledgement often occurs on an abstract level that produces an ethical solipsism in which only white values, interests, and needs are considered important and worthy of attention' (Sullivan 2006, p. 17). And that is the nature of racism that Africans have to struggle against in Australia and New Zealand.

RACIST BULLYING

This work predicts that 'an adult world that privileges whiteness helps produce a child's unconscious habits that also privilege whiteness' (Sullivan 2006, p. 71). This theoretical perspective was reflected in participants' children's educational experiences. The analysis of data indicates that the educational experience of participants' children revolved around being teased about being black, being subjected to racist harassment, and essentially being socialised for a life characterised by belittlement, infrahumanisation and a lifelong discursive association with all forms of anti-black racist stereotypes.

Racist bullying in both the Australian and New Zealand school system forms part of the hidden curriculum. Moreover, in both Australia and New Zealand, participants were of the view that schools did not take the issue of racist bullying seriously. Schools do not take racist bullying seriously because, theoretically, one of the most important functions of the hidden curriculum in Western schools is to inculcate in African children and parents a sense of powerlessness against whiteness.

Schools serve as important institutions for social reproduction, are geared towards perpetuating the status quo and the established social order (Susen 2014). Therefore, the racist bullying of participants' children suggests that, in order for these African children to be successful at school, they would need to accommodate racist taunts and adjust to racist harassment from other school children.

Being a Refugee

The analysis of data suggests that participants in both Australia and New Zealand are of the view that the label refugee is used to infrahumanise and Other Africans. For instance, an Australian participant argued that the label refugee is used as a social weapon to degrade and devalue the humanness of Africans. This is because, as a New Zealand participant explained, African refugees are associated with the tragic and dehumanising effects of civil wars.

All the participants were in agreement that African refugees are associated with violence, nescience, philistinism and with being poor and uneducated. Some participants blamed the media for perpetuating these inaccurate images of African refugees while others blamed the West for being ignorant of African affairs, and thus for failing to educate their citizens.

Further, participants in both Australia and New Zealand lamented the notion that they found it almost impossible to effectively challenge this hegemonic presentation of Africans. There is a direct and abiding connection between the maintenance of whiteness in Western societies and the institutionalisation through the media of specific images, representations of race and of blackness that support the domination and infrahumanisation of all black people (hooks 1992).

Thus, the analysis of data indicates that participants yearn for liberatory spaces in which they could imagine and describe themselves in ways that are oppositional (hooks 1992) to the oppressive image of uncommodified blackness. The lived experience of participants suggests that some participants experienced considerable distress upon learning that they could not control the 'black look'— 'how we see ourselves… or how we are seen…so intense that it rends us' (hooks 1992, 4). This work attempts to contribute to efforts that challenge and subvert the colonising image of uncommodified blackness.

Employment

Participants' lived experience suggests that racism at Australian and New Zealand workplaces is reproduced not only through discrimination but also via acts of favouritism that whites show to each other. For instance, although several Australian participants had university degrees from Australian universities, they still struggled to access professional employment. Participants understood that jobs that were available to them involved manual labour or employment in the services sector. New Zealand participants, on the other hand, pointed out that employers often use the excuse that Africans lack New Zealand qualifications or New Zealand work experience to filter out Africans in the employment application process.

What the foregoing suggests is that in addition to facing everyday racism when searching for employment, Africans also have to contend with the notion that whites in Western countries favour each other through opportunity hoarding and via the exchange of social resources that whites share with each other (DiTomaso 2013). Opportunity hoarding includes the passing along of access to good jobs to friends and family members (DiTomaso 2013). Although the notion of opportunity hoarding is frequently used interchangeably with Max Weber's concept of social closure, DiTomaso (2013) uses the concept to highlight how whites, in particular, reserve opportunities for other whites. The discursive use of opportunity hoarding in this way attempts to show that although racial discrimination is illegal in Western countries, opportunity hoarding is not illegal (DiTomaso 2013).

What DiTomaso calls opportunity hoarding, some scholars refer to it as white privilege. Whiteness is a system of social, economic and political privileges which whites primarily benefit from (DiAngelo 2011). Whites do not have to be racist to enjoy or access white privilege. Whites in general regard white advantage as something they deserve because living in a white dominant context, whites receive constant messages that they are better and more important than Africans (DiAngelo 2011). Ultimately, the white privileges that whites enjoy reinforce racist disadvantage for Africans (DiAngelo 2011).

Neighbourhood Life

The analysis of data suggests that participants in both Australia and New Zealand are socially isolated. Neighbours are not neighbourly towards them, and sometimes neighbours are overtly hostile or racist towards participants.

Most of the research participants pointed out that they did not derive any pleasure from neighbourhood life in Australia or New Zealand.

Participants felt that predominantly white neighbourhoods were unwelcoming and even hostile. This book frames the participants' lived experiences around the colonial histories of Australia and New Zealand which shows that whiteness has always imagined the countries as geographically white spaces. In its effort to create a white nation, Australia went as far as to introduce the White Australia policy in 1901. Similarly, for most of the twentieth century, the New Zealand immigration policy favoured white immigrants from Western Europe and North America.

Put differently, whites enjoy a deep, albeit largely unconscious sense of racial belonging in Australian and New Zealand society (DiAngelo 2011). It is within this climate that Africans are Othered via questions like 'where are you from?' In some cases, Africans are simply told they cannot integrate in Western societies and thus perhaps they should go back 'where they belong'. Polite liberals express their desire to avoid proximity to blackness differently. For example,

> Wanting to live in a nice house, with nice neighbours, in a nice neighbourhood where your home values and environment are stable are simply another way of rationalizing the desire to maintain whiteness. (Low 2009, p. 90)

It is within this discursive climate that research shows that whites in Western countries consistently choose and enjoy racial segregation (DiAngelo 2011). Predominantly, white neighbourhoods are reasonably secure and offer amenities that improve the lives, skill development and networks of white children (DiTomaso 2013).

On the other hand, neighbourhoods that are diverse in terms of demographics in Western countries are often associated with poverty, ghettoes and criminal elements. This reflects the theoretical view that whiteness often withdraws or denies resources to the public institutions that are likely to benefit people of colour (DiTomaso 2013).

African Masculinity

The majority of research participants in this study voiced unhappiness with the male gender roles available to them in Australia and New Zealand. For both the Australian cohort and the New Zealand participants, the emasculating Sapphire stereotype is a discursive trope that participants consistently used to explain the source of what they perceive to be a reversal

of gender roles in these countries. As far as participants were concerned, African women in Australia and New Zealand are not doing gender in the 'right' way.

The analysis of data indicates that participants are of the view that African women in Australia and New Zealand want to play the dominant gender role that is traditionally associated with men. This study theorised participants' standpoint by arguing that since in Australia and New Zealand white masculinities are generally prioritised as most appropriately masculine (Cooper 2012), participants felt that they needed to prove their masculinities at home. When they met resistance at home, the data suggests that participants saw African women as the source of their masculine anxieties.

This work theoretically predicts that when a man feels that he is at a disadvantage—due to race and class—to other men along the axis of masculine identity, he might then compensate for his low status by subordinating others who he views are below him (Cooper 2012). Thus, participants seem to think that it is their right to expect African women to play the subordinate gender role by respecting their patriarchal authority at home.

What distorts the gender dynamics and further complicates gender relations between African men and African women is that, in both Australia and New Zealand, external socio-economic factors disrupt and contribute to family conflicts. African families, especially families from a refugee background, tend to be working class and often rely on the government benefit to make ends meet in both Australia and New Zealand. Thus, participants in both Australia and New Zealand found themselves in situations where their family financial resources were chronically strained and that triggered family conflicts about who in the family should have power and control over the financial assistance coming from the government.

Meanwhile, the elephant in the room is that African men are in 'penalty status' due to race and class (Cooper 2016). Penalty status, according to Cooper (2016, p. 86), 'is the condition of already having something about your identity that makes your masculinity suspect'. In both Australia and New Zealand, the idealised masculinity is white, heterosexual, middle and upper class. Thus, 'men who do not fit one of those categories start off knowing that their quest to measure up to the ideal is hampered' (Cooper 2016, p. 86).

Put another way, whiteness is generally prized masculinity in Australia and New Zealand. In both these countries, whiteness is the masculinity in patriarchy, it is the straightness in heteronormativity (Cooper 2012). To assuage

their masculine anxieties and boost their masculine self-esteem (Cooper 2016), participants seemed to scapegoat African women as the source of their penalty status. Thus, in interviews, participants described the way that African women do gender via the emasculating Sapphire stereotype.

Denying Racism

As pointed out in Chap. 3, one of the ideological functions of liberalism is to persuade mainstream society that social ills such as racism and discrimination have all 'disappeared' (Susen 2014). Consequently, a common white perception about racism in Western countries is that racial discrimination is no longer a serious and widespread social problem, and that whatever blatant anti-black hostility remains is generally that held by isolated white bigots (Feagin and Sikes 2013).

Another white perspective that works to effectively suppress protest against racism is the formulation of racism as being due to ignorance or misunderstanding (Essed 1991). Through this perspective, blacks are expected to be tolerant of 'the "error" of racism' (Essed 1991, p. 6). It is against this discursive backdrop that the subtext of the immigration discourse in Western countries subtly communicates to Africans in the diaspora that they need to work hard at sustaining the racial comfort of the dominant groups in society they reside in.

It is within this social climate that some participants in this research project expressed the view that racism is inevitable in any situation characterised by different cultural groups having to live side by side. This book does not subscribe to the perspective that views discrimination or racism as something that happens inevitably. Acts of racial discrimination are always embedded in the deep structural foundation of a society (Feagin 2010). Further, this study challenges the liberal discourse that argues that, historically, racism was a result of the prejudices 'of a few others' and is therefore increasingly disappearing as an upshot of our advanced modernity (Feagin 2010, p. 5).

The foregoing are all tropes that whiteness employs to deny the existence of racism, while simultaneously, perpetuating the discourse that views whiteness as signifying goodness, professionalism, fairness, justice and respectability (Leonard 2012). The phrase 'perceived racism' is another discursive trope often utilised by whites to dismiss informed analysis and knowledge that is not congruent with the image of whiteness (DiAngelo 2011). The 'perception of racism' discourse is used in the same way as the 'race card' trope. According to Williams (2001), the metaphor of the race

card functions to discredit any racialised suffering that can be turned to advantage. Additionally, as an accusatory category, it implies that the use of a racial analysis is inappropriate and unfair (Cole and Andrews 2010).

Meanwhile, social psychological experiments have demonstrated that whites are generally motivated to present themselves to others as unprejudiced (Essed 1991). Some whites will even claim to be colour-blind in order to preserve this image. According to Sue (2010), colour-blindness is sometimes utilised by whites in an attempt to appear unbiased to others in social encounters that have race-related implications. Sue (2010, p. 125) points out that whites are sometimes compelled to maintain the illusion that they are unbiased because to acknowledge 'that one is racist or at least holds prejudicial attitudes is both frightening and unsettling because it strikes at the core of human decency'.

Thus, when whites are confronted with the suggestion that their behaviour and actions have racist implications, they will often either take offence or give non-racial interpretations of the event (Essed 1991). Furthermore, 'this failure to understand and to feel responsible for racism is legitimized by questioning the perspectives and personalities of opponents of racism' (Essed 1991, p. 272). It is against this background that opponents of racism are often accused of victimising innocent whites (Essed 1991). In such a state of affairs, racism ceases to be the problem, rather, 'people "who go around accusing" others of racism are the problem' (Essed 1991, p. 275).

Being Australian/Being a New Zealander

One of the social functions of the nation-building discourse is to establish mutually shared cultural codes, including common reference points, and those in turn become markers of collective identity (Susen 2014). A historical analysis of Australia and New Zealand reveals that, despite the continued presence of their Indigenous peoples, both countries' national identities were constructed around whiteness following colonisation. Thus, immigrants who do not embody white norms and values are regarded as a threat to social cohesion or in the Australian and New Zealand government parlance, 'not integrated'.

The dominant theme in interviews from both Australia and New Zealand is that participants felt that mainstream white society cast them as outsiders. Thus participants pointed out that they and their children are constantly asked 'where are you from?' As far as this book is concerned, curiosity about participants' geographical origins speak to the larger discourse on nationality and race. The discursive conflation of nationality with race serves to

reinforce the notion that 'the world is naturally divided into countries' and that certain races 'belong' in certain countries (Chomsky 2014, p. 23). It is further assumed that some people ought to remain in the countries they were born in (Chomsky 2014). In reality, countries, the nation state, citizenship and state laws are all socially constructed (Chomsky 2014).

The discursive conflation of nationality and race as it pertains to Western countries serves to perpetuate white privilege, among other things. According to Chomsky (2014, p. 19), 'the world's wealthy nations have created islands of prosperity and privilege, and those who live in these islands have an interest in preserving them—and in justifying their own access to them'. It is against this backdrop that the under-employment and unemployment of Africans in Australia and New Zealand largely go unproblematised in mainstream society. It is within this climate that it is seen as just that highly educated Africans should work as taxi drivers or as manual labourers if they want to 'integrate' into Australia and New Zealand. The discourse makes it clear that the options available to Africans are either to endure these indignities and 'hope for the best' or go back to Africa. Consequently, although there are exceptions, there exists a tendency in literature on African refugees to write uncritically about the 'resettlement process' as being characterised by a loss of status.

Interestingly, some New Zealand participants argued that the grass is economically greener on the other side of the Tasman Sea. Although the Australian economy is bigger than the New Zealand economy, and therefore potentially offers more economic opportunities, the literature reveals high levels of unemployment and under-employment among Africans from a refugee background in Australia.

To reiterate, part of the social function of the everyday construction of uncommodified blackness is to rationalise the exclusion of Africans from positions of prestige and power. Additionally, the discursive emphasis on refugee status when referring to Africans serves to underscore the view that Africans are essentially outsiders and therefore supposedly have no reasonable and legitimate claim to the economic resources of Australia and New Zealand.

CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, what the findings suggest is that as Settler States of Whiteness, Australia and New Zealand are about limiting the number of 'Africa's Negroes' (Goldberg 2002)—also known as uncommodified blackness, who come to work and live in these countries. The logic that

shapes this outlook is the desire to keep these countries white. In their national articulation, Settler States of Whiteness historically view themselves as racially and culturally homogenous spaces (Goldberg 2002). This is consistent with the theoretical view that modern states are instrumental in inventing races both as a method of socialisation and as technologies of order and control (Goldberg 2002).

It, therefore, follows that Settler States of Whiteness are implicated in the possibility of producing and reproducing racist outcomes (Goldberg 2002). These states are racist to the extent that their societal structures operate to exclude, inferiorise and Other Africans and are racist in so far as their dominant mainstream discourses produce a world whose imagery, meanings and effects are racist (Goldberg 2002).

The study's findings suggest that Africans experience racism on a daily basis both in Australia and New Zealand. Perhaps due to the White Australia Policy, Australia is globally known for its historical racism. New Zealand, on the other hand, is known for its friendliness, hospitality and informality (Pratt 2006). I argue in this book that this image of New Zealand is consistent with its own colonial version of lusotropicalist ideology. As far as the extent to which Australia and New Zealand differ in terms of producing and reproducing racism, the quote below from Goldberg (2002, p. 71) about the difference between John Stuart Mill's polite racism and Thomas Carlyle's crude racism captures the subtleties of racism that exists in these Settler States of Whiteness:

> Between Mill's 'Negro' and Carlyle's 'Nigger,' then, lies the common thread of racist presumption and projection, bald and vicious, on the one hand, polite and effete, on the other, but both nevertheless insidious and odious.

This study theoretically predicts that the lived experience of Africa's Negroes who reside in other Western countries will reflect more or less the same experiences of Africans in Australia and New Zealand. After all, the Global Metropolises of Whiteness—for example, Paris, London and New York—shape the racist discourse that permeate in Settler States of Whiteness. In other words, 'racist arrangements anywhere—in any place—depend to a smaller or larger degree on racist practice almost everywhere else' (Goldberg 2009, p. 1275).

This work returns the racist gaze of settler whiteness via 'Black Looks'—a critical gaze, one that 'looks' (hooks 1992) to catch whiteness red-handed, to paraphrase Nietzsche (1992). Although this work figuratively wields

and theorises with a hammer (Nietzsche 1992)—through the concept of uncommodified blackness image—the objective of this work is not just to critique the status quo but 'is also about transforming the image, creating alternatives [and] asking ourselves questions about what types of images subvert' (hooks 1992, p. 4) the dehumanising image of uncommodified blackness.

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