

Civil Rights era affords us an understanding of the apathy and indifference toward most African-Americans. I imagine that some might balk at Jung's conclusion that most people simply do not care about real-life suffering at the hands of racism. But if we take Jung's analysis to be truly sociological, rather than pop-psychoanalytic, then the supposed principle of racial equality is not being acted upon. It is, as Jung writes, "a principle without a principle, which is to say not a principle at all" (p. 167).

I was struck by the candor of *Beneath the Surface of White Supremacy*, alongside an ease of reading that refused to sacrifice analytic sophistication. I consider the book an excellent example of hard-nosed sociology—one that embodies Charles Lemert's admonition (*Social Things* [Rowman & Littlefield, 2012], p. 224) that, "living the sociological life makes you a rude, improper guest who crashes someone else's well-planned party." Indeed, the soiree of mainstream American sociology is in need of this party-crashing book that highlights an unabashed analysis of a reality properly defined as "white supremacy." The text challenges the "dominant's *tacit nonrecognition* of subaltern dissent" (p. 175) in both our discipline and far beyond the ivory tower.

The Enigma of Diversity: The Language of Race and the Limits of Racial Justice. By Ellen Berrey. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. 352. \$80.00 (cloth); \$27.50 (paper).

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Everyone is a snowflake, beautiful and unique; everyone's perspective is valuable; and together we all thrive—so goes the language of diversity, which has become a central repertoire for talking about race in the United States. The language of diversity inspires tolerance but not the urge to discuss—much less address—racial discrimination and inequality. In her book *The Enigma of Diversity*, Ellen Berrey examines how talk and policy that revolve around diversity have replaced the civil rights language of justice and substantial racial equality. Berrey studies diversity in three very different settings: student admissions policy at the University of Michigan; the politics of housing in a multiracial Chicago neighborhood; and hiring, firing, and promotion practices at "Starr," a Fortune 500 company. For each of these cases, Berrey traces how an initial commitment to race-conscious remedial action gave way to diversity as the dominant discourse. She reveals how the diversity discourse enables the "selective inclusion" (p. 8) of some members of marginalized groups but avoids a comprehensive program of justice. And she investigates how critics challenged the shortcomings of the diversity discourse by engaging in what Berrey calls "street-level semiotics" (p. 15).

Berrey's combined examination of how similar processes unfold in three different settings makes *The Enigma of Diversity* an exceptionally ambi-

tious piece of scholarship. Each case is illuminated through a combination of archival data, interviews, and ethnographic observation. Chapters 3 and 4 delve into admissions policy at the University of Michigan. After a 1978 landmark Supreme Court decision, the University of Michigan recast affirmative action in admissions as a tool of ensuring campus diversity, which was to benefit all students, not just minorities. Doing so, the university staved off further legal objections against considering race in admissions. However, Berrey concludes that this victory came at the cost of abandoning a commitment to justice and silenced groups that wanted the university to embrace a stronger program of remedial action.

Chapters 5 and 6 take the reader to Rogers Park, a multiracial Chicago neighborhood. Berrey discusses how community leaders and developers, keen on accelerating gentrification, rebranded the neighborhood as a diverse and thus attractive place for white, middle-class homebuyers. The presence of some minority residents was considered valuable, but only insofar as it created opportunities for cultural consumption without threatening housing values. As in Michigan, however, left-leaning activists criticized this dominant conception of diversity and fought for subsidized housing for low-income African-Americans and Latinos.

Chapters 7 and 8 engage the politics of hiring, firing, and promotion at Starr, a Fortune 500 company. After an initial period during which Starr framed minority hiring as a moral responsibility, the company shifted toward a “business case for diversity” (p. 213), which held that inclusion mattered only insofar as it made the company more productive and competitive. Berrey pays particular attention to the experience of diversity management staff, who tried to increase the presence of marginalized groups in upper management but had little power to do so, instead facing constant pressure to legitimize the sheer existence of diversity management.

The Enigma of Diversity is a Herculean effort, and my critiques are simply the corollary of this fact. Analyzing three very different cases, Berrey traverses a large number of literatures, including those dealing with higher education, housing, and employment, but also discourse analysis, critical race theory, neoliberalism, law and society scholarship, organizational and cultural sociology, and many more. For the most part, these discussions are smoothly woven into the fabric of the book, but some theoretical engagements feel thin. In particular, the role of language and discourse in molding racial politics remains underdeveloped. Given that this is fundamentally what the book is about, a more thorough discussion would have been desirable, and Berrey’s comments on the matter are not entirely consistent.

Essentially, Berrey’s arguments about the power of language and discourse are rooted in Gramsci’s concept of hegemony. She writes that “through discourse, people with authority exercise power. Their conceptual categories, symbols, and linguistic devices enable them to control or limit others’ actions” (p. 18). Thus, the diversity discourse should obstruct the pursuit of justice because it dissipates dissent and makes it harder for critics to articulate an

alternative vision of racial politics. But Berrey's findings do not support a strong cultural argument about the hegemonic power of diversity discourse. Critics in Rogers Park and at the University of Michigan were able to redefine diversity in ways that were consistent with their struggle or used an alternative language of civil rights. The diversity discourse did not stifle their activism. It is possible that the diversity discourse placated individuals who would have otherwise become political activists, but Berrey does not explore this possibility. For the case of Starr, Berrey explains the failure of concerned staff to challenge the limitations of diversity by arguing that "they lacked the terminology . . . to describe the subtle processes of nondeliberate discrimination and microaggressions or the diffuse structural dynamics of segregated social relationships, power differences, and formal processes that limit the advancement of employees who are not white men" (p. 229). But a more straightforward explanation is that fiercely critical employees would have simply been fired. Here it is likely that plain old power and control were at work, not hegemony.

Nevertheless, these concerns do not detract from the fact that *The Enigma of Diversity* is a major contribution to the study of race. Berrey's multicausal design compellingly demonstrates how deeply the language of diversity has permeated racial politics and the significant consequences this has had. The book will shape future debates about racial inequality in education, employment, and housing. It will also encourage further scholarship on the diversity discourse, as well as the role of language and discourse in racial politics more broadly. Any scholar working on these issues will want to read this book.

Desi Hoop Dreams: Pick Up Basketball and the Making of Asian American Masculinity. By Stanley I. Thangaraj. New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. ix+267. \$27.00 (paper).

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Basketball is often referred to colloquially as a "black sport," perhaps owing to the fact that over 70% of the National Basketball Association is African-American and the league's most popular stars—like LeBron James, Stephen Curry, and James Harden—are all African-American. Social scientists also note the prevalence of African-American professional players, particularly when they study how young African-American men pattern their lives after the professional players and how they negotiate their masculinities, identities, race and social mobility aspirations through their own participation. It is within this context of current understanding that Stanley Thangaraj introduces his revealing experiential ethnography about South Asian American men's participation in amateur Indo-Pak basketball tournaments across the United States.