due to black exodus, and the demoralization of remaining residents in the county’s relatively closed political opportunity structure. In comparison to the deliberate and detailed historical exploration of previous chapters, chapter 8 and the conclusion seem to rush through the eventual reopening, rebuilding, and integration of the Prince Edward County public schools from the mid-1960s to the present.

The main limitation of the book is an underdeveloped theoretical foundation for discussion of the continuing significance of race in the American political context. While the chapters contribute convincing descriptions of how the national and local contexts allowed the county to engage in this radical strategy to avoid desegregation, they often fall short in the explanation of why white leaders and residents saw racial segregation as a vital necessity. This lack creates a frustrating gap in the explanation of the racial trajectory identified in the conclusion, where the willingness of contemporary white residents to keep the events “under the rug” is left unconnected to the dominant frames and storylines of color-blind racism (p. 248). A more developed discussion of hegemonic constructions of disruptions in the racial power structure would strengthen the overall argument about the significance of this case for understanding the consequences of color-blind discourse in the maintenance of contemporary racial inequalities.

While the absence of a clearly articulated race theory limits aspects of the analysis for scholars of race relations, the depth and detail of the book will be valuable to scholars of social movements and political rhetoric. The book would be appropriate for graduate-level courses on social movements or methodologies of historical sociology.


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I don’t know that Sunday mornings can still be described as the most segregated hours of the American week as Martin Luther King, Jr., so famously pronounced almost half a century ago. But if so, it is not for lack of trying. Over the past two decades, religious leaders across the spectrum of faith systems and political ideologies have been active, enthusiastic participants in a range of antiracist and racial reconciliation projects, interfaith initiatives, and cross racial coalitions intended to increase racial diversity both within their own communities and across the American religious landscape. Gerardo Marti’s new book Worship across the Racial Divide puts music at the center of these efforts.

Marti’s attention to music is timely, important, and eminently sociological. A common thread among many successfully integrated churches (in-
cluding those Marti studied previously in several well-received volumes) appears to be the incorporation of cross-cultural musical styles, and a large number of church leaders—professional staff and laypeople alike—see music and music directors as foundational for the accomplishment of diversity. A whole miniature library of advice books and resources is now available—including those prepared by an online resource for “multilingual multicultural worship” called Proskuneo, which offers accompaniment CDs, PowerPoint lyric slides, and a DVD that demonstrates choreography, staging, and set design; the site also provides retreats, workshops, and one-on-one training. (Not surprisingly, a new field of study “ethnodoxology”—replete with its own professional association, curriculum materials, and an online journal—has now been formed.)

To better understand and assess all these developments, Marti undertook several years of fieldwork in a range of denominational and nondenominational settings (though all Protestant) in Southern California and conducted interviews with dozens of church leaders, music directors, choir members, and other worshippers (some 170 in all). Marti comes away convinced that music has a crucial role to play in the integration of religious communities; however, he insists that this is not because of any mystical, aesthetic powers of music (or worship itself, for that matter) as many believe.

Among the most basic contributions of cross-cultural music is that creating it helps to diversify church leadership and makes color conspicuous for congregants and visitors alike. These are steps that churches and church leaders can be quite intentional about. On this score it is also important to understand how prominently on display musicians and choir members are in many churches and worship settings—often positioned right up front for all to see (as well as hear).

But making diversity visible is far from the whole of music’s contribution. Successful, genuinely integrated religious communities, according to Marti, are marked and defined by those based in “genuine relationships” and meaningful interracial interactions. And it is in the actual practices of making music together that such community is constructed. Rehearsals, performances, and worship services all bring people together across social lines they would not otherwise ordinarily cross and puts them in relationships that are real and deeply rooted. Marti talks about other social functions served by multiracial musical forms and styles—partnerships with other churches, for example—and he is adamant that there is no single model for doing this. Nevertheless, the key for him is clearly in how all interactions and relationships are embedded within the ministry and workshop of any given congregation. Here Marti smartly emphasizes the huge amounts of time and energy—all typically underestimated by musicians themselves—that go into the making of church music. “It is not music but rather recruitment and participation in musical structures that fosters relationships, community, loyalty, and a sense of connection—the bonds that create a sense of what ‘church’ is together” (p. 178).

Worship across the Racial Divide has as much to teach about the paradoxes and challenges of racial integration (which both academics and lay-
people have a tendency to romanticize) as about religion, worship, or church music. Among the deepest, most thought-provoking of Marti’s insights are those involving African-Americans, “black” musical forms, and blackness itself. In interview after interview and chapter after chapter, what comes through is the extent to which African-Americans and “their” cultural forms—gospel music, most of all—serve as key markers of “difference” and “multiculturalism.”

There may be good reason to emphasize black folks and forms, but this often puts a great deal of pressure on a small group of people in any religious community, and makes fetishizing such differences easy as well. An anecdote that Marti says inspired the project illustrates this point. The story involved a church that was committed to diversity and wanted to integrate quickly. Their solution was to introduce gospel music to the worship with a few Negro spirituals thrown in. The result, he tells us, was predictable: “Although the almost entirely white congregation experienced the music as ‘cool’ . . . this ‘quick fix’ approach ended up reinforcing stereotypes of what African-Americans are ‘supposed to be’ overall . . . [which] effectively deepened racial divides already embedded” (p. 5).

Music, Marti’s research makes clear, can contribute to the agendas of antiracism, racial reconciliation, integration, and diversity—but only when it is part of larger behavioral changes, institutional shifts, and new patterns of interaction. Other paths overestimate the power of music (and religious worship) and underestimate the depth, complexity, and intransigence of race and racism in the United States today.


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Fei Xiaotong was born in the last years of the Qing dynasty. In his lifetime, China would see revolutions, wars, and invasions. It would see empire, republicanism, nationalism, and communism. By his death, China had been not one but many Chinas, and Fei himself not one but many Feis. For man as for country, the question remains: Should we see continuity or difference?

In Fei, at least, many readers have seen difference. For them the first Fei was a Westernized academic researching the countryside, the second Fei a

* Another review from 2051 to share with *AJS* readers.—*Ed.*