

ARTICLE

The sociology of antiracism in Black and White

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Abstract

This paper reviews sociological research on antiracism and suggests new directions for the field. Current research indicates although White antiracism constitutes attempts to negotiate privilege, it fails to divest from the systems of power that maintain the current balance of privilege in favor of White supremacy. In contrast, the antiracism of people of color provides some insight into attempts to secure liberation, a complete break from White supremacist power structures. I argue DuBois, Black Feminist Thought, and postcolonial sociology inform a sociology of antiracism that centers people of color rather than Whiteness. To illustrate the nuance of antiracism by people of color, I centered my study on Black antiracism. From this perspective, antiracism emerges as the set of practices that Blacks enact in everyday life to mitigate and confront hegemonic racialization. I suggest that one construct of *hegemonic whiteness* meant to uphold dominant racial ideology that produces *emphasized blackness* that facilitates symbolic and physical violence toward Blacks. Although *emphasized blackness* produces and reinforces constraints on Black antiracism, *oppositional blackness* exemplifies an ultimate form of antiracism in which Black bodies act as agents of social change through liberatory projects such as marronage and counterhegemonic knowledge production. I conclude this article with a case study of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica to illustrate *oppositional blackness* as the dynamics of resistance and empowerment that emerge to confront hegemonic whiteness.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Omi and Winant (2015) define racialization as “the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group” (13). *Hegemonic racialization* occurs when a dominant racial group transforms another racial group into a subordinate “other” through racist social structures and ideology. In response to racialization, members of subordinate racial groups often engage in antiracism to achieve self-determination within a matrix of domination (Bakan & Dua, 2014; Collins, 2000) encompassed by White supremacy. Thus, it is important to recognize that antiracism by non-Whites includes specific types of racial projects (Omi & Winant, 2015) wherein people of color create space to exist independent of the colonial gaze. In this essay, I argue Duboisian theory, Black Feminist Thought, and inform new directions in the sociology of antiracism through the construction

of a frame that assumes the agency of people of color to challenge hegemonic racialization. This essay contains three main points: (a) Hegemonic whiteness constrains some forms of antiracism, this includes White or dominant group antiracism (Bowser, 1995; Hughey, 2012), which fails to secure liberation from White supremacy as its orientation is toward equality within existing systems rather than a divestment; (b) Subordinate group antiracism occurs in relation to *hegemonic whiteness*, and its specific orientation to hegemonic whiteness determines strategies, ideology, and outcomes; (c) Lastly, I follow antiracism scholars who assert the study of the counterhegemonic practices of people of color offers sociology crucial insights (O'Brien, 2009; Viera, 1995). This paper ends with the examination of Black antiracism by the Windward Maroons of Jamaica as a case study with historical significance.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the sociological literature on antiracism focuses on Whites in the United States and Europe (Bowser, 1995; Brown, 2002; Cooper, Schaefer, and Brod, 2003; Hartigan, 2000; Hughey, 2007; Hughey, 2012; Katz, 1978; Katz, 2003; Kivel, 2002; Marty, 1999; O'Brien, 2001; O'Brien, 2009; Segrest, 1994; Warren, 2010). Whites ultimately perform antiracism in a manner that reinforces rather than weakens White supremacy due to *hegemonic whiteness*. Hegemonic whiteness refers to the configuration of practices the dominant group uses to give legitimacy to White supremacy. As an ideal form of Whiteness, hegemonic whiteness defines the standard behavior, norms, and values for society (Lewis, 2004). Hughey (2010) offers a concise explanation of hegemonic whiteness as a social phenomenon:

By building upon the concept of 'hegemonic whiteness', I argue that meaningful racial identity for whites is produced vis-a-vis the reproduction of, and appeal to, racist, essentialist, and reactionary inter- and intra-racial distinctions: (1) through positioning those marked as 'white' as essentially different from and superior to those marked as 'non-white', and (2) through marginalizing practices of being white that fail to exemplify dominant ideals. (1292)

Due to hegemonic whiteness, White antiracism fails because dominant group antiracism (Bowser, 1995) faces at least three drawbacks: (a) obscures White deficiencies and problems, (b) conceptualizes people of color as a homogenous group, and (c) fails to challenge hegemonic whiteness as the ideal form of Whiteness. In the next section, I review findings from research that highlights the complexity of White antiracism.

2.1 | If a White person challenges racism, do they make a difference?: The pitfalls of White antiracism

Hughey (2015a) argues that sociologists should examine the five I's (ideologies, institutions, interests, identities, and interactions) to understand the intertwined nature of race and inequality. Research reveals the ways Whites perform antiracism along these domains. Regarding ideology, White abolitionists supported the end of slavery and the improvement of conditions of Blacks by challenging social beliefs about Black bodies. Specifically, they asserted Blacks were not inferior or nonhuman and thus deserving of the full rights under the law (Apetheker, 1995; O'Brien, 2001). In regard to institutions, Whites have historically participated in the founding and maintenance of a number of antiracist organizations. For instance, at its founding, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had more White than non-White members (Brown, 2002; O'Brien, 2001; O'Brien, 2009). White antiracist interests often align with liberalism, particularly the notion that the goal of antiracism should be equality and integration between people of color and Whites (Brown, 2002; Dua, 2015; Hughey, 2015b). The development of identity for White antiracists goes through several stages from contact with the alternative view of Whiteness antiracism presents to autonomy as a person who remains aware of their Whiteness and

committed to antiracism in any space (O'Brien, 2001). Lastly, White antiracists engage in a number of interactions whether through racism awareness training in the classroom or workplace intended to reduce racism (Brandt, 1986; Carvery & Bishop, 1994; Hartigan, 2000; Katz, 1978; Niemonen, 2007; Reay, 1995; Saldanha & Srivastava, 1998). These interactions are crucial to the strategies of Whites who see confronting White privilege as their primary role as an antiracist.

White antiracism has a great deal of variability along these five domains and cannot be painted as a monolith. This variability presents a glimpse into the fractures within White antiracist efforts. The ideology of White antiracists differs depending on their political orientation. Radicals adopt a more progressive take on people of color than liberals or conservatives. Although radicalism supports affirmative action and multiculturalism, it alienates White liberals who see color blindness, equality, and integration as necessary for antiracism (McLean, 1995). The embrace of antiracism among White liberals, however, does not negate their ability to oppress or marginalize people of color as color-blind racism still perpetuates White supremacy (Hughey, 2012). At the institutional level, White antiracist organizations or organizational practices can and do reinforce rather than reduce racism. For example, a 1989 investigative report concluded that White backlash to multiculturalism as the official antiracist policy explained incidents of violence between Asian and White students at a high school in Manchester (Runnymede Trust, 1989).

Often, the interests, identities, and interactions of White antiracists vary depending on how they conceptualize racism and successful antiracism. White antiracists who view racism as overt prefer to put their efforts toward shutting down organizations like the Ku Klux Klan whereas those who view racism as institutional attempt to challenge policies or discrepancies in workplaces, in classrooms, and in government. This lack of agreement continues to divide and weaken rather than amplify efforts to reduce racism (Kivel, 2002; McLean, 1995; O'Brien, 2001). In reference to identities, White antiracists have "yet to become aware of, and escape from, the practice of treating whiteness as a static, ahistorical, a spatial 'thing.' " (Bonnett, 2000: 143). This perspective allows Whites to maintain their privilege even within antiracist discourse. Lastly, White antiracists differ in how they approach interactions with people of color and racist Whites. Although some White antiracists create coalitions with people of color, others organize in predominantly or all White spaces. This poses potential problems in that Whites might dominate upper levels of hierarchy in coalitions or perpetuate stereotypes about people of color when there are few or no non-Whites (Hughey, 2012; O'Brien, 2001; Srivastava, 1994).

How Whites negotiate these domains within their antiracist issues depends on hegemonic whiteness as different groups of Whites negotiate their identity in relation to each other and other Whites in order to define an ideal form of White antiracism (Hughey, 2007; Hughey, 2012; Hughey, 2015a; O'Brien, 2001). This tendency of hegemonic whiteness to corrupt antiracism has led some non-Whites like Stokely Carmichael, Marcus Garvey, and Frantz Fanon to call for Whites and people of color to maintain separate antiracist movements (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Hughey, 2007; O'Brien, 2001). In the next section, I review literature on the spectrum of Black antiracism. The literature indicates hegemonic whiteness produces representations of Blacks that minimize their agency and ability to achieve outcomes unique from White antiracism. Thus, new directions of antiracist research should take care to consider the ways actions, attitudes, and behaviors ascribed to Black antiracists are interpreted.

2.2 | DuBois as a blueprint for sociology of Black antiracism

The scholarship of W.E.B. DuBois exemplifies the use of such sociology to challenge the constraints of hegemonic whiteness. Morris (2015) provides evidence of the antiracism of DuBoisian sociology in *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. DuBois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*. Rather than reproduce conclusions about Blacks arrived at through scientific racism, DuBois "maintained that social conditions generated by racial prejudice and discrimination were dominant in [determining] racial outcomes" (Morris, 2015, 185). This approach contrasted strongly with that of mainstream sociology at the time as DuBois argued that blacks were not inferior and should be treated as equal to Whites. Mainstream organizations welded to metrocentric ideals of scientific inquiry did little to contest the pseudoscience of race begun

by Carl Linnaeus. Instead they would publish pieces like the 1904 article "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims" by Sir Francis Galton. This perspective would galvanize a worldwide movement whose proponents believed the best genetic pool for humans would arise if scientific principles guided reproduction (Ordovery, 2003). In the spirit of scientific racism, eugenicists would argue that the state should legislate unfit bodies defined as "everyone whose origins could not be traced to northwestern Europe, including southern Blacks making their way during the Great Migration" (Ordovery, 2003, xiv). In contrast, DuBois used sociology to publish pivotal works such as the ethnographies, *Negros in Farmville*, and the *The Philadelphia Negro* (DuBois, 1899). Thus, although the emphasized blackness of eugenics saw Black bodies as corrupt, deviant, and in need of reform, DuBois deliberately did sociology to fight racism.

DuBois took an inductive, multimethod approach to scientific inquiry. He enabled the development of new theories and concepts about Black life with the use of liberation capital: "a form of capital used by oppressed and resource-starved scholars to initiate and sustain the research program of a nonhegemonic scientific school" (Morris, 2015, 186). This enabled DuBois to disseminate knowledge and collect facts regarding the experience of Blacks in America for the improvement of their position. In addition to practicing an antiracist science, DuBois went beyond data collection and analysis to create spaces that endowed people of color with the agency to collect facts and disseminate knowledge. Thus, he used sociology to accomplish antiracist social justice projects that would challenge hegemonic whiteness, for example, by cofounding the NAACP and publishing *The Crisis Magazine*. DuBois thus lays out a framework that elaborates the necessity of studying Blackness from a nonhegemonic lens in order to uncover the complexity of Black life.

2.3 | Emphasized Blackness is a Product of Hegemonic Whiteness

Hegemonic whiteness includes a form of racialization that erases the social identity and heritage of the distinct ethnic groups including those from within the African diaspora. Hegemonic racialization relies on the racialization of knowledge, which produces a representation of Africans as a homogenous, inferior, subordinate group who must meet the standards of Whites as "dominant" and Blacks as "minority." Research indicates that this hegemonic racialization can be considered an *emphasized blackness*.¹ Although hegemonic whiteness shapes the identity making and boundary marking of Whites vis-à-vis other Whites (Hughey, 2012; Lewis, 2004), emphasized blackness shapes the identity making and boundary marking of Whites vis-à-vis Blacks. Emphasized blackness relies on the White racial frame that creates and sustains cultural beliefs about Blacks as subhuman, hypersexual, criminal, and in need of restriction (Feagin, 2010).

Hegemonic whiteness encompasses emphasized blackness rather than relates to it bilaterally. Therefore, hegemonic whiteness produces and maintains an emphasized blackness that upholds White supremacy. For example, Hughey (2012) examines how White racial identity formation relates to racism and antiracism. Based on his ethnographic data, he finds hegemonic whiteness shapes the experiences and interactions of both White nationalists and antiracists. He argues White antiracists aim to challenge White mindsets about people of color in order to combat racist ideology through the cultivation of "color consciousness." They leave the racist structure intact, however, because they consider material disadvantage experienced by people of color the result of an "inherent" unfair privilege for Whites. These White antiracists believed prejudice against Blacks that creates a "culture of poverty" or "oppositional culture" in which "emasculated" Black men enact violence against Black women, who must take on a "macho" role to compensate for partner absence. In this scenario, emphasized blackness construes Blacks as maladapted to the economic structure due to fragmented intimate relationships, as opposed to critiquing the historical exploitation of Blacks.

Black antiracism negotiates hegemonic whiteness and emphasized blackness to an extent that ranges from integrationist to oppositional in nature (Brooks, 1996; hooks, 1995; Ongiri, 2010; Viera, 1995). Communities of color in the United States engage in counter framing, responding to the White framing of people of color. As a critique of White supremacy, counter framing by people of color includes countering negative stereotypes, emphasizing their identity as both human and citizen (Feagin, 2010). Therefore, although some Black antiracists desire to integrate people of color into existing systems of power and social organization, others intend to divest from these systems, whether through reform or the creation of independent communities (Brooks, 1996). For example, Malcolm X and

Martin Luther Junior King are often cast as exemplars of a false dichotomy between the Civil Rights Movement and the Nation of Islam (Kivel, 2002).

2.4 | Black Feminist Thought and intersectionality: Black women's activism

Black Feminist Thought is a social justice project that builds on critical race theory to grapple with misogynoir: the anti-Black sexism experienced by Black women (Bailey, 2013; Collins, 2000; Sare, 2015). In the United States, feminism tends to center on White middle-class women, whereas Black antiracism "[adheres] to a male-defined ethos that far too often equates racial progress with the acquisition of an ill-defined manhood" (Collins, 2000, 7). Where these two movements and ideologies falter, Black women have developed their own strategies of activism that recognizes the complex interrelationship among race, class, gender, and other domains of social difference.

Collins writes two concepts pertinent to Black women's activism in her landmark piece *Black Feminist Thought*:

Intersectionality refers to particular forms of intersecting oppressions... intersecting paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice. In contrast, the matrix of domination refers to how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized (Collins, 2000, 21).

Thus, Black Feminist Thought teaches that "while individual empowerment is key, only collective action can effectively generate the lasting institutional transformation required for social justice" (Collins, 2000, 7). Black Feminist Thought advances antiracism by envisioning Black women as agentic, capable of making choices and empowered to enact social change as a social group.

Politics of respectability are another form of Black antiracism that attempts to negotiate emphasized blackness through class-based strategies. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1993) coined the phrase politics of respectability to describe the "expectation that black women would represent the race by fighting for racial equality" (White, 2001:36) during the Black Women's Club Movement founded in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Higginbotham, 1993). During this movement, Black middle-class women strategized "to introduce bourgeois customs to poor black women and to persuade whites of black women's ability to adopt these customs (Davis, 1998)" (White, 2001:35). As one leader, Mary Church Terrell stated in her 1898 speech to The National American Women's Suffrage Association:

Consider if you will, the almost insurmountable obstacles which have confronted colored women in their efforts to educate and cultivate themselves since their emancipation, and I dare assert, not boastfully, but with pardonable pride, I hope, that the progress they have made and the work they have accomplished, will bear a favorable comparison at least with that of their more fortunate sisters, from the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and the means of self-culture have never been entirely withheld. For, not only are colored women with ambition and aspiration handicapped on account of their sex, but they are everywhere baffled and mocked on account of their race. Desperately and continuously they are forced to fight that opposition, born of a cruel, unreasonable prejudice which neither their merit nor their necessity seems able to subdue. Not only because they are women, but because they are colored women, are discouragement and disappointment meeting them at every turn.

This movement succeeded in bringing to light the sexual exploitation of Black women that had occurred in the United States since slavery (Collins, 2000; Mumford, 1997; White, 2001). Additionally, these women advocated for women's suffrage, recognizing the need for Black women to be represented in the nation's political process. Yet, this movement's orientation to respond to emphasized blackness through the endorsement of White middle-class ideals served to alienate poor and working class Black women. As White (2001), writes "They struggled to have black women reclassified as good women rather than expose the bankruptcy of the entire system" (35), and thus "Black club and church women also used the white gaze as a tool to regulate black behavior" (37).

2.5 | Black antiracism is not a monolith

Like all forms of antiracism, Black antiracism in the United States and in the world cannot be reduced to either integrationist or oppositional (Brooks, 1996; hooks, 1995; Ongiri, 2010). Similarly, forms of Black antiracism most often start as local in scope and grow, diverge, and alter strategies or aims over time. For example, the student movement in South Africa started into educational inequality during the apartheid era: "Education for Africans was deliberately inferior on the assumption that its recipients would largely remain unskilled manual laborers" (Nkomo, Mkwana-Twala, & Carrim, 1995:270). Students then expanded their critique of apartheid to include capitalism. Their antiracist efforts extended beyond their immediate surroundings influencing their elders to follow suit and call for reform in education and the labor market. Despite the common goal of ending apartheid, groups diverged in how they understood racism and the best way to respond. Although some groups believed in protest, others advocated for making change through governance (Nkomo et al., 1995). In other words, counter framing in Black antiracism attempts to either negotiate or defy emphasized blackness.

Michèle Lamont and Crystal Marie Fleming (2005) conducted in-depth interviews to examine everyday antiracism.² They found that earning ability and the universality of human nature appealed to both Black and White antiracism. Additionally, professionally elite Black respondents used class-based strategies to challenge racial stereotypes about Black competence, intelligence, and level of education to "[give] evidence of conformity with norms of American individualism" (Lamont & Fleming, 2005, 32). Therefore, this particular antiracism "is at odds with the goal of fighting racism for all Blacks and of working toward the improvement of the race" (Lamont & Fleming, 2005, 37). Like the limitations of White antiracism, "the repertoires successful African Americans use to combat racial stigma could have contradictory and dysfunctional effects" for poor and working class Blacks (Lamont & Fleming, 2005, 40). How Black antiracism negotiates emphasized blackness can render the experiences of some Blacks invisible, thus reinforcing the aims of hegemonic whiteness.

Oppositional blackness most often is invoked in relation to the antiracism of Black artists. This radical aesthetic emerged in conjunction with the ideology of predominately Black antiracist groups like the Black Panthers (Ongiri, 2010). Describing this oppositional aesthetic, hooks (1995) writes

Progressive African-Americans concerned with the future of our cultural production seek to critically conceptualize a radical aesthetic that does not negate the powerful place of theory as both that force which sets up criteria for aesthetic judgment and as vital grounding that helps make certain work possible, particularly expressive work that is transgressive and oppositional.

According to Ongiri (2010), this "radically transformative culture of oppositional creativity" (18) characterized the Black Arts Movement, which emerged during the late 1960s. Black women played a prominent role in the Black Arts Movement. Musicians and performers like Nina Simone and Nikki Giovanni used aesthetics as Black feminist activism (Henderson & Rodriguez, 2014).

As I indicate in the case study, in addition to aesthetics, oppositional blackness includes marronage and counterhegemonic knowledge production. As the case study below indicates, oppositional blackness creates space for Blacks to challenge colonial logics which are the basis of the racialized knowledge maintained through emphasized Blackness (hooks, 1995; Ongiri, 2010).

3 | CASE STUDY

3.1 | Background

The history of marronage in the Americas parallels the arrivals of West Africans in the New World. Marronage refers to "the process of flight to erect black African hegemonies in the mountains of Jamaica and elsewhere in the New World" (Gottlieb, 2000:1). Documented evidence of West Africans fleeing their European captors goes back to the

fifteenth century. Maroon communities in the Americas ranged in size from small groups to up to a thousand people residing within one community. However, their small size did not belie their ability to develop antiracist practices:

Although small in size and in their operations, Maroon communities were among the first Americans, in the wake of 1492, to resist colonial domination, striving for independence and defining the experience of freedom. They forged new cultures and identities and developed solidarity out of diversity through processes that only later took place on a much larger and more visible scale (Goucher & Argosah, 2011, 145).

The Ashanti people of what is now modern day Ghana formed early Maroon settlements in Jamaica after they escaped plantations run by the Spanish and later the British. The Leeward Maroons led by Cudjoe north of the central part of the island and the Windward Maroons led by Queen Nanny on the eastern part of the island were the two largest settlements in Jamaica (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Thompson, 2006). Centering on Black anti-racism, I use the above framework on oppositional blackness to highlight the antiracist practices of Windward Maroons.

3.2 | Theoretical framework

When conceptualized from the perspective of a subordinate group, antiracism is the process in which the racially oppressed demonstrate agency to achieve self-determination (Bowser, 1995). Though the efforts of DuBois did not receive much acknowledgment from mainstream academia at the time (Morris, 2015), many sociologists today now emulate his use of science as a counterhegemonic practice (Bobo, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2015). This article attempts to do likewise by applying oppositional blackness as a concept in order to consider what antiracism looks like when decentered from hegemonic whiteness (Brooks, 1996). Whereas eurocentric models of antiracism affirm multiculturalism and equality, models of antiracism that center Blackness offer insight about liberation, divestment, and resistance. In reference to Black Feminist Thought, this case study shows hegemonic racialization that engages with other ideals perpetuated by the dominant group that creates disadvantage for subgroups of Black people. Members of these subgroups leverage their “intersectional consciousness” to strategize and affirm the multifaceted nature of their identity as a form of “intersectional mobilization” (Terriquez, 2015). Thus, I also discuss the ways Maroon women countered colonial ideals about White and Black womanhood.

3.3 | Application of oppositional blackness: The case of windward maroons

Marronage as a form of oppositional blackness began with the resistance of Africans who refused enslavement by fleeing captivity upon their arrival to the New World (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Sayers, 2014; Thompson, 2006; Waters, 1999). Although its dynamics vary by geographic location and historical context, oppositional blackness is both transferable and mutable across time and space. Thus, wherever hegemonic whiteness exists, oppositional blackness appears as the use of the instruments of antiracism to foster insurrection in an effort to divest from a system that oppresses all Blacks. In this context, antiracism emerges as a set of practices among a network of people with shared cultural heritage and collective experience of oppression due to hegemonic racialization.

The practices of the Maroons provide information about how people who defy rather than negotiate emphasized blackness cope with hegemonic racialization. For example, the term Maroon derives from the Spanish *cimarron* meaning wild. The Spanish initially intended the term as derogatory in meaning, as it is derived from the same word they used for cow. Indeed, the hegemonic racialization of Africans in the New World relied on likening Blacks to nonhuman animals. Europeans described the Africans who fled enslavement as “wild” and “rebellious” negros, characterizing their sociocultural practices as part of the occult (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Thompson, 2006).

Maroons used their sociocultural and political practices to maintain an autonomous community centered on West African rather than European ideologies, institutions, interests, identities, and interactions. Maroons maintained their connection to Ashanti culture through a collective memory and audiovisual history including folklore, religious rituals,

and everyday practices. They deployed this collective memory to forge a collective identity for their decentralized communities that existed independent of European colonial control. The use of decentralized communities with shared collective identities eased their mobilization. For instance, the Maroons made use of an instrument made from a cow horn known as an abeng to send messages (Fellows & Delle, 2015; Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Waters, 1999). The sound traveled for miles, allowing Maroons to communicate across settlements distances apart, often as a warning about the campaigns of European military. Thus, the “fierce and ferocious fighters with the penchant for resistance, survival, and freedom,” (Gottlieb, 2000,10) leveraged their marronage as a site for the freedom of enslaved Africans, who they welcomed as runaways and released through frequent raids of plantations (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Thompson, 2006).

Thus, successful oppositional blackness possesses at minimum three sets of practices that Black antiracists enact as an alternative to grappling with emphasized blackness: aesthetics (hooks, 1995; Ongiri, 2010); marronage; (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003; Thompson, 2006) and counterhegemonic knowledge production. Maroons used their counterhegemonic knowledge to survive independently from the European colonies on the island by developing familiarity with the topography of Jamaica. Their strategic locations hidden in the mountains and caves of Jamaica camouflaged their communities from infiltration by British troops. Archaeological evidence in Nanny Town revealed Maroons used metallurgy to make iron objects such as knives and guns (Fellows & Delle, 2015; Funari & Orser, 2015; Goucher & Argosah, 2011). What this suggests, then, is contrary to eurocentric framing of technological innovation as endogenous to European nations, Blacks engineered their own tools for the specific purpose of defending themselves against captivity.

Hegemonic whiteness reinforces racism and intersects with other dominant ideals, such as hegemonic masculinity, which uses the myth of patriarchy as the “natural order” of social organization to define gender norms (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985). Black Feminist Thought provides a lens to examine how Black women maintain oppositional blackness in the face of hegemonic masculinity and whiteness. Among the Maroons, Black women exemplify a departure from European patriarchal ideals. Instead, these communities maintained West African sociocultural practices such as goddess worship and matrilinearity (Gottlieb, 2000; Sharpe, 2003). Now considered a Jamaican national hero, as chieftaness, Queen Nanny³ of the Windward Maroons organized against British troops sent to dismantle the Maroon community of Nanny Town in the 1730s (Gottlieb, 2000). Her legacy exemplifies the agency and ingenuity of the women in these communities:

Nanny's authority is not simply the transportation of West African gender roles to the New World but also an outcome of the Middle Passage's disruption of tradition and the embattled conditions of maroon societies that allowed black women to assume new authoritative roles. Her hybrid and heterogeneous domestic authority is useful for rethinking the presumed domesticity of female household slaves, as we move from a woman who led a free, self-governing black community to one who was very much enslaved. (Sharpe, 2003: xvii).

Queen Nanny “belonged to a period of Caribbean history that presented the possibility for a black woman to have greater authority than even male warriors and to assume a leadership role” (Sharpe, 2003, 29). Maroon women used weapons, held positions of authority, and served as spiritual guides (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998; Sharpe, 2003; Thompson, 2006). Thus, their womanhood existed in stark contrast to the submissive ideals associated with White colonial womanhood at the time.

4 | CONCLUSION

DuBoisian sociology indicates the necessity of questioning the foundations of knowledge about people of color through scholarship. The sociology of antiracism provides concepts critical to understanding the configuration of practices that challenge racism. This article reviews both White antiracism and Black antiracism. Antiracists who operate

from the logic of hegemonic whiteness fail to empower Blacks, instead reinforcing racism through emphasized blackness. As they engage in counter framing (Feagin, 2010), the possible outcomes of their antiracism range from integration to autonomy. Research on Black antiracism challenges assumptions about that people of color are inherently antiracist (O'Brien, 2009). Instead, I find that although all Black antiracists must negotiate emphasized blackness, their approach can range from integrationist to oppositional. Oppositional blackness (hooks, 1995; Ongiri, 2010) serves as a theoretical model that decenters eurocentrism in the analysis of antiracism. The analysis of Queen Nanny as an exemplar of Black Maroon women provides a framework for women's agency that does not center or ascribe to White middle-class values. The oppositional blackness exemplified by the marronage and counterhegemonic knowledge of Jamaican Maroons are just one example. Future literature reviews should continue to interrogate the parameters of Black antiracism.

The main limitation of this review is that it uses only Black antiracism as an example of decentering Whiteness in sociological research on antiracism. Similarly, this literature review and case study only references a few of what might likely be a multitude of forms of both Black and White antiracism. Furthermore, this article does not review literature on antiracism by non-Black people of color. For example, I do not speak to the experience of indigenous people in the Americas. Erich W. Steinman (2016) argues a "settler colonial framework can assist the identification of commonalities, differences, and intersections in various groups' experiences of racialized domination within the United States and thereby inform both related scholarship and the development of antiracist coalitions" (14). Therefore, an examination of antiracism among indigenous people in the United States and Latin America might reveal dynamics unique to each group in relation to hegemonic whiteness. Black and White antiracism are not the only forms of antiracism. In reference to Hughey (2015b), what sociological concepts might be inferred or applied from the ideologies, institutions, interests, identities, and interactions of antiracism by non-Black people of color? Do existing models and concepts about antiracism theorized in relation to Blacks or Whites adequately account for how these groups negotiate hegemonic whiteness? Thus while presenting an array of concepts, the aspects of Black antiracism described here may not reflect the universe of practices associated with non-White antiracism.

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NOTES

- ¹ Like hegemonic whiteness, the concept of emphasized blackness builds on hegemonic masculinity that suggests that a dominant group of men define ideal manhood in tandem with a dominant standard for women referred to as "emphasized femininity" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Unlike emphasized femininity, however, the dominant standard for Blacks is a perception of deviation from ideal form of Whiteness rather than a set of standards in their own right.
- ² Fleming and Lamont define everyday antiracism as "the rhetoric and strategic resources deployed by individual members of stigmatized groups to rebut the notion of their inferiority in the course of their daily life" (40).
- ³ Present historical debate around Queen Nanny suggests mythology, and fact about her are intertwined. She should best be understood as an exemplar of Maroon women living in colonial Jamaica.

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