



PROJECT MUSE®

Mongrel Nation

Dawson, Ashley

Published by University of Michigan Press

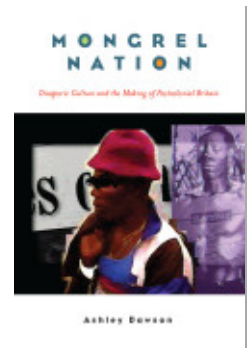
Dawson, Ashley.

Mongrel Nation: Diasporic Culture and the Making of Postcolonial Britain.

University of Michigan Press, 2007.

Project MUSE., <a href="

<https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/7061>

Access provided at 4 Apr 2020 07:53 GMT with no institutional affiliation



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. "London Is the Place for Me," Lord Kitchener with Freddy Grant's Caribbean Rhythm, Melodisc 74, London 1951. Available on the compilation *London Is the Place For Me: Trinidadian Calypso in London, 1950–1956*, Honest Jon's Records, 2002.

2. For a discussion of the use of English literature to inculcate loyalty among the colonized in India, see Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Studies and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

3. The case of V. S. Naipaul is a particularly dispiriting instance of the potency of such ideas during the final years of the colonial era in the Caribbean. See Rob Nixon, *London Calling: V. S. Naipaul, Postcolonial Mandarin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

4. According to Edward Pilkington, one-third of those traveling aboard the boat were war veterans. See *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London: IB Tauris, 1988), 18.

5. Laura Tabili, "We Ask for British Justice": *Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 29.

6. Sam King, online interview, 1 January 2001, BBC Windrush History Site, <http://www.bbc.co.uk—Windrush—Arrivals>, accessed 6 August 2003.

7. The only contemporary of Bennett's whose work came close to her radical embrace of the Creole vernacular and corollary pride in black culture was Roger Mais. For a discussion of Bennett's creole poetry, see Carolyn Cooper, *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender, and the "Vulgar" Body of Jamaican Popular Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 39–67.

8. Louise Bennett, *Jamaica Labrish*, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston, Jamaica: Sanger's, 1966), 179–80.

9. Compare with notions of decentering advanced nearly four decades later by cultural critics such as Kobena Mercer. See "Recoding Narratives of Race and Nation," in *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

10. Cedric Robinson offers what is still one of the most comprehensive overviews of what he terms "racial capitalism" in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (New York: Zed, 1983). My argument here is also indebted to the work of A. Sivanandan, evident in issues of the journal *Race and Class*, which he edits, as well as in *Communities of Resistance* (New York: Verso, 1992).

11. The classic account of this economic logic in the Caribbean plantation economy is Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985). See also Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

12. On labor militancy in West Africa, see Frederick Cooper's *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

13. Robert Miles and Annie Phizaclea, *White Man's Country: Racism in British Politics* (London: Pluto, 1984).

14. Penny von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

15. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

16. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

17. European modernist literature is filled with examples of concerns about racial degeneration in the colonies. The classic instance, of course, is Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. For further discussion of representations of degeneracy in colonial novels of the modern era, see Christopher Miller, *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

18. Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995).

19. Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman*, in *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel Defoe* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), 441–42.

20. This point is one of the primary hobbyhorses of postcolonial theory. For a representative and exhaustive argument along these lines that discusses specifically British examples, see Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour, and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

21. Robert Young makes this point effectively in his discussion of theories of hybridity. See *Colonial Desire*, 4.

22. The British isles, of course, have their own internal history of domination and resistance. Resistance to English hegemony resurfaced in the 1990s, although Tom Nairn had predicted the rise of nationalism in Scotland and Wales in the late 1970s in *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: New Left Books, 1977).

23. For a thorough history of the Stephen Lawrence case and the other circumstances leading to the MacPherson Report, see the BBC's detailed site: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1999/02/99/stephen_lawrence/285357.stm.

24. Stuart Hall, Charles Critcher, Tony Jefferson, and John Clarke, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

25. Few critics have focused consistently on the contact zones where African, Asian, Caribbean, and white British cultures have become entangled and creolized. Paul Gilroy's important study *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), for instance, deals exclusively with the traditions of African diasporic peoples in Britain, the Caribbean, and the United States.

26. For a discussion of the dynamism of culture in the anticolonial struggle, see Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 1963).

27. For a discussion of the performative character of citizenship among diasporic

communities in Britain, see May Joseph, *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

28. The concept of the contact zone militates against the traditional model of cultural assimilation. James Clifford, for instance, argues that contact zones “presuppose not sociocultural wholes subsequently brought into relationship, but rather systems already constituted relationally, entering new relations through historical processes of displacement.” See James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late 20th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

29. This figure is derived from the 1991 census, according to which “ethnic minorities” constitute 5.8 percent of the total British population. See Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, *Imagining the New Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2001), x.

30. Approximately 60 percent of Britain’s population are foreign nationals. For these nonwhite European residents, the opening up of borders in the European Union has diminished rather than increased mobility. See Les Back and Anoop Nayak, *Invisible Europeans? Black People in the “New” Europe*. (Birmingham: All Faiths for One Race, 1993).

31. Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), xi.

32. For an overview of this transformation, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 9–13.

33. Colonial expansion was intimately linked to the growth of antiliberal sentiments at home during the mid–nineteenth century. For a discussion of the race state’s origins in this period, see Vijay Prashad, *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston: Beacon, 2001), 20. Hannah Arendt’s discussion of the Holocaust’s origins in colonial genocide is also germane to this point. See *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian, 1951).

34. As Laura Tabili puts it, “To view racist policies as the state’s response to popular demand or a reflection of union influences promotes an unwarranted ‘consensus’ view of a social formation riven by structural inequalities and consequent conflict.” See *We Ask for Justice*, 7.

35. For a critique of the pathologizing model that has underwritten “race relations” approaches in Britain since the 1950s, see Jenny Bourne, “Life and Times of Institutional Racism,” *Race and Class* 43, no. 4 (2002): 7–22.

36. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, xiii.

37. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 119.

38. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 1. This economic and political calculus was quite evident to activists at the time. For an extremely prescient discussion of Britain’s postwar strategy, see George Padmore, “Blue Print of Post-War Anglo-American Imperialism,” *Left*, October 1943, in which Padmore argues that Britain would cling to its colonies in a vain attempt to head off growing U.S. global hegemony.

39. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 7.

40. For an exhaustive discussion of the racialized disparities in British immigration policy during the postwar period, consult Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*.

41. During the early years of immigration, only about two thousand people arrived from Commonwealth nations per year.

42. Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (Aldershot, Hants: Gower, 1987), 236.

43. Ramdin, *Black Working Class*, 239.
44. Swasti Mitter, *Common Fate, Common Bond: Women in the Global Economy* (London: Pluto, 1986), 1.
45. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 138.
46. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 156.
47. Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 166.
48. The 1981 Nationality Act distinguishes between so-called patrial and nonpatrial British subjects. This distinction is patently racial. Despite the argument of critics such as Martin Barker for a “new racism” based primary on cultural rather than explicitly racial forms of difference, the history of immigration legislation suggests an underlying trajectory that is explicitly racial and biological. This approach also tends to obscure Britain’s increasingly conformity to pan-European, blood-based models of belonging. For discussion of the “new racism,” see Gilroy, *Ain’t No Black*, 43.
49. Ranu Samantrai, *AlterNatives: Black Feminism in the Postimperial Nation* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002), 24.
50. Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 81.
51. John Solomos, Paul Findlay, Simon Jones, and Paul Gilroy, “The Organic Crisis of British Capital and Race: The Experience of the 1970s,” in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in ’70s Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1982).
52. For a synoptic discussion of post-Fordism and its cultural ramifications, see David Harvey, *The Condition of Post-Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1989). In a specifically British context, see Colin Leys, *Politics in Britain: From Labourism to Thatcherism* (New York: Verso, 1989).
53. Bob Jessop, *Thatcherism: A Tale of Two Nations* (New York: Polity, 1988), 87.
54. The introduction to *Black British Cultural Studies*, for example, makes scant reference to the emphasis on theorizing “race” and capitalist hegemony that has characterized this tradition. See Houston A. Baker Jr., Stephen Best, and Ruth H. Lindeborg, “Introduction: Representing Blackness/Representing Britain: Cultural Studies and the Politics of Knowledge,” in *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. Houston A. Baker Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
55. Iain Chambers, *Border Dialogues* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 20.
56. For a discussion of the analogous exclusionary construction of national belonging in the United States, see Alys Eve Weinbaum, “Reproducing Racial Globality: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Sexual Politics of Black Internationalism,” *Social Text* 19, no. 2 (2001): 15–41.
57. Quoted in Louis London and Nira Yuval-Davis, “Women as National Reproducers: The Nationality Act (1981),” in *Formations of Nation and People* (London: Routledge, 1984), 217.
58. This interpretation challenges representations of labor migrants as a helpless “reserve army of labor” for imperial capital. For a discussion of the shortcomings of the latter view, see Tabili, *We Ask for Justice*, 11.
59. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993).
60. David Morley, “EuroAmerica, Modernity, Reason and Alterity: Or, Postmodernity, the Highest Stage of Cultural Imperialism?” in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996).
61. Robin D. G. Kelley argues powerfully that progressives need to learn how to con-

nect such nontraditional forms of resistance to established modes of political expression in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994).

62. For more on the concept of everyday resistance, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984).

63. For analysis of hustling and other black strategies for surviving wagelessness, see Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*, 188–90.

64. There are, of course, a considerable number of other forms of resistance on which I do not focus. For instance, in *Policing the Crisis*, Stuart Hall and his colleagues challenge dominant accounts of crime, seeing law and criminality in long historical perspective as expressions of antagonistic social forces.

65. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

66. Gayatri Spivak has articulated a highly influential critique of methodology employed by Scott and his colleagues of the subaltern studies school of South Asian historiography. In her critique, Spivak suggests that their project of recuperating precolonial cultural forms tends to idealistically ignore the overwriting of such records by the colonial script. While this cautionary note is an important one, taken to an extreme it can suggest that colonial culture gained total hegemony over precolonial culture, a stance that seems both empirically and politically untenable. See Gayatri Spivak, introduction to *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

67. Black Britons, in other words, developed strategies of contesting power on multiple different spatial scales. This is an important point given Paul Gilroy's sweeping critique of nationalism. Gilroy argues in *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* that black Britons abandoned engagement with the British nation-state, concentrating instead on more local and more global forms of cultural expression and activism. The potential elitism and pitfalls of this argument are stressed in Laura Chrisman's "Journeying to Death: Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*," *Race and Class* 39, no. 2 (1997): 51–64.

68. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*, 66.

69. Mercer, "Recoding Narratives," 291.

70. This point has been one of the hobbyhorses of postcolonial theory. For an important early challenge to essentialist theories of ethnic identity, see Henry Louis Gates Jr., ed., *Race, Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

71. Cultural hybridity was equated with the political avant-garde in the work of critics such as Homi Bhabha; see *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994). This emphasis clearly derives from a specifically British context in which racialized minority groups were confronted by exclusionary forms of nationalism. However, neither hybridity nor nationalism should be seen as inherently progressive or reactionary. As James Clifford notes, "There is no reason to assume that crossover practices are always liberatory or that articulating an autonomous identity or a national culture is always reactionary. The politics of hybridity is conjunctural and cannot be deduced from theoretical principles. In most situations, what matters politically is who deploys nationality or transnationality, authenticity or hybridity against whom, with what relative power and ability to sustain a hegemony." See Clifford, *Routes*, 10.

72. The notion of scale jumping comes from Neil Smith's "Homeless/Global: Scal-

ing Places,” in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. Jon Bird (New York: Routledge, 1993). According to Smith, geographical scale “defines the borders and bounds the identities around which control is exerted *and* contested.” Since power tends to flow down from larger to small spatial scales, the transnational connections and cultural practices of postcolonial migrants in Britain constitute an important challenge to dominant constructions of scale and identity.

73. Hazel Carby’s “White Woman Listen!” is the classic articulation of black women’s autonomy from the (white, middle class) feminist movement. See Hazel Carby, “White Woman Listen!” in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*.

74. For an overview of the emerging black British queer cinema movement during this period, see Mercer, “Recoding Narratives,” 221–33.

75. Stuart Hall, “New Ethnicities,” in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996), 441–49.

76. Jenny Bourne, “Life and Times of Institutional Racism,” *Race and Class* 43, no. 4 (2002): 7—22.

77. London and Yuval-Davis, “Women as National Reproducers,” 212–18.

78. For instance, despite his landmark “New Ethnicities” essay, Stuart Hall has not written at length on gender or sexuality. Similarly, Paul Gilroy and Ian Baucom largely ignore such issues. Critics such as Pratibha Parmar and Kobena Mercer have contributed important revisionary perspectives concerning discourses of gender and sexuality in Britain, but neither has attempted a historical treatment of these questions.

79. Although innate sexism probably also plays a role. As Gayatri Gopinath notes, critics such as Paul Gilroy have located diasporic identity in sites like the DJ’s turntable and the ship that are relatively inaccessible to women. Furthermore, despite its intended critical role in relation to established models of identity, even the term *diaspora* retains a masculinist and heterosexist bent. See Stephen Helmreich, “Diaspora Studies and Patriarchal Discourse,” *Diaspora* 2, no. 1 (1995): 25–42; and Gayatri Gopinath, “‘Bombay, UK, Uyba City’”: Bhangra Music and the Engendering of Diaspora,” *Diaspora* 4, no. 3 (1995): 303–21.

80. For a discussion of such “representative coloured men” in the United States, see Hazel Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

81. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 232–55.

82. Feminist critics have offered particularly stinging criticism of the tendency of multicultural policymakers to view the most conservative members of the so-called ethnic minority communities as the most “authentic,” leading to a highly reactionary funding policy. For a representative critique, see Gita Saghal and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *Refusing Holy Orders* (London: Virago, 1992).

83. The tradition of cultural studies has been flawed by an idealistic search for resistance within subcultural formations that has often made it blind to the politically reactionary aspects of many subcultures. In the 1970s, for instance, members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies investigated working-class motorcycle gangs without acknowledging the rampant sexism and racism articulated by many bikers. For examples of this sort of blindness, see Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subculture in Post-War Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

84. Alibhai-Brown, *Imagining the New Britain*, xii.

85. For a discussion of the theoretical shortcomings of Gilroy’s Atlanticist frame-

work of analysis from a Marxist perspective, see Neil Lazarus, *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 62.

86. Stuart Hall, “Frontlines and Backyards: The Terms of Change,” in Kwesi Owusu, ed., *Black British Culture and Society: A Text Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 127–30.

87. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).

CHAPTER ONE

1. The following account is drawn from Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 113.

2. Qtd. in Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 117.

3. Rules regulating sexuality, marriage, and the family are typically a central component of ethnic/national identity. For an extended theoretical discussion of the relation between gender regulation and ethnic identity, see Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries*. The specifically gendered components of British national identity after 1948 are discussed in Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 59–101.

4. As Mary Douglas notes in *Purity and Danger* (New York: Praeger, 1966), individual bodies are powerful metonymic models for the body politic. This is particularly true of the female body, subject as it has traditionally been to patriarchal controls designed to guarantee undiluted filiation. Women who engaged in interracial sexual relations were likely to be seen as impure and expelled from their status as symbols of collective racial/national identity.

5. I draw this notion of sexuality as a “transfer point of power” from Ann Stoler’s discussion of the pivotal role of discourse of racial purity and sexual virtue in the colonial project of civility. For further discussion, see her *Race and Education*.

6. This suggests that it was neither *ius soli* nor *ius sanguinis* that defined belonging in Britain, but rather what Stoler calls the “fuzzy notions of shared morals and culture” that strengthen the state’s right to defend the body politic against degeneration. See *Race and Education*, 134.

7. Qtd. in Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 79.

8. For a discussion of the cultural essentialism that undergirds what is often called the “new racism,” see Gilroy, *Ain’t No Black*, 43–69. It should, however, be noted that the notion of “new racism” relies on a typically metropolitan British denial of colonial history, where, as Stoler’s work makes clear, the use of discourses of sexual/moral virtue to differentiate colonizer and colonized was quite standard.

9. bell hooks discusses what she calls “phallic misogynist masculinity” in an American context in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 88–112. Of course, such patriarchal attitudes must be put in a global context, a project adumbrated by R. W. Connell’s “The History of Masculinity,” in *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, ed. Rachel Adams and David Savran (New York: Blackwell, 2002), 245–61.

10. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove, 1969), 63.

11. For a discussion of the peculiar “complacency” of West Indians in comparison with African-American men during the 1950s, see George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 33–36.

12. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 14.

13. Prominent postcolonial critics such as Edward Said and Paul Gilroy are virtually silent on the issue of gender power, as are historians of black Britain like Peter Fryer and Ron Ramdin. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*; Gilroy, *Ain't No Black*; Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (Boulder, Colo.: Pluto Press, 1984); Ramdin, *Black Working Class*.

14. For typical examples, see Rebecca Dyer, "Immigration, Postwar London, and the Politics of Everyday Life in Sam Selvon's Fiction," *Cultural Critique* 52 (2002): 108–44; and Stefano Harney, *Nationalism and Identity: Culture and the Imagination in a Caribbean Diaspora* (New York: Zed, 1996), 91–114. A more sweeping argument concerning the hybridization of Britishness during two hundred–odd years of colonial encounters may be found in Baucom, *Out of Place*. The scholarly inspiration for these arguments comes from Homi Bhabha, whose *The Location of Culture* contains seminal essays on migration and hybridity.

15. As Anne McClintock puts it in *Imperial Leather*, "If colonial texts reveal fissures and contradictions, the colonials themselves all too often succeeded in settling matters of indecision with a violent excess of militarized masculinity" (16).

16. For a critique of misogyny and homophobia in movement literature of the 1950s, see Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics, and Culture in Postwar Britain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 79–81.

17. Rap music, of course, is the most important site for such issues today. For discussions of machismo in gangsta rap, see Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); and bell hooks, *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2003). These critics owe much to Michelle Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Verso, 1999), one of the first important feminist critics of patriarchal values in black culture.

18. Donald Hill, *Calypso Calaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 35.

19. Keith Q. Warner, *Kaiso! The Trinidad Calypso: A Study of Calypso as Oral Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1982), 8.

20. Raymond Quevedo (Atilla the Hun), *Atilla's Kaiso: A Short History of Trinidad Calypso* (St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of West Indies Press, 1994), 27.

21. Hill, *Calypso Calaloo*, 73.

22. Many critics have commented on the impact of calypso's themes and styles on *The Lonely Londoners* (Longman, 1989), including Fabre, Nasta, Gikandi, and John Thieme, although few have explored these correspondences in adequate detail.

23. Michel Fabre, "From Trinidad to London: Tone and Language in Samuel Selvon's Novels," in *Critical Perspectives on Sam Selvon*, ed. Susheila Nasta (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1987), 215.

24. Fabre, "From Trinidad to London," 213–14.

25. Selvon is, as a result, often seen as the father of Caribbean literature. See Susheila Nasta, *Home Truths: Fictions of the South Asian Diaspora in Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 70.

26. For a searching discussion and critique of the unfolding of nationalism in the West Indian literary renaissance, see Harney, *Nationalism and Identity*. On exile and nationalism, see Simon Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).

27. For a discussion of Selvon's characters' transformation of metropolitan space,

see Dyer, “Immigration,” 108–9. On their reinvention of Britishness, see Harney, *Nationalism and Identity*, 91–114.

28. See Eve Kosokovsky Sedgwick’s *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) for a now-classic anatomy of the role of misogyny and homophobia in facilitating male camaraderie.

29. Critics who pay attention to gender power in Selvon’s novel tend to treat misogyny as an unfortunate side issue rather than a central component of the masculine identity depicted. For instance, see Dyer, “Immigration,” 121.

30. Warner, *Kaiso!* 95.

31. Qtd. in Warner, *Kaiso!* 99.

32. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 6.

33. Warner in *Kaiso!* asserts that these attitudes were challenged by both female and male calypsonians during the Black Power movement of the late 1960s and 1970s.

34. For an illuminating discussion of wagelessness and struggle during the 1970s in Britain, see Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*, 375.

35. Only 13 percent of migrants from the Caribbean were unskilled manual laborers, according to Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 23.

36. Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 29–30.

37. Feminist writers have only recently begun exploring the importance of work to masculine identity. For a typical example, see Susan Faludi, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (New York: William Morrow, 1999).

38. *The Lonely Londoners* was published in 1956, the year of the Suez Crisis, the definitive humiliation of British imperial pretensions by the new global hegemon, the United States. This crisis sparked an economic depression that put many black as well as white workers out of jobs and spurred calls for immigration control and repatriation efforts.

39. As bell hooks points out in her critique of Michelle Wallace’s seminal discussion of black macho, the urge to homogenize black masculinity must be resisted through careful historical contextualization. The attitudes evident in *The Lonely Londoners* are a product of specific histories of racial slavery and colonial subjugation. Moreover, Selvon’s characters have very different reactions to this history. For her critique of Wallace, see hooks, *Black Looks*, 100.

40. Selvon’s representation of sexual relations is thus remarkably prescient of Fanon’s analysis of black (male) sexuality and alienation in *Black Skin, White Masks*.

41. Note that when Cap does turn up for a clerical job, he is instead offered work collecting garbage in a typical instance of deskilling (52).

42. For a discussion of men’s use of predatory sexuality to attempt to create a sense of self-worth, see bell hooks, *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love* (New York: Atria, 2004), 75–90.

43. Frantz Fanon is the most important of such theorists, although recent critics such as Anne McClintock have expanded his analysis by adding important insights concerning the articulation of race, class, and gender power.

44. For a discussion of Robert Mapplethorpe’s reproduction of these fetishizing strategies in the photographs in his notorious *Black Book*, see Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle*, 172–218.

45. Colin MacInnes’s London novels offer an exhaustive catalog of such avant-garde racial fetishism. See *The London Novels of Colin MacInnes* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969).

46. As McClintock notes, although colonial women were excluded from the corridors of power, they nevertheless often exercised significant forms of dominion over colonized men and women. See *Imperial Leather*, 6.

47. Mark Simpson, *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity* (New York: Castell, 1994), 48.

48. Lord Beginner with the Calypso Rhythm Kings, “Mix Up Marriage,” Melodisc 1229, London, 1952. Available on the compilation *London Is the Place For Me: Trinidadian Calypso in London, 1950–1956*, Honest Jon’s Records, 2002.

49. For a historical overview of the significance of exile in Britain for such leaders, see Cedric Robinson, “Black Intellectuals at the British Core: 1920s–1940s,” in *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain: From Roman Times to the Mid-Twentieth Century*, ed. Jahdsh S. Gundara and Ian Duffield (Avebury: Ashgate, 1992), 173–201.

50. My account of these events is drawn from Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 125–28.

51. Rey Chow, “The Politics of Admittance: Female Sexual Agency, Miscegenation, and the Formation of Community in Franz Fanon,” in *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Anthony Alessandrini (New York: Routledge, 1999), 34–56.

52. For a discussion of subsequent black feminist efforts to make precisely this point, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*.

53. David Ellis, “‘The Produce of More than One Country’: Race, Identity, and Dis-course in Post-Windrush Britain,” *Journal of Narrative Theory* 31, no. 2 (2001): 214–32.

54. MacInnes, *London Novels*, 416.

55. Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 122.

56. Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile*, 80–81.

57. Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 143.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Stokely Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 578.

2. Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Random House, 1971), 78.

3. David Widgery, “Politics and Flowers: The Anniversary of the 1967 Dialectics of Liberation Conference Is a Reminder That the Sixties Produces Ideas as Well as Music,” *New Society*, 10 July 1987, 12.

4. Robert Hewison, *Too Much: Art and Society in the 60’s: 1960–75* (London: Methuen, 1986), 134.

5. C. L. R. James was invited to speak on the day after Carmichael’s address, although this was, according to Carmichael’s autobiography, an afterthought in response to his incendiary speech of the day before. One generation later, Paul Gilroy would repeat Carmichael’s stinging attack on the parochialism of the British Left in *Ain’t No Black*.

6. Edward Brathwaite, “Timehri,” *Savacou* 2 (September 1970): 40.

7. Brathwaite, “Timehri,” 40.

8. Brathwaite, “Timehri,” 40.

9. Despite the obvious links between internationalist Pan-African traditions and Black Power, theorists of the latter have tended to view the movement's political and aesthetic expressions within an exclusively national framework. The paradigmatic work in this regard is William Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

10. Theories of a convergence between anticolonial struggles in the Third World and the antihierarchical militancy of workers, students, and ethnic minorities in the capitalist core states were integral to the Third Worldism of the New Left during this period. Although it is important to note the broad similarities among different elements of the New Left, the Black Power movement, I would argue, developed these theories of convergence on both a cultural and political plane to a far greater extent than the rest of the Left at the time, which, as I indicate above, was often highly parochial in its concerns. For a discussion of Third Worldism, see Jan P. Nederveen Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation: Power and Liberation on a World Scale* (London: Pluto, 1990), 6–7.

11. For a revisionist discussion of the idealist Pan-African tradition, see Sidney Lemelle and Robin Kelley, "Introduction: Imagining Home: Pan-Africanism Revisited," in *Imagining Home: Class, Culture, and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*, ed. Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley (New York: Verso, 1994), 2–11. Other important histories include, for the British context, T. Ras Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism from Within* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); as well as Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in American, Europe, and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana, 1974); and, of course, Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

12. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 2.

13. Britain's most important integrationist organization during this period, the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was, according to its most prominent historian, founded "to speak for a social and political movement that did not exist. See Benjamin W. Heineman Jr., *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 1.

14. For a discussion of this pedagogical apparatus in South Asia, see Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*. Many of her observations apply equally—with obvious historical variation—to the Caribbean.

15. On the "telescope effect," see Heineman, *Politics of the Powerless*, x.

16. The concept of *articulation*, drawn from Stuart Hall's work, is central to the idea of translation between different diasporic nodes in Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

17. On *inter/culturation*, see Edward Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean* (Mona, Jamaica: Savacou, 1974), 5. Brathwaite's theory anticipates postmodern ethnographic work on transculturation, as articulated theoretically, for instance, by James Clifford in *The Predicament of Culture: 20th Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988). On the influence of transculturation in literature, see Amy Fass Emery, *The Anthropological Imagination in Latin American Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996).

18. For an account of Michael X's life as a hustler and conversion to Black Power activism, see Michael Abdul Malik, *From Michael de Freitas to Michael X* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1968).

19. Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 577.

20. Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 576. Frantz Fanon grappled with the problem of exclusionary ethnic mobilization in the course of anticolonial struggle most decisively during this period. His consideration of the pitfalls of national consciousness remains seminal. See Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 36–52; and, for a more recent consideration of similar issues, Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 210–15.

21. By the 1970s, however, moral panic about supposed black criminality had become a key component of consolidating New Right hegemony. For an analysis of this conjunction, see Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*.

22. Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 83.

23. Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens*, 25.

24. Robert Carr, for example, argues that “it is the mutually dependent coalition of a middle-class elite with a politicized mass base that gives Caribbean nationalist movements their character.” See *Black Nationalism in the New World: Reading the African-American and West Indian Experience* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), 11.

25. Attacking “whiteness” was one of the primary components of Black Power aesthetic works in the United States. See Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 260–64.

26. For a discussion of Brathwaite's reading and an incredibly useful historical overview of CAM in general, see Anne Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists Movement, 1966–1972: A Literary and Cultural History* (London: New Beacon, 1992).

27. For an extended discussion of global antiracism's current stalemate, see Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (New York: Basic, 2001).

28. “Jamaica's Secession Vote Against Federation: Many Regard Jamaican Vote as a Retrograde Step,” *West Indies Gazette*, October 1961.

29. Jan Nederveen Pieterse notes that the convergence model was based on Lenin's problematic model of imperialism, with its relatively vulgar base-superstructure model of economic and political linkages. As the history of the West Indies Federation suggests, economic forces pulled countries in the Third World apart just as often as they united them, making the model of a binary First and Third World rapprochement problematic at best. See Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation*, 7.

30. Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 86.

31. Carmichael's analysis of U.S. informal apartheid and urbanization has been developed by, among others, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Thomas Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Post-war Detroit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Arnold Hirsh, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

32. For a comparison of black nationalism in the United States and South Africa, see George Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

33. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (1967; New York: Vintage, 1992), 6.

34. Carmichael was not the first to revive this link to the radical theories of the 1930s.

African-American cultural critic Harold Cruse's seminal essay of 1962, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American," had anticipated the significance of anticolonial struggles for black mobilization in the United States, as, of course, had Malcolm X's teachings. For a discussion of Cruse and Malcolm's work in this regard, see Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 186–88. On the history of Cold War–era suppression of black internationalism, see Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*.

35. The Comintern's resolution was a result of Lenin's debate with Indian Communist M. N. Roy concerning the right to self-determination of colonized peoples. See V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right to Self-Determination (Theses)," in *Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions: Three Articles* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1967), 5.

36. James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 12.

37. Lenin's theses can therefore be seen as an important precedent to Antonio Gramsci's work on linking the revolutionary struggles of the Italian proletariat and peasantry. See Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks* (New York: Progress, 1967).

38. C. L. R. James, "Black Power," in *The C.L.R. James Reader*, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), 374.

39. Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power*, 6.

40. For a deconstruction of this "civic mythology of racial progress," see Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 5.

41. Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 87.

42. Étienne Balibar, "Ambiguous Universalism," *Differences*, Spring 1995, 71.

43. Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power*, 13.

44. Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 91.

45. Carmichael is here developing a "social imperialist" argument whose cogency is discussed in Pieterse, *Empire and Emancipation*, 20.

46. Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 87.

47. Carmichael's argument anticipates that of James Boggs, who explicitly revisited the CP's "Black Belt" thesis in his theorization of the ghetto uprisings to the 1960s. See Boggs, *Racism and Class Struggle: Further Pages from a Black Worker's Notebook* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 39.

48. For a discussion of the Black Panthers' theorization of the ghetto, see Singh, *Black Is a Country*, 193–202.

49. Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*.

50. Jane Schneider and Ida Susser, eds., *Wounded Cities: Destruction and Reconstruction in a Globalized World* (New York: Berg, 2003).

51. On the U.S. prison-industrial complex, see Loïc Wacquant, "From Slavery to Mass Incarceration: Rethinking the 'Race Question' in the US," *New Left Review* 13 (January–February 2002): 41–60; and Christian Parenti, *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis* (New York: Verso, 1999). For the role of "race" and criminality in legitimating Thatcherite hegemony, see Hall, *Policing the Crisis*.

52. Patterson's argument, a more reflective version of V. S. Naipaul's notion of "mimicry," was articulated in both his pioneering historical sociology and his fiction during the 1960s. See, for example, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1967), and *An Absence of Ruins* (London: Hutchinson,

1967). There is a direct connection between Patterson's existentialist ideas about black cultural nihilism and broader New Left models of the "alienation" produced by late capitalism. For a discussion of theories of alienation, see Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture*, 189.

53. Walmsley, *Caribbean Artists Movement*, 52–54. For a discussion of Patterson's theorization of slavery as social death, see Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo*, 6.

54. Brathwaite was particularly critical of Lamming, whose seminal novel *In the Castle of My Skin* had provided a paradigm for writing the Caribbean experience but toward whose subsequent fictional and nonfictional analysis of the black condition as paradigmatic of existential alienation Brathwaite expressed strong reservations. See Gordon Rohlehr, *Pathfinder: Black Awakening in "The Arrivants" of Edward Kamau Brathwaite* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: College Press, 1981), 14.

55. Brathwaite, "Timehri," 36.

56. Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo*, 6.

57. For the denial of coevalness in ethnographic work, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

58. Emery, *Anthropological Imagination*, 127.

59. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, introduction to Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), xi.

60. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *The Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica* (London: New Beacon, 1971), 13.

61. V. S. Naipaul published his important novel *The Mimic Men* in 1967. For a deconstruction of Naipaul's elite ethic, see Nixon, *London Calling*.

62. There are suggestive links between Brathwaite's theory of immanent culture and the use of theories of performance by a later critic such as Paul Gilroy to capture the aesthetic autonomy of black Atlantic cultures. See Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 36.

63. Brathwaite's reference to a "great tradition" and to notions of "dissociation of sensibility" underline his debt to T. S. Eliot's criticism. Notwithstanding the mismatch between Eliot's reactionary modernism and Brathwaite's revolutionary political commitments, Eliot's employment of vernacular forms derived from oral culture had a strong impact on Brathwaite.

64. Brathwaite, *Folk Culture*, 15.

65. Glyne Griffith, "Kamau Brathwaite as Cultural Critic," in *The Art of Kamau Brathwaite*, ed. Stewart Brown (Bridgend, Wales: Seren, 1995).

66. Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens*, 5.

67. I want to suggest here that Brathwaite's work challenges much of the existing theorization of Caribbean modernism. For a discussion of theories of "cultural schizophrenia" and creolization, see Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo*, 12–13.

68. Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens*, 16.

69. Brathwaite's biological model of osmosis anticipates the musical metaphor of "contrapuntal ensembles" that underpins Edward Said's attack on cultural insularity and essentialism. See Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 52.

70. Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens*, 63.

71. Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens*, 64.

72. See Bridget Jones, "'The Unity is Submarine': Aspects of Pan-Caribbean Consciousness in the Work of Kamau Brathwaite," in Brown, *Art of Kamau Brathwaite*, 87.

73. Edward Brathwaite, *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). All further references to page numbers are given in the text.

74. Brathwaite drew on then cutting-edge historiographic research such as that of Janheinz Jahn and Basil Davidson in linking these westward migrations. For discussion of these debts, see Rohlehr, *Pathfinder*, 17.

75. For a discussion of black vernacular performative traditions, see Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 36.

76. Black Power activists such as Malcolm X attacked integration-minded leaders of the civil rights movement for being subservient “Toms.” See Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 2.

77. For a discussion of the Black Power critique of blaxploitation films, see Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 287–90.

78. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon, 1984).

79. The influence of Amiri Baraka and the U.S.-based Black Arts Movement is particularly clear here. For his theorization of these experiments, see Edward Kamau Brathwaite, “Jazz and the West Indian Novel” III, *Bim* 113, no. 46 (January–June 1968): 124–25.

80. For a particularly powerful discussion of the ability to popular music to defy space and commodification in order to tie together the diverse nodes of the black Atlantic, see George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place* (New York: Verso, 1994).

81. For a discussion of the theme of exile in Caribbean literature, see Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo*, 36–38.

82. The notion of a genealogy of origins is Simon Gikandi’s. See *Writing in Limbo*, 10.

83. If, as Benedict Anderson argues, the novel is a vital site for the articulation of national consciousness, Brathwaite’s epic poem strives to embody the transnational linkages of the black diaspora. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: New Left Books, 1991).

84. Claudia Jones, “The Caribbean Community in Britain,” *Freedomways* (Summer 1964), reprinted in Buzz Johnson, “I Think of My Mother”: *Notes on the Life and Times of Claudia Jones* (London: Karia, 1985), 137–54.

85. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act allowed only those with work permits to enter Britain and permitted deportation of those who lost such permits. The call for repatriation was a cornerstone of Enoch Powell’s ascendancy during the late 1960s, as well as of explicitly neofascist groups such as the National Front that made significant electoral inroads during the early and middle 1970s.

86. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 145. Jones’s discussion of representations of the ghetto anticipates many of the central points made a decade later by Stuart Hall and his colleagues in *Policing the Crisis*.

87. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 12.

88. Jones’s appeal to the UN anticipates that of Malcolm X roughly two decades later and flows directly from the internationalism of the post-1945 era. For a discussion of African-American activism in this context, see Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 4.

89. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 28.

90. For a discussion of the collapse of internationalism and acceptance of the Truman Doctrine by many leaders of the civil rights movement, see Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 97.

91. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 129.
92. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 155.
93. For an ethnographic overview of the enduring hold of utopian ideas about the “mother country,” consult Donald Hinds, *Journey to an Illusion: The West Indian in Britain* (London: Heinemann, 1966). For a pathbreaking discussion of the self-alienation imposed on second-generation black Britons, see Chris Mullard, *Black Britain* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973).
94. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 144.
95. Johnson, *I Think of My Mother*, 146.
96. Mullard, *Black Britain*, 140.
97. For a discussion of RAAS’s autonomist campaigns, see Malik, *From Michael de Freitas*.
98. See Obi Egbuna, *Destroy This Temple: The Voice of Black Power in Britain* (New York: William Morrow, 1971).

CHAPTER THREE

1. For a history of these overlapping currents in the black radical tradition, see Robinson, *Black Marxism*.
2. For details concerning LKJ’s involvement with CAM, see Walmsley, *Caribbean Artists Movement*.
3. Linton Kwesi Johnson, “Jamaican Rebel Music,” *Race and Class* 17, no. 4 (1976): 398.
4. Johnson, “Rebel Music,” 411.
5. LKJ’s collaboration with Dennis Bovell and his Dub Band did not solidify until *Forces of Victory*.
6. Editorial statement, *Race Today*, May–June 1978.
7. Abner Cohen’s definition of carnival is “a cultural mechanism expressing, camouflaging, and alleviating a basic structural conflict between the state and the citizenry” (132). For further details, see his *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements* (Providence, R. I.: Berg, 1993). The seminal expression of carnival’s ambiguous social role remains, of course, that of Bakhtin. See his *Rabelais and his World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) as well as work inspired by him such as Peter Stallybrass and Allon White’s *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).
8. See Kwesi Owusu and Jacob Ross, *Behind the Masquerade: The Story of the Notting Hill Carnival* (London: Arts Media Group, 1988), where carnival is defined as “the celebration of emergence, an affirmation of survival and continuity, the destruction of the imposed semantic mould” (39).
9. My discussion of the cultural context behind carnival is indebted to the critique of theories of carnival and social inversion found in Loretta Collins’s *Trouble It: Rebel and Revel Urban Soundscapes in the Caribbean Diaspora, 1970s–1990s* (Ames: University of Iowa Press, 1999).
10. Mas’ bands such as Lion Youth and People’s War sponsor a serious educational program, including newsletters, slide shows, and talks to elaborate on their chosen theme in the run-up to carnival.

11. The best history of carnival to date is John Cowley's *Carnival, Canboulay, and Calypso* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

12. Cecil Gutzmore, "Carnival, the State, and the Black Masses in the United Kingdom," in Owusu, *Black British Culture*, 334.

13. David Rudder, *Kaiso, Calypso Music* (London: New Beacon, 1990), 19.

14. For a discussion of Creole participation in the Asian Hosay festival in Trinidad, see Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 141.

15. For a discussion of particular instances of such riots, see Cowley, *Carnival, Canboulay, and Calypso*, 2.

16. This argument is lent weight by contemporary perceptions of "carnival as the most important, independently organized, social and political activity by West Indians in Britain." See Race Today Collective, *The Road Make to Walk on Carnival Day: The Battle for the West Indian Carnival in Britain* (London: Race Today, 1977).

17. It should, however, be noted that carnival was also the occasion for significant infighting within the black community. For example, in an essay on carnival, Cecil Gutzmore accuses Race Today of "perfidy and political opportunism" in their dealings with the different factions vying for control of the carnival during the mid-1970s. See Gutzmore, "Carnival, the State."

18. Carnival is thus a perfect example of the dialogic aesthetic forms that Paul Gilroy argues characterize black diasporic cultures. See *Ain't No Black*, 164–65.

19. Nairn, *Break-Up of Britain*, 32.

20. The groundbreaking anatomy of such atavistic politics is Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm's *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). For a more focused discussion of these issues in a British context, see Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (New York: Verso, 1985).

21. For a discussion of the heritage cinema during the Thatcher era, see Andrew Higson, "Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film," in *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism*, ed. Lester Friedman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 109–27.

22. See Tom Nairn's *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy* (London: Radius, 1988) for a discussion of the British monarchy's role in perpetuating ruling-class hegemony in the UK through the fetishized image of the monarch that, Nairn argues, prevents collective bonding to a republican national identity.

23. For a discussion of the role of "places of memory" in codifying national identity, see Ian Baucom's *Out of Place*.

24. For a discussion of the deplorable housing stock in Notting Hill, see Owusu and Ross, *Behind the Masquerade*.

25. The white riots of 1958 are discussed in Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*.

26. The origin of the carnival has been the subject of some controversy of late. For a definitive substantiation of the argument that Claudia Jones helped found the carnival, see Marika Sherwood with Donald Hines, Colin Prescod, and the 1996 Claudia Jones Symposium, *Claudia Jones: A Life in Exile* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1999).

27. Quoted in Sherwood et al., *Claudia Jones*, 157.

28. Cohen, *Masquerade Politics*, 23.

29. Cohen, *Masquerade Politics*, 93.

30. See David Widgery's discussion of the National Front's "antimugging" march in

Lewisham in *Beating Time: Riot 'n' Race 'n' Rock 'n' Roll* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1986), 44.

31. Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*.

32. Probably the best overview of the cultural shifts associated with these political-economic changes is Harvey's *The Conditions of Post-Modernism*.

33. For a detailed analysis of these developments, see Leys, *Politics in Britain*.

34. Hall, *Policing the Crisis*, 309–22.

35. Étienne Balibar, "'Es Gibt Keinen Staat in Europa': Racism and Politics in Europe Today," *New Left Review* 186 (1991): 5–19.

36. For example, the paramilitary Special Patrol Group (SPG) stopped fourteen thousand people on the streets of the London borough of Lewisham and made four hundred arrests in 1975. For more information on racist policing practices, see Institute of Race Relations, *Police Against Black People* (London, 1979).

37. "Sonny's Lettah" was based on LKJ's own experiences after he was arrested for trying to take down identification information of a group of police officers he saw choking a man to death on the street in London. LKJ was placed in the back of a police van along with three other people who had been picked up on "suspicion" that they were about to commit a crime. All four were then beaten savagely by the police. For an account of the incident, see Caryl Phillips, "Prophet in Another Land" *Guardian Weekend*, 11 July 1998.

38. After years of resistance to the notion of institutional racism, the Macpherson Report that followed the repeatedly botched investigations into the murder of Stephen Lawrence finally admitted the existence of widespread racial bias within the police force, the judiciary, and other institutional sectors of British society. For a discussion of the report, see Bourne, "Life and Times."

39. "Sonny's Lettah" may also be linked to the landmark case of the Mangrove 9, a group of black activists who successfully defended themselves against police charges of "riot, affray, and assault" after they resisted a violence police attack on a demonstration outside the Mangrove restaurant. Located in Notting Hill, the Mangrove was a vital black cultural center that the police repeatedly raided and ultimately tried to close. For a discussion of this case, see A. Sivanandan, *From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean Struggles in Britain* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1986), 136.

40. Race Today Collective, *Road Make*.

41. Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*, 386–89.

42. In his discussion of Salman Rushdie's representation of the riots of the 1980s in *The Satanic Verses*, Ian Baucom relates this claim to public space to the kinds of English traditions of disorderly conduct described by New Left historians such as E. P. Thompson. Contemporary accounts by groups such as Race Today indicate, however, that there is a far stronger link with anticolonial and diasporic uprisings than with purely English traditions of dissent.

43. A group of residents in the borough of Kensington lobbied councillors and the police to ban the carnival after the disruptions of 1975. Attempts by the Carnival Development Committee to negotiate with this group got nowhere. However, the police proved highly responsive to the group's calls to maintain "British law and order" by banning the carnival. In the context of harassment that pervaded Britain's urban areas, it's clear that the clash with this group was part of a much broader struggle with popular authoritarianism.

44. Smith, "Homeless/Global," 103.

45. This explanation is included on the LP *Linton Kwesi Johnson in Concert with the Dub Band*, Island Records, 1986.

46. Carnival costumes secretary Larry Forde criticized the Social Workers Party for their 1977 float “Victory to Freedom Fighters in South Africa,” which featured a frozen scene of black guerrillas pointing their guns at two white settlers in chains, not for the violence of the imagery but for their failure to contribute to the festive atmosphere of carnival. See Larry Forde, “Arresting Changes,” *New Society*, September 1977, 441.

47. Norman C. Stolzoff, *Wake the Town and Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000).

48. Owusu and Ross, *Behind the Masquerade*, 51.

49. Simon Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth: The Reggae Tradition from JA to UK* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 1988).

50. Probably the most evocative discussion of this process of inversion can be found in Dick Hebdige’s *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

51. Dick Hebdige, *Cut’n’Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

52. LKJ himself released a large number of dub tracks of his songs. See the collection *Independent Intavenshun*, Island Records, 1998.

53. Paul Gilroy’s essay on dub can be found in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*, 276–300.

54. For a history of Jamaica’s social and political upheavals during this period, see Obika Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change, 1960–1972* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991).

55. Hebdige, *Cut’n’Mix*, 84–89.

56. Cohen, *Masquerade Politics*, 99.

57. Linton Kwesi Johnson comments on this fratricidal element in “Jamaican Rebel Music,” *Race and Class* 17, no. 4 (1976): 397–412.

58. Estimated attendance at the 1975 carnival was 250,000.

59. Owusu and Ross, *Behind the Masquerade*, 64.

60. Owusu and Ross, *Behind the Masquerade*, 65.

61. For a critique of the Trinidad carnival’s commodification, see Earl Lovelace’s novel *The Dragon Can’t Dance* (New York: Persea, 2003).

62. The performances of Lion Youth were intended to educate not just spectators but members of the mas’ band themselves about their Caribbean and African heritage.

63. Hall, “New Ethnicities.”

64. Hall, “New Ethnicities,” 443.

65. Race Today Collective, “Self Organization vs Self Help,” *Race Today*, March 1976.

66. James’s influence is, for instance, very much evident in Paul Gilroy’s analysis of the riots of the 1980s in Britain’s cities. See *Ain’t No Black*, 245.

67. For a detailed discussion of this period in James’s life, see Paul Buhle, *C.L.R. James: The Artist as Revolutionary* (New York: Verso, 1988).

68. One of the earliest and most succinct discussions of James’s autonomist theory can be found in Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 388–94.

69. See, for instance, Stuart Hall and associates’ subtle characterization of race as a modality of class in *Policing the Crisis*, 394.

70. Buhle, *C.L.R. James*, 161.

71. My account is derived from Sivanandan, *From Resistance to Rebellion*, 142.

72. The lack of police reaction to such killings is partially explained by the fact that racial hate crimes were not recognized as a specific category of criminal behavior during the 1970s in Britain. This fact is, of course, a symptom of broader forms of institutional racism in Britain at the time.

73. The radical experiences of youths in self-defense groups such as SYM often led them to question established not just the older generation's leadership but also "established" community values such as sexism. See Widgery, *Beating Time*, 32.

74. As Paul Gilroy has noted, these groups reflect the changing mode of production in the post-Fordist economies of developed nations such as Britain. See *Ain't No Black*, 225.

75. Paul Gilroy attributes these goals, derived from the work of Manuel Castells on urban social movements, to British self-defense groups such as the Southall Youth Movement. See *Ain't No Black*, 230.

76. Additional details concerning these organizations can be found in Sivanandan, *From Resistance to Rebellion*, 142–43.

77. Sivanandan remains one of the most powerful advocates of this political mobilization of the category "black." For his critique of the decline of "black" as a political color, see *Communities of Resistance*.

78. The social construction of "race" has, of course, been one of the central concerns of postcolonial theory. For an early example of this line of thought that draws heavily on the British context, see Gates, "Race."

79. Quoted in Widgery, *Beating Time*, 14.

80. Paul Gilroy offers a withering critique of this strategy of "ethnic absolutism" in *Ain't No Black*, 59–60.

81. Sivanandan, *From Resistance to Rebellion*, 145.

82. Quoted in Sivanandan, *From Resistance to Rebellion*, 146.

83. For discussion of Rock Against Racism, see my article, "Love Music, Hate Racism: The Cultural Politics of the Rock Against Racism Campaigns, 1976–1981," *Post-modern Culture* 16, no. 1 (September 2005).

84. Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Mi Revaluashanary Fren* (London: Penguin, 2002).

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Beverly Bryan, Stella Dadzie, and Suzanne Scafe, "The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain," in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza (New York: Routledge, 1997), 42–44.

2. For a discussion of typical reactions by male activists such as A. Sivanandan and Tariq Modood to black British feminism, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 137–44.

3. Carby, "White Woman Listen!" 45–52.

4. Stuart Hall, "The End of the Innocent Black Subject," in Morley and Chen, *Stuart Hall*.

5. Julia Sudbury, "Other Kinds of Dreams": *Black Women's Organizations and the Politics of Transformation* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 14.

6. Buchi Emecheta, *Head Above Water: An Autobiography* (New York: Heinemann, 1986), 58.

7. For a discussion of this criticism, see Christine W. Sizemore, "The London Novels of Buchi Emecheta," in *Emerging Perspectives on Buchi Emecheta*, ed. Marie Umeh (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1996), 367–85.

8. For a critique of this nationalist tradition, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 137–44.

9. Important examples of this feminist critique are Mimi Abramovitz's *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston: South End Press, 1996); and Linda Gordon's *To Be Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994). For a discussion of the gender bias of the British welfare state, see Beatrix Campbell, *Iron Ladies: Why Women Vote Tory* (London: Virago, 1987).

10. Gary Mink, *Whose Welfare?* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).

11. Buchi Emecheta, *Second-Class Citizen* (New York: George Braziller, 1975).

12. For a discussion of colonialism's disruption of non-Western kinship patterns, see Carby, "White Woman Listen!" 51.

13. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. R. R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

14. Carby, "White Woman Listen!" 45.

15. It was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that postcolonial theorists began intervening in debates about autobiography that assumed ahistorical, transcultural models of patriarchy and feminine identity. See Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, eds., *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 10.

16. Juliana Makuchi Nfah-Abbenyi, *Gender in African Women's Writing: Identity, Sexuality, and Difference* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 4–5.

17. For a discussion of Riley's novel, see Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

18. For a discussion of the Rastafarian reappropriation of biblical narrative, see Hebdige, *Subculture*, 33.

19. For an illuminating discussion of the contradictory role of the mother-in-law, for instance, as both cop and confidant for many young married Asian women, see Southall Black Sisters, *Domestic Violence and Asian Women: A Collection of Reports and Briefings* (London: Southall Black Sisters, n.d.), 17.

20. This interpretation of feminine identity has been one of the mainstays of feminist theories of autobiography, beginning with Nancy Chodorow's characterization of the feminine personality as defining itself through relationality. For a discussion of this tradition, see Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory*, 17.

21. The issue of isolation is not limited to Adah alone, despite the class-related character of her experience. For a discussion of isolation as a key facet of black women's disempowerment, see Meena Patel, "Working with Women," in Southall Black Sisters, *Against the Grain: A Celebration of Survival and Struggle* (London: Southall Black Sisters, 1990), 65; and Southall Black Sisters, *Domestic Violence*, 22–23.

22. For a critique of this homogenizing tendency among certain black feminists, see Razia Aziz, "Feminism and the Challenge of Racism," in Mirza, *Black British Feminism*, 73.

23. Emecheta's vitriolic portrait of her husband has been attacked by critics as giving unwarranted ammunition to racist stereotypes about black men. It is certainly true that Emecheta does little to represent the obstacles faced by working-class black men in Britain. However, it should be remembered that her husband is *not* working class and that he remains unemployed not because of shop-floor racism but because of his failure on university qualifying exams and, later, because of his parasitic economic dependence on Adah. Thus, Francis can hardly be said to be representative of black men in general, and Emecheta's portrait of him therefore cannot be said to diminish black masculinity.

Attempts to silence criticisms like Emecheta's have been a typical response to feminist and queer attempts to engage in constructive critique. For a discussion of such criticism of Emecheta, see Sizemore, "London Novels." For a discussion of patriarchal attacks on black feminists, see Sudbury, *Other Kinds of Dreams*, 66.

24. David P. Celani, *The Illusion of Love: Why the Battered Woman Returns to Her Abuser* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 92.

25. Muneeza Inam, "Opening Doors," in Southall Black Sisters, *Against the Grain*, 25.

26. For a discussion of the racist assumptions behind immigration laws and their impact on black families, see Pragna Patel, "Third Wave Feminism and Black Women's Activism," in Mirza, *Black British Feminism*, 261–63.

27. Patel, "Third Wave Feminism," 262.

28. Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine, 2002), 130.

29. Freedman, *No Turning Back*, 267.

30. Lack of information concerning access to entitlements is one important way in which the state has historically regulated the poor. For a discussion of the struggle to gain access to social welfare in a U.S. context, see Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward's classic book *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Tavistock, 1972).

31. For an overview of this tradition, consult Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, "Introduction: Situating Subjectivity in Women's Autobiographical Practices," in Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory*, 3–56.

32. For a discussion of attacks on black women's single parenting practices in Britain, see Lauretta Ngcobo, *Let It Be Told: Essays by Black Women in Britain* (London: Virago, 1988), 28.

33. Buchi Emecheta in *Women: A World Report* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 217.

34. Eva Feder Kittay, "Dependency, Equality, and Welfare," *Feminist Studies* 24, no.1 (1998), Academic Search Premier, 23 November 2004, <http://web17.epnet.com/>.

35. Emecheta, *Head Above Water*, 65.

36. Emecheta, *Head Above Water*, 61.

37. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1964).

38. For a discussion of the History Workshop group, see Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 185.

39. Guha and Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*.

40. For the telling autobiographical perspective of a young British radical and feminist in this regard, see Sheila Rowbotham, *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties* (New York: Verso, 2001).

41. Kittay, "Dependency, Equality, and Welfare," 1. For a discussion of these issues in a British context, see Amina Mama, "Black Women, the Economic Crisis, and the British State," in Mirza, *Black British Feminism*, 36–41.

42. Abramovitz, *Regulating Lives of Women*, 3.

43. Abramovitz, *Regulating Lives of Women*, 2.

44. Buchi Emecheta, *In the Ditch* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1972), 2.

45. For an account of the importance of escaping the tyranny of private landlords, see Emecheta, *Head Above Water*, 39.

46. Abramovitz, *Regulating Lives of Women*, 4.

47. Brid Featherstone, *Family Life and Family Support* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 71.

48. In her autobiography, Emecheta notes that her portrait of Carol was one of the most controversial aspects of her novel. See *Head Above Water*, 71.

49. Sudbury, *Other Kinds of Dreams*, 63.

50. For a discussion of the “double shift’s” reinforcement of capitalist accumulation and patriarchy, see Abramovitz, *Regulating Lives of Women*, 8.

51. For a summary of this classic Marxist view of welfare, see Sandra Morgen and Jeff Maskovsky, “The Anthropology of Welfare ‘Reform’: New Perspectives on U.S. Urban Poverty in the Post-Welfare Era,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32 (2003): 315–38.

52. The concept of the “underclass” was developed by William Julius Wilson in *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage, 1997).

53. Much contemporary anthropology of poverty has been engaged in just such a project of contesting welfare “reform” by demonstrating the crisis in social reproduction that it is producing. For an overview of this work, see Morgen and Maskovsky, “Anthropology of Welfare Reform,” 324–25.

54. This is perhaps the best instance of Emecheta’s blending of communal African values with Western feminism. See Sizemore, “London Novels,” 372.

55. Emecheta’s observations closely parallel those of Fox Piven and Cloward concerning the battle to spread awareness of welfare rights in the United States in *Regulating the Poor*, 325–38.

56. Ngcobo, *Let It Be Told*, 19.

57. Carby, “White Woman Listen!” 49.

58. Carby, “White Woman Listen!” 49.

59. Mama, “Black Women,” 38.

60. I’m drawing here on Morgen and Maskovsky’s assertion that neoliberal economic restructuring in the industrialized nations is the equivalent of IMF-imposed structural adjustment policies in the developing world. See Morgen and Maskovsky, “Anthropology of Welfare Reform,” 324.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. For an account of the day’s events, see Gita Saghal and Nira Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Fundamentalism, Multiculturalism, and Women in Britain,” in Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 17–18.

2. This taboo was upheld by theoretical work such as Pratibha Parmar’s “Gender, Race, and Class: Asian Women in Resistance,” in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back*, 236–75.

3. For a critique of A. Sivanandan’s model of stable antiracist collective identity, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 135. This model of community solidarity is just as evident, however, in the work of Paul Gilroy and Ian Baucom on black antiracism. See Gilroy, *Ain’t No Black*; and Baucom, *Out of Place*.

4. Pragna Patel, “Southall Boys,” in Southall Black Sisters, *Against the Grain*, 44–49. See also Gita Saghal, “When I Became Involved . . .,” in Southall Black Sisters, 14.

5. For a discussion of Fanon’s flawed theorization of gender and anticolonial nationalism, see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 365–68.

6. Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 18.

7. *London Times Magazine*, 28 May 1989, 22.

8. Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 21.

9. Balibar develops this notion of prophylactic action in order to explain the retention of concepts of assimilation despite the ostensibly egalitarian framework of differentialist racism. See Balibar, “Es Gibt Keinen Staat in Europa: Racism and Politics in Europe Today,” *New Left Review* 186 (March/April 1991): 24–25.

10. For a scathing deconstruction of Huntington’s work, see Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells, “Introduction: Constructing the Muslim Enemy,” in *The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy*, ed. Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 1–29.

11. Qureshi and Sells, *The New Crusades*, 2.

12. *Independent* (London), 22 February 1989, quoted in *The Rushdie File*, ed. Lisa Appignesi and Sara Maitland (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 102.

13. The most developed exploration of these intersecting dynamics in a British context is found in Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries*.

14. I follow WAF here in emphasizing that fundamentalism is a tendency within all major world religions rather than within Islam alone, as media and popular representations in the West sometimes have it.

15. Kate Clark, “Is It Fundamentalism? Patterns in Islamism,” *Women Against Fundamentalism* 1, no. 5 (1994): 13.

16. Marina Warner in Appignesi and Maitland, *The Rushdie File*, 193.

17. Tim Brennan originated this take on Rushdie, describing him as a kind of rootless cosmopolitan whose work sold out anticolonial nationalism. See Brennan, *Salman Rushdie and the Third World: Myths of the Nation* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1989), 2. Subsequent commentators have also underlined Rushdie’s concern with hybridity. See, for example, Ian Baucom, *Out of Place*, 190–218; and Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 205–23.

18. Perhaps the most high-profile such attack came from Edward Said, who lamented that Rushdie was giving Orientalists ammunition in his satire of Islamic fundamentalism. Many other progressives followed this line, arguing that Rushdie’s criticism was directed at the defeated rather than at the imperial structure of thought that rules the world. See Said statement made at U.S. Pen Writers’ meeting in New York, February 22, 1989, in Lisa Appignesi and Sara Maitland, eds., *The Rushdie File* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 165.

19. On *ijtihad*, see A. Ahmed, *Postmodernism and Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and, more recently, Irshad Manji, *The Trouble with Islam: A Muslim’s Call for Reform of Her Faith* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003).

20. Gikandi argues that this opening explosion questions some of the key tenets of modernity, including the unified subject, the logic of historicism, and notions of home and belonging. It should be noted, however, that while Rushdie may be questioning such general concepts, he is also critiquing violent separatist movements (such as Sikh

separatism) that act precisely in the name of such concepts. See Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 206.

21. Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses* (New York: Viking, 1989), 4. Further citations will be incorporated in the text.

22. For an overview of immigration theory and its applicability within the contemporary European Union, see Robert Miles, *Racism After "Race Relations"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 107–49.

23. See Francesca Klug's "Oh to be in England," in *Woman-Nation-State*, ed. Floya Anthias and Yuval-Davis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 27.

24. London and Yuval-Davis, "Women as National Reproducers," 215.

25. Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance*.

26. For a full discussion of gender and nationality law in Britain after 1945, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 59–101.

27. Amina Mama, "Black Women and the British State," in *Racism and Antiracism*, ed. Peter Braham et al. (London: Sage, 1992), 98.

28. In fact, this rhetoric has been dusted off and trotted out once more following the introduction of "managed migration" by Tony Blair's New Labour. For a discussion of these policies, see David Bacon, "Britain's War Over Managed Migration," *Z Magazine*, September 2004, 45–49.

29. The term *DissemiNation* is Homi Bhabha's, from his essay of the same title in *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990). Bhabha here suggests that nationalist ideology is ceaselessly deconstructed by that ideology's disseminatory site of enunciation. This emphasis on the lability of national identity needs to be qualified by an examination of particular instances of ethnic absolutism and patriarchal domination. Indeed, the difficulty of overcoming the latter is suggested by the androcentric roots of both *dissemination* and *diaspora*. For a nuanced ethnographic treatment of these points, see Sunaina Marr Maira, *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture in New York City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

30. For an exemplary analysis of such traditions within transnational popular music, see Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*.

31. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 25–26.

32. For a detailed discussion of technologies of race and gender in the colonial scene, see Stoler, *Race and Education*.

33. Sumita S. Chakravarty, *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema, 1947–1987* (Austin: University of Texas, 1993), 4.

34. This argument is, of course, made most forcefully by Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990). The stakes of gender performance, however, are radically different in a South Asian context, as theorists of postcolonial queer identity have been quick to emphasize.

35. Rushdie discusses the crisis of nationalism and the return of communal riots in *Imaginary Homelands* (New York: Viking, 1989), 385–87.

36. For a fuller contextualization of the mythological genre, see Chakravarty, *National Identity*, 36.

37. Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed, 1986), 51.

38. For a more detailed discussion of these events, see Zoya Hasan, ed., *Forging Identities* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1994).

39. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 20–25.
40. Gita Saghal and Nira Yuval-Davis argue that the rise of fundamentalism is linked to the failure of nationalist and socialist movements to achieve liberation from neocolonialism. See Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 6.
41. Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 5.
42. For a discussion of the radical biblicist tradition, which stretches from the Levellers of the English Revolution to South American liberation theology and African nationalism, see Sara Maitland, “Biblicism: A Radical Rhetoric?” in Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 27–43.
43. This is just as true of Islam as it is of Christianity, although it should be noted that in the case of the former, fundamentalism manifests itself in the form of a return either to the Koranic text or to the sharia, the body religious laws set down after the Prophet Muhammad’s death.
44. Maitland, “Biblicism,” 38.
45. V. N. Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), 11.
46. For an analysis of social antagonism and the impossibility of final suture of the system of differences of which the social consists, see Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 1985).
47. Rukmini Bhaya Nair and Rimli Bhattacharya, “Salman Rushdie: The Migrant in the Metropolis,” *Third Text* 11 (Summer 1990): 18–29.
48. Ian Baucom emphasizes the former to the relative neglect of the latter in his reading of the novel’s focus on rioting and migrancy. See Baucom, *Out of Place*, 190–218.
49. Malise Ruthven, *A Satanic Affair: Salman Rushdie and the Wrath of Islam* (London: Hogarth Press, 1991), 141.
50. On the instability of the site of enunciation as a constitutive characteristic of nationalist discourse, see Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 251.
51. Rushdie refers explicitly to his opposition to imposing religious orthodoxies that stress purity of the word and the self in *Imaginary Homelands*, 394–96.
52. Rushdie is quite obviously influenced here by poststructuralist theories of language and identity. He discusses the hybridity of the self discovered by Gibreel and Saladin in *Imaginary Homelands*, 144.
53. For an analysis of Rushdie’s two previous novels in terms of national allegory, see Brennan, *Salman Rushdie*.
54. M. M. Bakhtin, “Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).
55. See Aamir Mufti, “*The Satanic Verses* and the Cultural Politics of ‘Islam,’” *Social Text* 31–32 (Summer 1992): 277–82.
56. For a summary of the critiques of Rushdie from the perspective of Islamic reformists, see Nair and Bhattacharya, “Salman Rushdie,” 28–29.
57. This definition of the popular is influenced by William Rowe and Vivian Schelling’s *Memory and Modernity* (New York: Verso, 1991), in which the popular is posed as a set of dispersed sites that disrupt definitions of the nation as a unified body.
58. Compare with Raymond Williams’s discussion of the social isolation of avant-garde artists in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (New York: Verso, 1989), 50–62.
59. According to Malise Ruthven, this failure to offer more than a binary opposition was key to the conflict over the novel in the UK. See *A Satanic Affair*, 159.

60. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Reading *The Satanic Verses*,” *Third Text* 11 (Summer 1990): 45–60.

61. Rushdie himself makes a similar argument concerning fundamentalism and nationalism in *Imaginary Homelands*, 380.

62. This point is highlighted by Talal Asad’s critique of liberal analysis of Rushdie’s novel, which tended to defend the author’s freedom of expression with no consideration of the embedding of texts in particular social contexts. See Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 283, and “Multiculturalism and British Identity in the Wake of the Rushdie Affair,” *Politics and Society* 18, no. 4 (1990): 457–75.

63. Al-Azmeh Aziz, *Islams and Modernities* (New York: Verso, 1993), 7.

64. For a discussion of Islam and temporality, see Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, 381–82.

65. In construing this act of meteorological tropicalization as an example of salutary diasporic hybridity, Ian Baucom completely misreads Gibreel’s increasing fundamentalism. See Baucom, *Out of Place*, 209–18.

66. For a discussion of the production of hybridity through attempts to establish pure identity, see Stallybrass and White, *Transgression*, 193.

67. This point is saliently taken up by L. Liu, who criticizes Partha Chatterjee for theorizing the hegemonic discourse of the West as a totalized one that constitutes the native in a manner that leaves no room for alternative subjectivity. See Liu, “The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse,” in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernism and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

68. For a discussion of the vesting of community honor in women, see Ruthven, *A Satanic Affair*, 73.

69. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 336.

70. Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 15.

71. Saghal and Yuval-Davis, *Refusing Holy Orders*, 8.

72. For a structural analysis of the homosocial continuum, see Sedgwick, *Between Men*.

73. For a discussion of this form of what she terms “identity dub,” in which the binaries of essentialism and fluidity are navigated depending on the context, see Maira, *Desis in the House*, 195.

74. Ruthven, *A Satanic Affair*, 118; and Steven Vertovec, “Islamophobia and Muslim Recognition in Britain,” in *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 19–33.

75. For an analysis of contemporary European fears about loss of cultural homogeneity as a result of Muslim immigration, see Haddad introduction to *Muslims in the West*, 4–15.

76. Vertovec, “Islamophobia,” 26.

77. J. Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

78. Ruthven, *A Satanic Affair*, 107.

79. Saghal, “Secular Spaces,” in Gita Saghal and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *Refusing Holy Orders: Women and Fundamentalism in Britain* (London: Trafalgar Square, 1993), 170.

80. For an extended theoretical discussion of the impact of black feminist interventions in redefining the public sphere in Britain, see Samantrai, *AlterNatives*, 30–56.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Nicholas Wade, "Reading the Book of Life," *New York Times*, 13 February 2001, F1, LexisNexis <http://web.nexis-lexis.com>, accessed 21 February 2003.
2. Barry Commoner, "Unraveling the DNA Myth: The Spurious Foundation of Genetic Engineering," *Harper's*, February 2002, 39–47.
3. Joseph Graves, *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 90.
4. Richard Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: The Doctrine of DNA* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1992), 14.
5. Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); and Donna J. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium_FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
6. Nicholas Wade offers an account of this debate by comparing the work of Dr. Neil Risch, who contends that racial and ethnic differences do relate to genetic code, and that of others such as Dr. David Goldstein, who finds such differences too sweeping and imprecise. See his article "Race is Seen as Real Guide to Track Roots of Disease," *New York Times*, 30 July 2002, F1. For a representative example of how this debate is polarizing the medical community, see Sally Satel, *PC, M.D.: How Political Correctness is Corrupting Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
7. Probably the most notorious instance of the return of iniquitous biological determinism is Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
8. Patricia J. Williams, "Racial Prescriptions," *The Nation*, 3 June 2002, 9.
9. The same surprisingly holds true in the realm of popular culture in general. The film *Gattaca* (dir. Andrew Niccol. Columbia Pictures, 1997) is perhaps the most notable attempt to date to dramatize the dystopian implications of genetic engineering for an American public that regularly encounters products of the biotech revolution such as genetically modified food.
10. For a discussion of "postracial" London, see Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "A Magic Carpet of Cultures in London," *New York Times*, 25 June 2000, B1.
11. For analysis of these issues in an American context, see Weinbaum, "Reproducing Racial Globality."
12. The term *biopower* is drawn from Foucault. For a detailed assessment of the racial and colonial resonance of Foucault's late work, see Stoler, *Race and Education*.
13. For a discussion of the gendered implications of recent immigration legislation in Britain, see London and Yuval-Davis, "Women as National Reproducers."
14. On Britain's shift from *ius soli* to *ius sanguinis*, see Baucom, *Out of Place*.
15. Neil Smith, "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as a Global Urban Strategy," *Antipode* 34 (2002): 434–56.
16. Winant, *World is a Ghetto*, 1.
17. Gilroy, *Against Race*, 47.
18. Gilroy, *Against Race*, 37.
19. Graves, *The Emperor's New Clothes*, 43.
20. See, for instance, Robert Young's discussion of the malleability of raciology in the nineteenth century in *Colonial Desire*.

21. Zadie Smith, *White Teeth* (New York: Vintage, 2000), 100. Further citations will be incorporated in the text.

22. For an overview of this raciological tradition, see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1982).

23. For a discussion of the return of the racist doctrines and exterminism policies experimented with in German South-West Africa to Europe by the Nazi elite, see Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 206.

24. Stoler, *Race and Education*, 10.

25. Stoler, *Race and Education*, 11. For a detailed discussion of the poisonous interweaving of “race,” class, and gender prompted by dysgenic fears, see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.

26. Graves, *The Emperor’s New Clothes*, 119.

27. Matt Ridley, *Genome: The Autobiography of a Species in 23 Chapters* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999), 291–96.

28. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology*, 26.

29. Tabili, *We Ask for Justice*, 17.

30. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 28.

31. Tabili, *We Ask for Justice*, 19.

32. For a discussion of the theoretical implications of the Subaltern Studies Collective’s work, see Spivak’s introduction to Guha and Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*.

33. One of the primary goals of the War Office during this period was to ensure that nonwhite officers would never be placed in control of European troops. See Marika Sherwood, *Many Struggles: West Indian Workers and Service Personnel in Britain, 1939–45* (London: Karia, 1985).

34. Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes* (New York: New Press, 1997).

35. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology*, 23.

36. For a discussion of *Kim* as colonial fantasy, see Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 160.

37. The most prominent example is Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

38. For a useful discussion of the trend toward “primordialism” among ethnic minority communities, see Pnina Werbner, introduction to *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, ed. Pnina Werbner and Tariz Modood (New York: Zed, 1997).

39. Ali Nobil Ahmad’s critique, for example, underlines the biological determinism of hybridity theory in the following terms: “Steeped in biological determinism and deeply imbued in the teleology of essentialist colonial discourse, Bhabha’s hybrids are a master race of Nietzschean übermenschen equipped with special powers to transcend problems of racism.” See his article “Whose Underground? Asian Cool and the Poverty of Hybridity,” *Third Text* 54 (Spring 2001): 81.

40. Gilroy, *Ain’t No Black*, 43.

41. For an extended discussion of the contradictions of postwar immigration policy, see Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*.

42. Michael Rowe, *The Racialization of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain* (Brookfield, Mass.: Ashgate, 1998).

43. For a discussion of the use of birth control provision in a manner that smacks of population control, see London and Yuval-Davis, “Women as National Reproducers,” 218.

44. Gilroy, *Ain’t No Black*, 65.

45. For a sensitive discussion of fundamentalism, liberalism, and the legacy of the *Satanic Verses* controversy in Britain, see Alibhai-Brown, *Imagining the New Britain*, 266–69.

46. On the cultural cosmopolitanism of the second generation, see Hall's "New Ethnicities"; and Marie Gillespie, *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

47. Jennie Dusheck, "The Interpretation of Genes," *Natural History*, October 2002, 54.

48. For an overview of the debates concerning twins and the environment that reflects the return of genetic determinism, see Ridley, *Genome*, 82–85. For a challenge to this view, see Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology*, 32–33.

49. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 336.

50. The classic example of such work is Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*. For analyses of recent Asian music in subcultural studies vein, see Sanjay Sharma, John Hutnyk, and Ashwarni Sharma, eds., *Dis-Orienting Rhythms: The Politics of the New Asian Dance Music* (New York: Zed, 1997).

51. Hebdige, *Subculture*, 103.

52. Francis Fukuyama, *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).

53. Young, *Colonial Desire*, 10.

54. Sahgal and Yuval-Davis, "Introduction: Fundamentalism, Multiculturalism, and Women in Britain," 16.

55. For a discussion of the uncertainties and hazards associated with the now-widespread practice of creation transgenic crops, see Commoner, "Unraveling the DNA Myth," 45–46.

56. Vandana Shiva, *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge* (Boston: South End Press, 1997).

57. Jeremy Rifkin, *The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World* (New York: Putnam, 1998), xiii.

58. Rifkin, *The Biotech Century*, 116.

59. Biotechnology is, for example, almost certain to destroy the present privatized American health care system. See Bryan Appleyard, *Brave New Worlds: Staying Human in the Genetic Future* (New York: Viking, 1998), 23.

60. Rifkin, *The Biotech Century*, 147.

61. Fukuyama, *Our Posthuman Future*, 40.

62. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology*, 26–27.

63. While Smith's satire of Islamic fundamentalism is clearly a courageous rejoinder to positions that became public in the context of the Rushdie affair, her parody of animal rights groups is a little less easy to understand. However, the Left in Britain has a tendency to dismiss animal rights campaigns despite their wide appeal. See Ted Benton and Simon Redfeare, "The Politics of Animal Rights—Where's the Left?" *New Left Review* 215 (1996): 45–53.

64. Steve Connor, "Rival Genome Teams Squabble as they Publish the Ultimate 'Book of Life,'" *Independent*, 12 February 2001, A1, LexisNexis <http://web.lexisnexis.com>, accessed 21 February 2003.

65. Jonathan King and Doreen Stabinsky, "Biotechnology under Globalization: The Corporate Expropriation of Plant, Animal, and Microbial Species," *Race and Class* 40, nos. 2–3 (1998–99): 73–89.

CONCLUSION

1. Charles Glass, "The Last of England: Churchill Gave Londoners Courage, Blair is Serving Them Fear," *Harper's*, November 2005, 43–49.
2. Tony Blair, address to Parliament, 11 July 2005, <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page7903.asp>.
3. Saree Makdisi, "Brutality that Boomerangs," *Common Dreams*, 23 January 2006, <http://www.commondreams.org/viewso5/0729-26.htm>.
4. James Quinney, "The World's Best Kept Secret," *Znet*, 23 January 2006, <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?itemid=9007>.
5. On the history of high-altitude bombing, see Sven Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing* (New York: Norton, 2003).
6. Chris Allen, "From Race to Religion: The New Face of Discrimination," in *Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure*, ed. Tahir Abbas (New York: Zed, 2005), 49–65.
7. Allen, "From Race to Religion," 60.
8. BBC, "Thatcher Comments Encourage Racism," 23 January 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/1578377.stm.
9. Norman Lamont, "Down with Multiculturalism, Book-Burning, and Fatwas," *Daily Telegraph*, 8 May 2002.
10. Sivanandan, "Why Muslims Reject British Values," *Observer*, 16 October 2005, <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,6903,1593282,00.html>, accessed 23 January 2006.
11. Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*.
12. Retort, *Afflicted Powers* (New York: Verso, 2005), 163.
13. David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
14. Rose, *Black Noise*; and Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*.
15. For an overview of Asian music with an emphasis on developments in the UK, see Sharma, Hutnyk, and Sharma, *Dis-Orienting Rhythms*.
16. Ted Swedenburg, "Islamic Hip-Hop versus Islamophobia: Aki Nawaz, Natacha Atlas, Akhenaton," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA*, ed. Tony Mitchell (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 57–85.
17. Fun-Da-Mental, "Seize the Time," *Seize the Time*, Beggars' Banquet/Mammoth Records 92421–2.
18. Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).
19. Asian Dub Foundation, "Blowback," *Enemy of the Enemy*, Universal Music 724358128321.
20. Frances Fox Piven, *The War at Home: The Domestic Costs of Bush's Militarism* (New York: New Press, 2004).
21. Étienne Balibar, *We, The People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 123.
22. Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster, "At the Extremes of Exclusion: Deportation, Detention and Dispersal," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 3 (2005): 491–512.
23. Tony Solo, "Making Excuses for Sid Snake," *Znet*, 23 January 2006, <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=8547>.
24. George Monbiot, "Protesters As Criminals," *Znet*, 23 January 2006, <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=8866>.

