and the fact that group consciousness mediates how blacks link their ideological self-identification to partisanship. In the book, the arguments run parallel to one another, but in reality, it seems likely that they are interlinked. Also, because *Conservative but Not Republican* focuses on attitudes and beliefs of black voters, there is not a lot of attention paid to the organizational decisions within political parties. When considering why more blacks are not Republican, an obvious explanation might be the perception of antiblackness in the platform and politicians within the Republican Party. Although they are touched upon in the concluding chapter, the policies and the behavior of party leaders are not central to Philpot’s story. These are minor concerns that do not undermine the overall contributions of the book.

Philpot has made a valuable contribution to scholarship on American political behavior. With its attention to black political agency, *Conservative but Not Republican* offers a series of important empirical findings about black political attitudes and black political behavior. That alone is an important accomplishment, but the book also provides important interventions for a broader theorizing of the link between ideology and partisanship.

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COREY D. FIELDS

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*Race and the Politics of Deception* illustrates how persistent inequality and segregation in cities can be the result of purposeful strategy and decisions motivated by profit. Key to the book is the “strategic use of race,” which Christopher Mele describes as racial rhetoric and manipulation that functions to support some forms of social change over others (10). Through an historical lens on Chester, Pennsylvania, Mele connects familiar themes of economic development, school segregation, spatial ordering of industry, and housing with racial strategies and politics. Today, Chester is a city experiencing twenty-first-century development through pro-growth, color-blind race ideologies. The consequent imbalance in investment and racial disparities found within the city make it an example of how strategic use of race affected the development of a rust belt city over time, affecting not only its decline but also how revitalization is defined and planned.

For Mele, Chester’s story starts in the early twentieth century as a small town near Philadelphia known for vice. Later, Chester boomed with industry during the World Wars. This book describes how strategic use of race narratives influenced political relationships, corruption, population shifts through suburbanization, and discriminatory housing policy. The importance of the historical contexts of Chester frames our contemporary understanding of development in the city. Especially since 2005, Chester has seen a resurgence of development that “flattens” the complexity of race and politics over time (1). Chester’s case illustrates how over time “race became the defining factor in reshaping the geography and social life of the city” (42). *Race and the Politics of Deception* shows
how key moments of development were framed and reinforced by the strategic use of race in politics that prioritized development for those in power: business, government, and elite residents.

The reader is then introduced to a contemporary Chester. Riverfront entertainment districts have been the focus of local economic development leaders while poor neighborhoods are ignored by the recent efforts (1). Mele observes that this specific definition of development for the city as an economic whole rather than for different people who actually live in a city mutes the interests and issues of the majority of Chester’s residents—most of whom are Black and many of whom are living in poverty. He takes a chronological approach to explain the race strategy and urban development that led to Chester’s current situation.

Chapter 2 shows the emergence of race strategy in Chester as it unfolded through the interaction of World War I–era economic and industrial development, labor organizing, and Republican political machine organizing. Early political strategies shaped the spatial order of the city and set the foundation for a long-term relationship between politics, Black and White leaders, business owners, and residents. Galvanizing events such as riots and shifts in industry and labor reinforced divisions and narratives. In particular, the Republican machine politics, led by John McClure from 1907 to 1965, relied on the consistent and long-lasting use of race strategy to ensure continued power and profit for the Republican Party and the business owners and professionals who supported the machine (19–23). The machine had an interesting and complex path, included various leaders from both Black and White communities, and at times clashed with popular opinion, such as regarding the continued existence of vice districts (32). This early and strategic use of race influenced the reputation of Chester and solidified the political power of McClure, all of which helped set the stage for concretizing a racialized spatial order in Chester.

Chapters 3 and 5 are also great exemplars of the tensions and complexity of urban-rural tensions. Mele packs in many pieces of the story about race, suburbanization, public housing, zoning, and industry, while illustrating the political process of racial strategy in political rhetoric—the use of racial rhetoric to influence how value and development are defined.

Chapter 3 focuses on the subsequent housing crisis during World War II and the postwar era. This time crystallized the spatial segregation of Chester and suburban residents, reinforced racial divisions, and spurred a narrative of fear in White Chester residents. Private interest from banks, property owners, and politicians all played a role in beginning and perpetuating the exclusion of Black homeowners in suburbs and the limitation of housing options within the city. Violence and politics fueled further formal and informal methods of segregation through physical threats, exclusionary banking, and individual actors. Moreover, this chapter emphasizes the “unyielding intentionality in and commitment to racial exclusion in urban and regional development” (47–48).

Chapter 4 delves into the effects of civil rights activism and school integration of the 1960s. The story of White people’s fear of racial upheaval, integration, and loss of privilege became solidified during this era, in part reinforced by the McClure machine
and Republican influence. Mele shows how cleavages and conflicts developed among school boards, city government, Chester’s civil rights activists, the NAACP, the Committee for Freedom Now (CFFN), and the Greater Chester Movement (GCM) with a controversial figure, Stanley Branche, at the center. This chapter illustrates the influential role of suspicion, manipulation, corruption, and reaction that continued to divert resources and investment away from Chester’s Black residents.

Chapter 5 moves the reader to the late twentieth century and the politics of the private sector and economic development, focusing on the siting of waste incinerator facilities. Strategic racial framing of the issue included shaping how and who benefits from development and who deserved the right to host the site—this battle over the right to development overshadowed the possible risks that development may actually create. In 1986, the divide between the city of Chester and Delaware County was clear. The suburbs where many White people had relocated in recent decades still wielded great power over the city of Chester through the county jurisdiction. By analyzing this period of Chester, Mele offers an interesting take on the urban narrative: looking more closely at private interests, the legacies of politics and corruption, and environmental racism around issues of toxic “sacrifice zones.” Mele provides a fascinating account of the tensions that emerged in Chester when narratives about race, development, growth, and community along with urging from the mayor actually encouraged some of the Black residents to voluntarily sacrifice their homes for the development of waste incinerators (129–30).

These narratives affected public opinion and shaped the local politics and regulation, consequently shaping who had power and gained profit from the siting process. At the same time, attention was diverted away from the issue of the physical siting of the incinerator (135). Fast-tracking of permitting and zoning by local and state agencies in the early 1990s was followed by risk assessments by the Environmental Protection Agency that found unacceptable health risks among residents near the waste industries (136–38). Mele also connects the story of the struggle over the incinerators and the environmental consequences back to how these intentional practices to maximize profit led to further stigmatization of racialized places (141).

Mele concludes by returning the reader to the Chester of today. Chester’s rapidly developing riverfront entertainment district is distinctly separate from the well-being and benefit of the city’s Black population and poor residents. Mele convincingly argues that race has been and continues to be an important factor in Chester’s state of inequality. The current post-racial rhetoric does not erase the past century of strategic decisions by White politicians, industry owners, and residents that have created a narrative where industry or “city” benefits are weighed as more important than the costs faced by Black residents within Chester. Rather, the post-racial rhetoric allows for the erasure and silencing of the needs of the majority Black residents in Chester for the benefit of Chester as a whole, economic entity and Delaware County. This is one of the interesting arguments that bears repeating: the post-racial narrative of urban development results in waterfront development and business, while diverting attention and investment away from Black communities and neighborhoods that have been slowly hemmed in and depleted.
Race and the Politics of Deception furthers the discourse around urban development and process. For scholars of environmental justice and environmental racism, this book creates a key bridge and addition to our understanding of the centrality of White privilege and supremacy to the contemporary color-blind implementation and regulation of industry. This work is also a great read for students new to urban studies or race and ethnic studies because it draws the clear connection between race and a history of politics and race narratives. The book is about how the strategic use of race functioned in Chester to isolate and segregate often to benefit elite residents through control of voters, profit, and property. The story of Chester, unfortunately, is not a singular one. Race and the Politics of Deception is an integral part of uncovering the geographic shaping of cities in the United States that has long been influenced by racial strategy, and in turn motivated by power and profit.

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In Blackness Is Burning: Civil Rights, Popular Culture, and the Problem of Recognition, TreaAndrea M. Russworm makes a timely and necessary intervention into the problematic of black representation in popular culture and the promise/possibility of equal recognition as citizens and fully participating subjects in the US project of democracy. Demonstrating an impressive command of psychoanalysis, Russworm brings clarity to how black representation and recognition function at the level of ideology. As such, her work compels scholars across many disciplines and fields, including African American studies, political science, film and media studies, feminist studies, psychology, sociology, and philosophy, to ponder how representation and recognition have complicated black political struggle and the responses to black political struggle in the United States from the Civil Rights Era to the present.

Recognizing certain continuities in the affective and psychological registers of how racial stories have been told across decades, Russworm aims to deploy psychoanalysis as a serious lens of interpretation in the matter of blackness. She justifies this move in part by pointing out how within both popular culture and academic work, the desire to deploy psychological language to describe the black political struggle in the United States remains unexamined. Rather than deploy this language in a casual way, Russworm attempts to be accountable to psychoanalysis by using it as a method. The result is her most important contribution—the offering and explication of the term “the intersubjective view of race” (38), which stands for a well-constructed psychoanalytic process, carried out through “rituals, symbols, and cultural practices,” (42) by which black/white racial conflicts are represented as primarily interpersonal, therapeutic, and potentially transformative. This view of race, according to Russworm, is an ideological glue that melds together the politics...