

existing media elites, political elites, and publics. They do this by providing different normative contexts and terms of engagement for interactions among these groups (p. 24).

Power in this system is relational, fluid, and wrapped around information dynamics. Actors create information flows or leverage existing ones across and between a range of older and newer media settings to further their own goals or disadvantage opponents. Journalists in “old media,” for example, routinely borrow from the visual grammar of social media and mix them with preexisting professional practices to create hybrids. “Shepard Smith Reporting” on Fox News, for instance, is a blend of a traditional anchor news format with social media streaming displayed on oversize touch screens that are monitored by a variety of mostly silent staff, all of which is contained on a set that could easily double for the deck of the starship Enterprise. Similarly, older organizational morphologies, such as political parties and interest groups, blend standard issue campaign styles with the sort of mobilization repertoires associated with social movements. Older and newer practices, skills, expectations, and visual grammars form a *mélange* that defies fixed categorization.

One way this is discussed by Chadwick is by reference to the conceptualization of “assemblages.” First brought to prominence by French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Félix Guattari, assemblages capture the interactive complexity of modern media and politics. These assemblages are “composed of multiple, loosely coupled individuals, groups, sites, and temporal instances of interaction involving diverse yet highly interdependent news creators and media technologies that plug and unplug themselves from the news-making process, often in real time” (p. 64).

In turn, “political information cycles,” an update to the older notion of news cycles, are assemblages in which the logics of newer digital technologies are hybridized with the logics of traditional broadcast media and newspapers.

Another important conceptual element of Chadwick’s book is the idea of “media logic,” the absorption of the assumptions, tropes, visual grammar, aesthetics templates, formats genres, and narrative styles of media by non-media fields, like politics, pedagogy, and other cultural institutions (David L. Altheide and Robert P. Snow, *Media Logic*, 1979). Non-media and entertainment institutions and practices absorb the entertainment ethos of television so that a good teacher, for example, is one who is lively and entertaining, irrespective of the value of the content of what he or she has to offer students. The same might be said of political leadership judged according to the politician’s telegenic qualities. Does a presidential candidate “look” presidential? Chadwick uses a more expansive and less deterministic understanding of media logic. Today, the media environment is too diverse and fragmented to speak of a single logic. Instead, “we can conceive of politics and

society as being shaped by more complex interactions between competing and overlapping media logics, some of which may have little or no basis in, or are antagonistic toward, commercialism” (p. 21). Mediated politics involves traditional news organizations covering events and processes, but also members of “the audience” that actively engage with creating and shaping representations through their own logics and on their own digital platforms.

Given events since the book’s publication, one chapter stands out. Chadwick’s cogent analysis of the interplay between traditional news organizations and Julian Assange calls for a similar analysis of Edward Snowden and many of the same news organizations. Yet the book’s publication date simply did not allow for such an analysis. Similarly cogent chapters on hybridity and the 2008 Obama campaign (chapter 6) and on presidential politics more generally (chapter 7) add to the value of the book. Chapter 9 looks at hybridity and activist politics and political parties. Chadwick’s discussion of the importance of “actions” by 38 Degrees, the British activist organization modeled after MoveOn in the United States, is especially helpful. Based on interviews and close observations, he argues that the “actions” or issue campaigns pursued by 38 Degrees constitutes both what it does and what it is. The word “actions” has totemic significance “because it provides identity and collective meaning” (p. 189).

A bit of mental agility is required to understand the complex conceptual framework Chadwick develops in the book. Also, some readers might have preferred a sustained focus on media and politics in either American or Britain, but not both. Yet another element of the hybrid model is the interactive effects of transnational politics and media. One cannot understand the new found importance of candidate debates in British politics, for example, without the contextual influence of American presidential debates. In the end, the effort required to understand the model and track it on the rich examples pays off nicely.

Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War. By Cindy I-Fen Cheng. New York: New York University Press, 2013. 285p. 285 pp. \$49.00 cloth, \$24.00 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592714003612

— Mary L. Dudziak, *Emory University*

Citizens of Asian America is a welcome addition to the scholarship on race and the Cold War. As a significant body of work has demonstrated, important changes in civil rights were tied to Cold War dynamics. Cindy I-Fen Cheng argues that while the rights of different racial minority groups were affected, seminal works focused initially on African Americans. The literature has since become more diverse, including Christina Klein’s work on Asia in American Cold War culture, (*Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961*, 2003). But Cheng is correct in saying that Asian American Cold

War history deserves more attention, and that Asian American history illuminates broader features of Cold War era politics, culture and rights.

Scholarship on race, civil rights, and the Cold War can appear in various forms. Some works are focused on the way international affairs affect domestic politics or social movements, such as James Meriwether's *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935–1961* (2002); others are focused on the way domestic dynamics affect foreign relations, such as Thomas Borstelmann's *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (2001). Some works examine the domestic and international engagement of particular groups, like Carol Anderson's *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (2003). Other works have a more internal focus, so that the “Cold War context” refers to the era of domestic anti-communism and repression after 1945. Some scholarship is transnational, with elements of the domestic and international histories intertwined, as in Brenda Gayle Plummer's recent work, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956–1974* (2013). All of these approaches are important. Distinguishing among these approaches is essential because different approaches rely on different kinds of archival sources, and the breadth of the claims a scholar can make depends on the particular realm of her research. There is, as yet, no deeply synthetic work that covers the broad range of domestic minority rights politics and their relationship to Cold War-era U.S. foreign relations and global affairs.

Cheng's contribution to this broader literature is principally focused on the domestic sphere. Her primary sources are oral histories and archives of local groups and institutions, as well as sources that illuminate state and federal politics and anti-communist efforts. These sources are well matched when her focus is on Asian American politics and racial formation. Global events, particularly the Chinese communist revolution and the Korean War, play a role in the domestic story because they frame the experience of Chinese American and Korean American communities. They also affect the way other Americans regarded these groups: for example, when tense relations with China after 1949 led to fears that Chinese Americans might act as spies. Cheng examines the differences among Asian Americans, thereby illuminating the ways in which Asian American culture was “a site that generated competing stories about race and U.S. democracy” (p. 5).

Cheng does not rely on foreign relations-related archives, but they are not needed when her focus is on the way international affairs, as configured in domestic politics and culture, affect the citizenship rights of particular communities in the United States. When she ranges beyond this, however, there is a disconnect between the arguments made and the sources relied on.

The book is at its strongest when Cheng turns to the concrete narratives that underly her analysis. For example, chapter one discusses 1940s housing discrimination cases in Los Angeles, California, against Tommy Amer, a Chinese American, and Yin Kim, a Korean American. Yin Kim and his wife secretly moved into their new home while it was in escrow so that they were already living in the home when they were served with notice of a lawsuit over the breach of a racially restrictive covenant covering the property. For Kim (and also Amer), the support of churches and community groups aided their efforts in fighting the lawsuits aimed at removing them from their homes.

When the United States Supreme Court took up the constitutionality of racially restrictive covenants, it initially slated the Kim and Amer cases for review along with five others. The Court later decided to hear only four cases of the original seven (including African American homeowners), excluding the cases of Kim and Amer along with the case of a mixed-race individual. Cheng argues that the Court's actions framed housing discrimination by turning African Americans into a representative of other non-white groups. At the same time, a leading account of the litigation treated the Kim and Amer cases as involving the rights of aliens, conflating Asian Americans with Asian nationals. This supports Cheng's argument that Asian Americans were racialized as “foreigners-within” (p. 3).

Cheng also effectively examines the impact of the identity as “foreigners-within” in her powerful discussions of the threatened McCarran Act, deportations of Korean Americans in chapter four, and the crack-down on the international Chinese ransom racket in chapter five. These examples illustrate her point that it is this understanding of identity that positioned the inclusion as well as exclusion of Asian Americans “from dominant society as responses to the demands of Cold War internationalism and communist containment” (p. 3).

Cheng turns to Asian American “firsts” in chapter three, including Korean American Sammy Lee, the first Asian American to win an Olympic gold medal. Cheng writes that widespread media coverage of such firsts, like African American baseball player Jackie Robinson, “depicted racial injustice as foremost a personal and not a societal problem” (p. 87). She argues that racial minority firsts also contributed to a Cold War narrative: “[S]tories of the first were vital to showing an international community that the United States was superior to communist countries” (p. 87). Lee's story is compelling, and the author illustrates the robust discussion in U.S. based newspapers (including Asian American and mainstream papers), about the international attention given to Lee, and the way he sought to reinforce U.S. Cold War arguments about the superiority of democracy. Her account is fascinating and original.

But Cheng's discussion of Sammy Lee's story also illuminates the limitations of her book. Cheng's discussion of international news coverage of Lee comes from the *New York Times*, rather than foreign papers themselves. More important, Cheng appears not to have consulted U.S. State Department records, which should have documents on Lee's interactions with Soviet reporters, his warm relationship with Republic of Korea President, Syngman Ree, and his appointment by the State Department as an official sports ambassador. U.S. diplomatic records would also enable a broader assessment of global news coverage since reports from foreign posts often include translated copies of news articles. Most importantly, these records would include the assessment of American diplomats on how Lee's actions and statements impacted American prestige in Asia and other parts of the world. These are the sources that would have enabled Cheng to develop and substantiate her claims about the impact of Lee and others on the U.S. Cold War mission. Similarly, Cheng is unable to shed light on the full story behind the McCarren Act prosecutions or actions against the Chinese communist ransom racket without INS, State, and Treasury Department records.

In these examples and elsewhere in the book, Cheng can do without foreign relations records if her focus is on the way arguments about international affairs affected domestic civil rights and the discourse of racial formation. The book succeeds when she pursues this goal. When she ranges beyond this, the book is disappointing. Cheng certainly shows that there is a story to tell about the impact of Asian American civil rights on U.S. foreign relations during the Cold War. Pursuing this story through research in foreign relations archives will have to await another book.

Black Ethnics: Race, Immigration, and the Pursuit of the American Dream. By Christina M. Greer. New York: Oxford

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— Morris Levy, *University of Southern California*

America's black population encompasses an increasingly diverse ethnic mix. Black immigrants account for approximately 10% of the U.S. black population, and African-born blacks are a growing third of a foreign-born black population historically dominated by people of Afro-Caribbean descent.

Christina Greer's *Black Ethnics* raises critically important questions about the prospects for pan-racial political coalitions that bring together American-born, Afro-Caribbean, and African blacks. W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) famously wrote in *The Souls of Black Folk* that blacks carry a "double-consciousness" that pairs painful awareness of subordination with an inescapable recognition that America is their only nation. But the social

identities of foreign-born blacks and their offspring present even more complexity. They are immigrants, blacks, members of their national origin group, and Americans. Black immigrants come to recognize that whatever identity they choose for themselves, American society will view them through the lens of race, and if they assimilate they become "black American" rather than "just American" (p. 22). At the same time, they have an "elevated minority group status" (p. 12) in the eyes of many Americans. They share blacks' low social status but enjoy higher status than American-born blacks by virtue of ethnic distinctiveness and immigrant origin. Shared racial identity therefore promotes political convergence while distinct ethnic identity undermines it (p. 13).

Greer's most significant contributions are her development of a theoretical frame to help us understand the political implications of a multi-ethnic black populace and her analysis of an original survey of members of a New York City union of social welfare workers that includes substantial samples of each black ethnic group. She also reports interviews conducted with the union's membership. She seeks to understand both convergence and divergence in these groups' feelings about the viability of the American dream, fair treatment of minority groups, and political preferences. She arrives at a detailed and sometimes counter-intuitive portrait of her subjects' political beliefs. The conclusion is that both racial commonality and ethnic difference influence political preferences and beliefs in equal opportunity. Issues that separate whites and blacks tend to promote pan-black unity while other issues make intra-black divides salient.

Black Ethnics is not the first work to traverse this scholarly terrain. Mary Waters, Alejandro Portes, and others have considered racial and ethnic dimensions of black immigrant identity and the ways that this dual identity influences life chances, perceptions of American society, and patterns of assimilation. Political implications have also been studied. Reuel Rogers' (2006) *Afro-Caribbean Immigrants and the Politics of Incorporation* considers impediments to coalitions between native-born and Afro-Caribbean blacks in New York. Alana Hackshaw's (2008) dissertation and other work (see, e.g., "Black Ethnicity and Racial Community: African-Americans and West Indian Immigrants in the United States." in Caroline Brettell, ed., *Constructing Borders / Crossing Boundaries: Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration*, 2007) examines feelings of pan-racial solidarity between native-born and Afro-Caribbean blacks, extending, as Greer does, the notion of a "black utility heuristic" laid out in Michael Dawson's (1994) *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Other than Hackshaw's research, these works are appropriately acknowledged. But a clearer exposition of how the theory of elevated minority status and the findings presented in the book differ from, and overlap with related research would have been helpful.