

oretical vocabulary. Despite my minor critique, Jević offers a valuable introduction and many insights into the parallels between African American and Palestinian resistance.

***Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity.* By Daniel Martinez HoSang and Joseph E. Lowndes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 220pp.**

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DOI: [10.47060/jaaas.v3i1.155](https://doi.org/10.47060/jaaas.v3i1.155)

In *Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity* (2019), Daniel Martinez HoSang and Joseph E. Lowndes offer a powerful assessment of the mutability and shifting deployment of race in contemporary American political rhetoric and cultural discourse. HoSang and Lowndes focus on the post-2016 American political landscape that was defined by the election of President Donald Trump and the (re)emergence of the alt-right, exploring the shifting salience, representation, and transposition of race within the context of a series of cultural and historical dichotomies. These dichotomies include autonomy and dependency, producer and parasite, virtue and vice, individual and collective, fitness and weakness, and are distilled into the representational figures of the producer, the patriot, and the parasite (12).

This framework functions to reveal how “race can travel across place and time” rapidly accruing new meanings and functions (13). HoSang and Lowndes bracket this new political and cultural period the “New Gilded Age,” defined by contemporary forms of inequality affecting displaced whites as well as communities of color against the backdrop of the privatization of governmental services, economic deregulation, and an increased elite concentration of political power (4).

To frame these evolving structural conditions and emerging expressions and usages of race, HoSang and Lowndes filter a sharp economic critique through the work of Stuart Hall and of Black Marxism, connecting racialization and capitalization as fundamentally imbricated processes.¹ As such, HoSang and Lowndes’s text, while examining a series of cultural and media texts including cartoons, videos, political sketches, political movements, and figures, positions itself differently than a purely cultural analysis of the changing lexicon of race and whiteness in a neoliberal age. Rather, the authors seek to analyze the shifting deployment of race as a cultural signifier within a new historical context whereby economic experiences of dispossession and marginalization are increasingly both destabilizing and reifying the color line.

Chapter 1 begins by examining the increase of anti-statist discourse on the right that is mediated through the parasite/producer dichotomy. The figure of the producer is defined by the “political intersections of whiteness, masculinity, and labor” (25). HoSang and Lowndes trace this mythologized relationship between white producers and racialized dependents or parasites to contemporary political conflicts in the “New Gilded Age.” Today, the battle between producers and patriots has manifested as conflict between supposedly parasitic unionized public sector employees and an overly taxed-burdened public.

By examining cultural texts, particularly political cartoons, HoSang and Lowndes emphasize the elasticity of race as a language used by the right. White workers, including teachers, fire fighters, and nurses within the public sector, became implicated within a particular racial imaginary of parasitic threat juxtaposed against a white “producerist public” despite their own white racial identification (38). HoSang and Lowndes emphasize both the essential and elastic function of race in the contemporary political moment; race both engenders a certain discursive logic while also becoming superfluous as white public sector employees increasingly find that whiteness as a racial currency is insufficient in an age of governmental downsizing and neoliberal conservative politics (38).

Moving from this targeted discussion of white public sector workers, Chapter 2 discusses the emergence of the white precariat. Returning to the theme of racial transmutation and social and political cultures, HoSang and Lowndes trace how the “culture of poverty” myth has been re-appropriated and applied to working-class whites living in increasing conditions of precarity in the American Midwest and Appalachia. Drawing on scholarship from the field of Critical Race Studies, they discuss the emergence of the white precariat within the context of Cheryl Harris’ concept of the “settled expectations of whiteness,” which calls back to W. E. B. Dubois’s earlier articulation of the “psychological wages of whiteness.”² Globalization and neoliberalization, however, have unsettled not simply the language and imagination of race, but also its material dividends.

Despite the intimate interconnections between capitalist structures and community decline, the new marginalization of the white working class has recently been explained by cultural and biological notions of inferiority that, harkening back to “culture of poverty” myths, profoundly pathologize and racialize conditions of poverty (50, 60). Critically then, HoSang and Lowndes stress the convergence in socio-economic conditions between a contemporary white working class and working-class communities of color, even as language and cultural texts used to discuss and visualize these changes have been defined by a growing rhetoric of racial polarization.

Chapters 3 and 4 tackle a more complex question for cultural scholars and his-

torians to explore—the incorporation and heightened visibility of Americans of color in conservative and far-right political movements. Chapter 3 focuses on a series of political campaigns and activities of conservative politicians and leaders of color including Senator Tim Scott, former Representative Mia Love, and Heritage Foundation President Kay Cole James. Here, HoSang and Lowndes examine these political figures as articulating a historically specific form of black uplift and self-help within a broader, more contemporary, and whiter conservative lexicon and worldview that “internalizes neoliberal logics and aspirations” privileging individualism and autonomy (85). Conversely, they suggest that the gradual incorporation of Black communities and of radical Black politics into American culture and governmental institutions since the Civil Rights Movement has allowed “symbols of Blackness [to] become increasingly unmoored from their radical and oppositional legacies” (78, 93).

Comparatively, Chapter 4 focuses more specifically on individuals of color who are involved in far-right rather than conservative movements, making a distinction between white nationalism and economic nationalism in the far-right space. HoSang and Lowndes focus on far-right activists of color including American-Samoan Tusitala “Tiny” Toese, black social media stars Lynnette Hardaway and Rochelle Richardson, or “Diamond” and “Silk” respectively, and an Asian-American provocateur who operates under the pseudonym “Uncle Chang.” HoSang and Lowndes attempt to explore how, through ambiguous and mutable language, racialized civic and economic nationalism leaves open spaces for the incorporation of people of color into this particular political imaginary. The presence and elevation of far-right activists of color ultimately signals a crucial liminality and contradiction within far-right spaces, and within the more mainstream American political and cultural imagination. This is to say that the American alt-right and mainstream American conservatism share a fetishization and mythologization of whiteness while also celebrating color-blind concepts of democratic universalism and American exceptionalism (125).

HoSang and Lowndes conclude by discussing protests against federal control of rural lands by white ranchers in Oregon at the Malheru National Wildlife Refuge. The chapter acts as a coda, bringing together discussion and analysis of discrete yet interconnected issues; globalization and far-right populism that both reflect and inaugurate new forms of racialization and economic inequality. HoSang and Lowndes connect local and state disinvestment in Oregon to a larger and more extensive hollowing out of the welfare state that first targeted the nation’s most vulnerable dependents: Americans of color in urban cities in the late twentieth century.

Producers, Parasites, Patriots is ultimately as much an investigation into the contradictions that animate the overlapping logics, myths, and figures of the far-right as it is a call to action, highlighting how distinct and disparate experiences of dispos-

session do not preclude the possibility and power of multi-racial political coalitions to combat inequality in the current age. It emphasizes the necessity of scholarship on race and inequality that does not focus myopically on cultural forms and expressions at the expense of detailed and nuanced structural economic analysis. HoSang and Lowndes illustrate how to accomplish an interdisciplinary analysis that is paired with strong structural critique.

In a rapidly changing American cultural and political environment more work like HoSang and Lowndes's text is required to fully explore the nuance of the far-right ecosystem as well as the convergences and divergences between the alt-right and traditional conservatism in content, expression, and medium of transmission. HoSang and Lowndes provide an excellent addition to the scholarly conversation on these alt-right movements, but more attention from academics and particularly cultural studies, historians, and media studies scholars is needed. In Chapter 4, HoSang and Lowndes expertly identify the connections between pick-up artist culture, online misogynists, men's rights groups, and the alt-right that unite in expressions of toxic masculinity and violence. Exploring the connections between misogyny, the alt-right, and gender performance is a fertile site for future research.

HoSang and Lowndes ultimately provide an intervention into the current discussion on the heightened visibility of the alt-right and the 2016 election that has been defined by a plethora of think-pieces, books, and treatises from conservative and progressive scholars and writers exploring these dynamics politically, sociologically, and culturally. What makes their book unique, however, is that their focus on the current populist resurgence in the United States is defined by structural analysis, connecting cultural texts, political movements and figures to longer genealogies of state formation and capitalization. *Producers, Parasites, Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity* will be a critical text for cultural studies, American studies, and humanities scholars looking for interdisciplinary analysis of digital medias and the alt-right that attends to the salience of race in American history.

Notes

- 1 Stuart Hall, "Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance," in *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 305–345; Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism and the Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
- 2 Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1777; W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America: A History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Harcourt and Brace Company, 1935), 700.