

Racism in the Considerations of Selected Political Scientists, Sociologists and Philosophers

Karolina Baraniak

Abstract: *Different, inferior, inferior in social status, uncivilized, barbarian, destined to obey orders – these are just some of the invectives used by racists towards people who do not belong to their ethnic group. Racism itself is not a new phenomenon, we have already dealt with its manifestations in antiquity, although due to, inter alia, apartheid or aspirations of equality for African Americans, it has flourished in the twentieth and twenty – first centuries.*

Keywords: racism, race, discrimination, superiority

The concept of race, according to Nigerian politician and activist Shehu Sani, applies to divide human beings on the basis of physical and biological attributes, sometimes cultural differences¹. The groups of people living in separate parts of the world differ the color of the skin, the shape and color of the eyes, the color and texture of the hair, the shape of the body or the proportions of the limbs. This concept is often misunderstood, used in the wrong context or confused with other terms - ethnicity, culture, religion or nationality, accustomed to denote "the human race"². Race is therefore a social and cultural product, the explanation of which has changed over time. Many people believe that differences in physical appearance have something to do with differences in the behavior, attitude, intelligence or intrinsic worth of a person³. These views spread hostility, discrimination, and social prejudice against people perceived as belonging to a different race, namely racism. Scientists disagree on what creates racism and discrimination. The terms "racism" and "racial discrimination" are often used to discuss in tolerance based on ethnic or cultural beliefs.⁴

It is hard to deny, according to Sani, that racism usually results in faith in the primacy of one's own race. Much of human suffering in history has resulted directly from racism and racial discrimination, as attested to by European enslavement of Africans, apartheid in South Africa, and pogroms committed by representatives of Nazi Germany. Racial stereotypes are exaggerated or they over simplify the characteristics of the appearance, personality and behavior of a group of people, which the dominant community uses to justify their discrimination⁵. It is obvious, as Sani shows, that the concepts of race and racism are closely related⁶. The presence of races in a given society presupposes the presence of racism; without racism, the physical characteristics are devoid of social significance. It can therefore be assumed that it is not the presence of objective physical features between groups that creates racism, but the social recognition or importance assigned to these features⁷.

The American political scientist Ivan Hannaford, conducting research on racism, made three theses⁸:

- The term race, as used in the West today, appears for the first time in the years 1200 - 1500. Only in the 17th century it took on a different meaning, derived from the Latin word gens (people, lineage, family), and was associated with the ethnic group⁹. Thus, according to Hannaford, the talents / dispositions and assumptions / guesses of race and ethnicity were implemented, and some would say invented or manufactured, in the modern era and by no means accorded to them the importance they have until today after the revolutions in France and the USA¹⁰,
- The reason the term race has become such a powerful and attractive idea is due to the deliberate manipulation of historians and scientists' publications showing that racial order has always structured humanity. This demagoguery is part of the classical tendency to view political processes as the most important means of understanding society and to introduce, instead, biologically described or naturalized descriptions of human relationships¹¹,
- The idea of race is not appropriate to Western civilization from a long historical perspective. Rather, it emerges with the Age of Enlightenment as a means of explaining the complexity of human collectives – castes or tribes. Such translations are based on a history that has nothing to do with race, therefore, race cannot explain the historical evolution of ethnic groups, tribes, or other social structures.¹²

The inhabitants of ancient Greece, as the historian Christopher Tuplin emphasizes, divided society into two unequal parts: the Greeks and the barbarian¹³. They

⁸A. Lentin, *Racism: A Beginner's Guide*, OneWorld Publications, London 2012.

Dostęp do publikacji na oficjalnej stronie internetowej Google Books:

https://books.google.pl/books?id=6EX-gkwNofAC&pg=PA1922&dq=racism+definition&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj3_O35jDbAhXIxKYKHV6PBFA4ChDoAQhGM-AQ#v=onepage&q&f=false

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³Ch. Tuplin, *Greek Racism? Observations on the character and limits of Greek ethnic prejudice*,

¹Sh. Sani, *Hatred for Black People*, Xlibris, Bloomington 2013, p.24.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem, p.25.

⁷ Ibidem.

attributed some disorder, lack of appropriate sensitivity, cruelty, lust, cunning, stupidity, ignorance of the law and submission to despotic rule to the last, mentioned group. In addition, barbarians could not speak Greek properly, and their language resembled that of animals, which was part of the tendency to assimilate barbarians and animals, which theoretically could suggest that the barbarians were physically alien.¹⁴ However, in this context an animality, as Tulin emphasizes, should be treated as an ethno – cultural matter, not physiological. In the world before Darwin's research, according to the aforementioned historian, there was no desire to equate strangers with monkeys¹⁵. In the *Republic* Plato argued, according to the philosopher Bernard R. Boxill, that persons with greater, biologically inherited, capacity for moral and intellectual achievement should be specially educated to rule¹⁶. The Greek philosopher, however, never claimed that a particular race should exercise power, or that intelligence is biologically inherited and strongly associated with easily observable features such as skin color and hair texture.¹⁷

The sociologist Benjamin P. Bowser emphasizes that racism is primarily a cultural assumption, deeply rooted in culture¹⁸. In North America, slave owners living in the areas that makeup North Carolina today had to justify slavery and firmly maintain control of the then majority of African slave and contracted white workers populations. Their intention was to make the formation of ideas about superior and inferior communities become cultural¹⁹. In this way, the economic benefits of the racial hierarchy turned into part of the common white identity. Overtime, the very nature of the nation and the ideology of what was taken for granted as normal reproduced racial categories and hierarchy²⁰. The same cultural process generated and strengthened patriarchy. Long after slavery was abandoned, the definitions of reality and social benefits that the slave traders earned from being white are still taken for granted despite centuries of social change²¹.

American intellectual and social activist W. E. B. DuBois maintained that racism is cultural because it is opposed to a race that is itself culturally defined²².

Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah makes a distinction on racialism and racism.²³ Racialism under pins various kinds

of racism for him, but, as Appiah insists, one can be rationalist without being racist. To be rational means to stick to the truth about certain descriptive statements about perceived differences between ethnic groups. According to Appiah, racism produces the most damaging moral judgments about someone because he or she is a member of, or is perceived to be, a member of a particular ethnic group²⁴.

The lawyer and philosopher Roman Tokarczyk makes it clear that: "*The name racism comes from the Italian word razzismo, and this in turn also from the Italian word razza or the French word race, in Polish rasa. It appeared in the nineteenth century to denote ideologies, doctrines, programs and movements using the results of racial – anthropological research for political purposes [. . .] Racism is a set of ideas derived from the separation of races and the racial differences attributed to them, to formulate political ideologies and doctrines as the basis of racist practice [...]*"²⁵.

Political scientist Marcin Skocz demonstrates two meanings of racism: „*from a sociological point of view, racism is a system of norms and views based on culture, which, regardless of the adopted assumptions and goals, lead to the privileging of some groups over others in society. The literature emphasizes the pursuit of privileged groups to maintain the status quo and xenophobic attitudes among the favored groups, resulting from the sense of threat and the desire to maintain the hierarchy in the event of social and economic changes* For political scientists and lawyers, racism is now one of the political and social doctrines which, although it is not justified in the natural or social sciences, gained significant popularity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Due to utilitarian tendencies in its use, it served to justify racial segregation, apartheid system, but also as the leitmotif used in the decolonization process and the construction of some regional movements. For this reason, there is no single, universally accepted definition, apart from the indication of proclaiming the superiority of certain social groups over others and the resulting social postulates. [...]"²⁶.

The sociologist and internationalist Robert Miles stresses that racism presupposes the existence of multiple races and assigns a negative judgment to one or more of these supposed races (usually, but not always, the race or races to which a person attributes a racist ideology is not represented by that person)²⁷.

Social anthropologist Ewa Nowicka points out that: “*various forms of thinking and behavior are considered to be manifestations of racism. Understanding what is included in*

[w:] G. R. Tsetskhladze (red.), *Ancient Greeks West and East*, BRILL, 1999, p. 47.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p.49-50.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p.50.

¹⁶ B.R. Boxill, *Racism and related issues*, [in:] L.C. Becker, Ch. B. Becker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ethics*, Taylor & Francis, London 2001, p.1433.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ B.P. Bower, *Introduction: The Global Community: Racism and Anti-Racism*, [in:] Idem (ed.), *Racism and Anti- Racism in World Perspective*, SAGE, Thousands Oaks- London- New Delhi 1995, p. XVII.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Fawcett, New York 1961, s. 23.

J. Angelo Corlett, *Race, Racism and Reparations*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca- London 2003, p. 64-65.

²³ K.A. Appiah, *Racisms*, [in:] D.Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of racism*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1990, p. 4-5.

J. Angelo Corlett, op. cit., p.64-65.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ R. Tokarczyk, *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*, Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2010, p. 285-286.

²⁶ M. Skocz, *Rasizm i ksenofobia*, [w:] A. Florczak, A. Lisowska (red.), *Organizacje międzynarodowe w działaniu*, OTO Agencja Reklamowa, Wrocław 2014, p. 323-324.

²⁷ R. Miles, *Racism*, Routledge, London 2004, p.8.

*the notion of racism largely depends on who makes the distinction. Racism is defined differently among those who have experienced racist statements and behavior as victims of racism, and differently among those who have no – at least temporarily – reason to fear such unpleasant situations [. . .]*²⁸.

Racism is based, as Bernard R. Boxill points out, on several assumptions: including the fact that human beings are divided into races, some of these races are morally, intellectually or physically superior to others due to inherited biological differences²⁹. Racism is of great political importance because, on the basis of the above assumption, it deliberately creates moral claims that differ from one dependency to another from the circumstances. For expansive racism, the superior races have the right to enslave, rule over, direct, control, civilize, or refine the inferior races³⁰. When this type of racism comes into contact with serious opposition, it gradually replaces these views with arguments to protect the merits of the favored breeds.

These justifications became particularly relevant after the abolition of slavery, embracing the idea that the superior races have a duty to keep them chaste and the right to protect their privileges through a variety of strategies, including segregation in education and selected immigration restrictions³¹. While racism is on the defensive, as was the case in the USA in the late twentieth century, many of its advocates try the wrong subtlety by pretending to abandon racism and renouncing some of its key moral claims while at the same time claiming that the cost of racial equality is too great. They defend various policies that are certain to maintain subordinate races in the lower class, while racism on the offensive restrains them³².

In institutional racism, the rules of the institution forfeit all mention of race, but at the same time are designed to unfairly prevent members of despised races from being promoted in institutions. Opponents of racism should not lower their guard³³. If these retaliation efforts fail, racism can resort to desperate measures, as it did in Nazi Germany when it broke out with its most maniacal claim that the parent race had a duty to exterminate the inferior races³⁴.

The belief in the biological hierarchy between racial groups is crucial for many definitions of racism and ethnic groups, as well as the related social practices they maintain and recreate different group status items based on such beliefs, as emphasized by the psychologist Martha Augoustinos³⁵. View, that differences between social groups are biologically guided suggests that such variability is

fundamental and constant, which in turn leads to the division of people into groups, on the assumption that the superficial features (including skin color) reflect deeper properties - inherited, unchanging and showing the true nature of the groups represented. According to Augoustinos, modern racism is less based on faith in the biological hierarchy between groups, and more in confidence in the cultural supremacy of the values, norms and practices of the dominant group³⁶. Another variation of modern racism, as Augoustinos shows, is opposed to the notion of cultural hierarchy and points out on the need and attractiveness of separate group development, arguing that it is not human nature to coexist peacefully with culturally different groups³⁷.

The philosopher J. Angelo Corlett mentions different kinds of racism³⁸:

Individual racism – where an individual is the subject or object of racism - and group racism – where more than one person is the subject or object of racism. Within the aforementioned types of racism occur:

- 1) Individual - to - individual racism) - a representative of one selected ethnic group is racist towards the representative of the other, designated ethnic group (but not towards other members of this group or other ethnic groups
- 2) Individual - to – group racism - the individual exhibits racist prejudices against a certain group,
- 3) Group - to – individual racism – an ethnic group expresses racist views and behavior towards a member of another group,
- 4) Group - to – group racism - one ethnic group considers itself superior to another ethnic group.
 - Individual institutional racism– a single racist acts (fails in action or tries to act) to support more global, institutional structures, e.g. a segregated judge, juror or legislator, supporting a segregated legal system,
 - Group individual racism - a group of people representing racist beliefs within the social structure, for example, a racist panel of judges functions (is not successful in action or tries to act) in such a way as to give its support to international institutions, including legal systems.
 - Non institutional racism:
- 5) Non – institutional individual racism - the subject of racism is at work in a racist manner unrelated to institutional or social structures,
- 6) Non – institutional group racism – racist groups that have targeted the persecution of ethnic groups they believe to be the target of their actions to be subordinate.
 - Racism between groups,
 - Racism within the group.

J. Angelo Corlett believes that each of the types of racism mentioned above can be motivated by³⁹:

²⁸E. Nowicka, Badanie rasizmu: problemy metodologiczne, *Studia Migracyjne- Przegląd Polonijny*, 2011, nr 4, p.122-123.

²⁹ B.R. Boxill, op. cit., s.1433.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Ibidem.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ M. Augoustinos, *Racism*, [in:] W.E. Craighead, Ch.B. Nemeroff (ed.), *The Concise Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology and Behavioral Science*, John Wiley & Sons, New Jersey 2004, p. 789.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ J. Angelo Corlett, op.cit., p.69-70.

³⁹ Ibidem, p.71-72.

- hatred of others - when a racist's hatred of a person or group plays a fundamental role in their attitude and is directed at a person or group due to their ethnicity,
- belief in the perceived inferiority of others, when a person with racist beliefs suspects that the person designated by him is significantly inferior to him because of the corresponding ethnic differences,
- Superiority of others - when the subject of racism considers his/her goal superior to him/her because of ethnic differences,
- Racist fear of representatives of the hated ethnic group,
- The power the persecutor is trying to wield over his target.

The philosopher Etienne Balibar finds interactions between the ideology of racism and the ideology of nationalism - *"the satiety represented by racism in relation to nationalism, i.e. what it adds to nationalism, at the same time tends to universalize nationalism, correcting its lack of universality, and specifying it, correcting its lack of specificity. In other words, racism contributes to the ambiguity of nationalism, not only on the theoretical level - in many respects, racism supplies nationalism with its theories - but also on the practical level, which means that through racism, nationalism engages in a "blind pursuit", the metamorphosis of its ideological conditions into material ones [...]"*⁴⁰.

Racism can, according to philosopher Jorge L. A. Garcia, to exist and be destructive even when race is only an illusion and the racial classifications that racists and the rest of society make are false⁴¹. Whether races are real depends in part on whether race is best viewed as a biological category, or whether certain meanings can be given to the vague claim that races are "socially constructed." If races do not exist, certain judgments and assumptions crucial to racists are false⁴².

The sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Louis van den Berghe noted that the term "racism" is often used to denote the intense, distinct, vehement hatred of one race against another race⁴³. He understands this by: *"any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (both real and imagined) between human groups are intrinsically related to the presence or absence of certain socially appropriate abilities or characteristics, so that these differences they become the legitimate basis for harmful distinctions between groups socially defined as races [...]"*⁴⁴. According to van den Berghe, in its worst form, racism inspired the abuse and extermination of thousands of people.

Sociologists Linda L. Lindsey and Stephen Beach write that racism is *"an ideology, a way of thinking that justifies unequal treatment. It is an ideology that presumes that one*

*race is inherently superior to another. Racist thought holds that the concept of race is biologically significant and that race is directly related to talent. It is used to defend all forms of discrimination - from genocide to simple social exclusion [...]"*⁴⁵.

Psychologist James M. Jones takes the position that the explanation of racism links individual actions, motivated by racial prejudice and discrimination, with *"laws, customs and practices that systematically reflect and create racial inequalities [...]"*⁴⁶. In his opinion, *"Racism results from the transformation of racial prejudice and/or ethnocentrism by exercising power against a racial group defined as alien, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire race or culture [...]"*⁴⁷.

According to the historian and lawyer Roman Tokarczyk, racism is situated in the space of political thought, racial discrimination functions in the space of political practice⁴⁸. Thought influences an action, and the effects of that action leave a mark on thought. Thought creates the cause of human activity, its falsification is verified by practice, in turn, the transgressions of practice are supervised and minimized by thought⁴⁹. The authors of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1969 understood under the concept of racial discrimination: *"any differentiation, exclusion, restriction or preference on the grounds of race, color, birth, national or ethnic origin, which is aimed at or entails the deletion of or diminishing the recognition, exercise or enjoyment, on the basis of equality, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic and social spheres and cultural or in any other field of public life [...]"*⁵⁰.

Racial discrimination manifests itself, as sociologist Michel Wieviorka shows, in many areas, sometimes overlapping with those areas in which racial segregation occurs⁵¹. For example, by refusing to provide housing to members of a group that is subject to racism or imposing restrictions that discourage them, by having to pay more for equal quality, or by diverting them to different solutions - sellers and regulators of housing policy - private individuals, real estate agents or local authorities - can very well implement

⁴⁵L.L. Lindsey, St. Bosch, *Sociology*, Pearson 2004, p.203.

⁴⁶J.M. Jones, *Prejudice and racism*, Addison- Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts 1972, p.172.

B.P. Bowser, *Introduction: The Global Community: Racism and Anti-Racism*, [in:] Idem (ed.), *Racism and Anti- Racism in World Perspective*, SAGE, Thousands Oaks- London- New Delhi 1995, p.X.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ R. Tokarczyk, op.cit., p. 286.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰Article 1. § 1. *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* [in:] Official website of the Amnesty International Poland: https://amnesty.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Konwencja-Likwidacja_Dyskryminacji_Rasowej.pdf

⁵¹M. Wieviorka, *The Arena of Racism*, SAGE, London- Thousand Oaks- New Delhi 1995, p.61.

⁴⁰E. Balibar, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Verso, London- New York 1991, p.54.

⁴¹J.L.A.Garcia, *Racism, concept of*, [in:] L.C. Becker, Ch. B. Becker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ethics*, Taylor & Francis, London 2001, p. 1439.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³Sh. Sani, op.cit., p. 23.

⁴⁴P.L. van den Berghe, *Race and racism: a comparative perspective*, Wiley, London 1978, p.11

discriminatory relations that will lead to the creation of a state with effective racial segregation⁵².

According to the minimalist definition of anti - racism proposed by the social geographer Alastair Bonnett, these are forms of thoughts and / or practices that try to oppose, combat and / or improve racism⁵³. Anti - racism implies the ability to identify the phenomenon - racism - and do something about it. Different forms of anti - racism often function with different explanations of racism, some of these definitions present racism as a clear, overwhelming belief in racial supremacy, while others view racism as a system of racial discrimination, seeing the key side of its operation not in individual consciousness but in social processes leading to racial inequality⁵⁴. The term "anti - racism" is, according to Bonnett, a twentieth - century creation. It did not appear in regular use before 1960 (and even then it was very limited to English - and French - speaking countries)⁵⁵. Its development in the 1960s was accompanied by other, new, forms of emancipatory discourse, such as anti - sexism and the rights of homosexuals. The apparent novelty of anti - racism explains in part why it was rarely placed in a broader historical and sociological context. However, while the concept is new, much of its symbolic meaning lies in its ability to relate to ideas, such as human equality and cultural relativism, with a long history⁵⁶.

Benjamin P. Bowser illustrates the fact that due to its historical presence in the USA, anti - racism can be treated as a conscious rejection of the belief in inferiority or the supremacy of any race, which in turn leads to opposition to the need to institutionally exacerbate racism and to individual acts of prejudice and discrimination to confirm racial supremacy⁵⁷. It can be argued, according to Bowser, that anti - racism does not have to be a deliberate act, one can unconsciously reject racism, or never assimilate this ideology in the first place. However, the historical evidence of white anti - racism shows deliberate acts of opposing the racial hierarchy, which range from simple resistance - not adopting a racially prejudiced attitude - to an armed rebellion against institutional racism⁵⁸. Unconscious rejection of racism remains, according to Bowser, to be proven in history or in the present day⁵⁹. As Melchior Wańkowicz used to say, it is sometimes good to look at yourself through the eyes of strangers. You can then see how much the lust for profit, selfishness, a sense of superiority or fear blinds our mind in relations with another human being.

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⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ A. Bonnett, *Anti- Racism*, Routledge, London 2005, p.3.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p.3-4.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.4.

⁵⁶ Ibidem.

⁵⁷ B.P. Bowser, op. cit., s. XI.

⁵⁸ Ibidem.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.