Becoming (an)other

An intergenerational exploration of storied encounters of migrations, processes of otherisation and identity (re)negotiations for post-war Jamaican families in Manchester, England.

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Abstract

The emergence of Britain's black population is often attributed to the arrival of the MV Empire Windrush into Tilbury Docks, London, England on 22nd June 1948. This event is now marked as the genesis of Britain's multi-cultural character, along with the emergent social problems of racism(s), discriminations and racialized inequalities. Yet, whilst oft told, the story is imprecise, inextricably bound up within the development of a pathological and 'dangerous' sociology (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980). The sociology of race relations has served to produce, impose and maintain pathological constructions of the black immigrant as 'economic migrant', being those who were *pushed* away from the poverty of the Caribbean and *pulled* towards the prosperity afforded by the post-war British economy. Furthermore, the post-war black immigrant becomes imbue with an unassimilable culture that impedes their absorption into British society. Today, the subtext of the 'Windrush story' endures, still serviced by a 'race relations' industry but also accompanied by pathological Criminologies, astute in the production of objects, its knowledge base is episodically evoked by politicians and policy-makers to arouse the (social, economic and cultural) problems attributed to unchecked immigration. Within this context research conversations capture the stories of ten families who migrated from Jamaica to Manchester in England, UK. Drawing upon Narrative Identity Theory (McAdams 1993, Maruna 2001), self- (and contested) identities emerged inductively as central to the families' experiences. Further, family stories reveal the self through recollections of (social) interactions with a generalised British other. Critically, particular encounters emerged as significant events, attributed with arousing that sensation of difference, a consciousness of an otherness. It is within such 'disruptive encounters' that otherisation occurs, necessitating a (re)negotiation of imposed and imagined definitions and identities. In defiance of and in resisting the imposition of negative (culturally maladjusted and criminally endowed) constructions of Jamaican identity, a Britishness is produced and claimed by the family's which marks their perpetual *migration* toward the (British) Other.

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Acknowledgements

In part, this work is the culmination of my own migration(s), interactions, and negotiations amongst many significant disruptions! Couched within those (critical) moments growing up in Old Trafford, many people have supported and guided me along the way and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them.

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Chapter One: Introduction

'Let me ask you to imagine this. Living far from you is a beloved relation whom you have never met. Yet this relation is so dear a kin she is known as Mother. Your own mummy talks of Mother all the time. 'Oh mother is a beautiful woman – refined, mannerly and cultured.' Your daddy tells you, 'Mother thinks of you as her children; like the lord she takes care of you from afar.' There are many valorous stories told of her, which enthral grown men as well as children. Her photographs are cherished, pinned in your own family album to be admired over and over. Your finest, your best, everything you have that is worthy is sent to Mother as gifts. And on her birthday you sing-song and party.

Then one day you hear Mother calling – she is troubled, she need your help. Your mummy, your daddy, say go. Leave home, leave familiar, leave love. Travel seas with waves that swell about you as substantial as concrete buildings. Shiver, tire, hunger – for no sacrifice is too much to see you at Mother's needy side. This surely is adventure. After all you have heard, can you imagine, can you believe, soon, soon you will meet Mother…'

(Levy 2004)
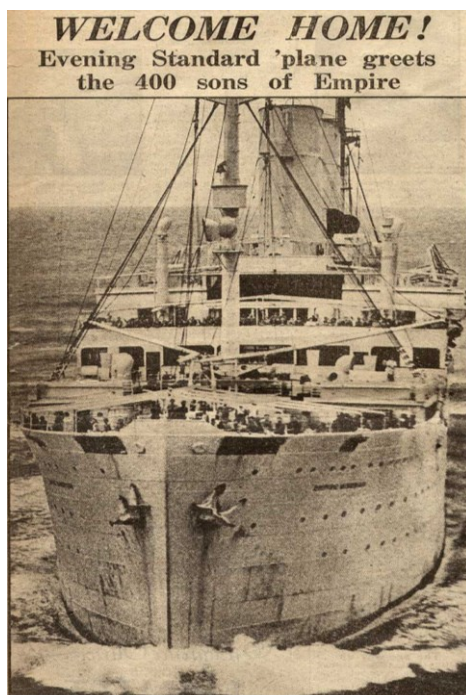
Source: Evening Standard, June 21st. 1948.

On 22nd June 1948, the *MV Empire Windrush* arrived in Tilbury Docks, London, with 492 Caribbean immigrants (Patterson 1969, Fryer 1984). In the same year, the *SS Orbita* arrived carrying a further 108 immigrants. The majority of these passengers were 'male, youngish, semi-skilled and skilled workers from Jamaica' (Patterson 1963:45). As the Windrush journeyed towards Tilbury Docks, an aircraft specially commissioned by the Evening Standard marked the arrival of the Jamaican immigrants under the newspaper's headline of 'Welcome Home!' to '400 sons of Empire'.

The story heralds the arrival of 'workers' to solve the labour shortage generated by the substantial growth of the post-war British economy. Unsurprisingly then, it was reported that these men found employment within three weeks of their arrival. Consequently, plentiful employment amid the publicly noted 'welcome', served as significant factors, which reportedly drove further immigration over the next decade.

The story of the Windrush, the people who disembarked and who eventually 'settled' in Britain, is the critical encounter (Goffman 1957, Wilson 2016) around which this study commences. Whilst oft-told, and being a staple of any self-respecting black history month event, the Windrush story simplistically offers a logical explanation for the genesis of Britain's black population (Phillips and Phillips 2009, Fryer 1984).

Crucially then, this study is concerned with an investigation of post-war migration of people from the Caribbean island of Jamaica, and the personal and social motivations that accompanied the process of migration, settlement and integration. Furthermore, the Windrush story serves to make (common) sense of the eventual implementation of immigration controls, enacted some fourteen

Source: itzCaribbean (2008)
http://www.itzcaribbean.com/uk/history/war-windrush/

years following the arrival of the Empire Windrush. Intuitively, the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962) served to control the number of migrants arriving to Britain from new commonwealth countries (Rose et al 1969, Anderson 2013). It is within the context of the above mediated 'welcome', that the erection of 'border' controls represents a profound shift in the conceptualisation of the Jamaican migrant in Britain. This study is therefore minded to excavate an understanding of the reconceptualisation of those 'willing hands', required to build the post-war British economy, towards a construction, which attributed the presence of black people as facilitating emergent socio-economic problems necessitating immigration controls and the social regulation of black communities.

The above excerpt from Andrea Levy's award winning fiction 'Small Island' metaphorically captures the reputational significance of Britain as the colonial 'Mother Country' to which Jamaicans reportedly felt a sense of obligation and entitlement. Relatedly, the arrival of the MV Empire Windrush represents what many commentators now uncritically accept as the starting point of Britain's black population and an accompanying multiculturalism in Britain (Phillips and Phillips 2009).[1] As if suspended in time, the Windrush moment recollected through archival images and photographs, of impeccably dressed, black and brown men have now become enshrined within post-war British socio-history. Yet, the subsequent story of their settlement is not a simple one. It is interspersed with periodic episodes of tensions driven by strained social relations between the immigrant and their white British hosts (Patterson 1963). Specifically, emerging alongside Britain's embryonic black community were claims of other 'new' social problems, such as 'race riots', race discrimination and racialized inequality, as an inevitable reaction and consequence of their presence within British society. Immigration and the concomitant raced relations, as problem has frequently, yet uncritically, been attributed to social unrest in Britain (Fryer 1984, Olusoga 2016). Whilst today, race relations is presented as new phenomenon, it is not. It endures as a perennial British concern with recent figures suggestive of its continuity (Ipsos MORI 2017).

So today, some 69 years since the arrival of the SS Empire Windrush, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people represent 14% of the British population (ONS 2012) with the 'Black/African/Caribbean/Black British' group making up 3.3% of the population. An Ipsos MORI (2013) poll undertaken in August 2013 found that 38% of respondents referenced 'race relations' and 'immigration' as concerns in Britain. Moreover, such concerns with 'race relations and immigration' were at their highest level since May 2010, coinciding with the formation of the then Coalition government made up of the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrat parties following the general election. The prevalence of race relations and immigration as a political concern was further reflected in government initiatives and political reaction to the threat of 'illegal

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[1] There is a long history of Black people in Britain, documented in a number of books. In particular, see Fryer, P. (1984) Staying Power: *The history of Black people in Britain*. London: Pluto Press.

(and legal) immigration' to the UK. In response, the Home Office embarked upon a high-level advertisement campaign using billboards and posters in 'immigration centres' (see below). The notice instructs (illegal) immigrants to "Go home or be arrested". Similarly, a second campaign asks, "Is life hard?" Continuing, "Going home is simple…ask about going home". If not alarming enough, strategies reminiscent of 1980s 'sus' regulatory strategies have resulted in specific 'stop and search' and 'random' immigration check operations conducted on parts of the London underground and within those boroughs characterised by high numbers of Black residents, in an attempt to arrest the reported levels of illegal immigrants (Renaud-Komiya 2013).

The 'Go Home' van being driven around London. Source: The Sunday Times, 2013

'Going Home is Simple' poster in local immigration centre. Source: Positive Action in Housing Limited 2013.

Such strategies have had a disproportionate impact upon Black people who were over-represented in the level of stops and random checks and consequently the strategy has been derided as racist by some sections of the press media (Renaud-Komiya 2013, Sankey 2013). Yet, such responses are potentially indicative of deeper societal attitudes and (mis)perceptions. In a survey commissioned by Lord Ashcroft and published in the *Sunday Times* on the 2nd September 2013 (Oakeshott and Grimston 2013), 60% of people surveyed believed that immigration had brought more 'disadvantages than advantages' against 17% who believed it had brought more advantages. The problems of immigration led to beliefs that the *"character of my area had changed for the worst"*, and that local people had been *"denied access to housing or other services because priority seems to be given to immigrants"* (Oakeshott and

Grimston 2013). Whilst the majority of respondents to the survey (79%) were unaware of current government policy on immigration, they were in support of the government's campaigns to target illegal immigrants. The above is representative of continuities in the evocation and mediation of those 'outsiders' who are reportedly expending already scarce resources, as a recurrent theme in contemporary British society. Such reporting serves to inform the British public and legitimise the implementation of highly visible, symbolic regulatory strategies to address (illegal) immigration. Notwithstanding citizen status, such reports serve to present an image of immigrants monopolising 'scarce employment opportunities' with reference made to patients having been 'treated in the NHS by staff from overseas' or the utilisation of immigrants for cleaning or building work. Critically, the mediation of such constructs communicate and inform anti-immigration sentiment within British politics contemporaneously characterised by the emergence of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the English Defence League (EDL). Consequently, there is a cynicism attached to the government's immigration control strategies as a knee-jerk response to growing resentment and pressure from the public and parts of the British media. Political opposition from (far) right-wing political parties, pressure groups and organisations have publicly challenged the government's ability to tackle the problem of illegal immigrants and to bring 'immigration under control', further supporting the assertion that media-amplified political responses are designed to arrest growing public concerns about the current levels of immigration (Aliverti 2012). While the above debates centre upon the regulation of illegal immigration to the UK, there is a blurring of the lines which transcends the *legal status* of the 'immigrant' and foregrounds the race and ethnicity of those who migrate. Writing in response to the 'go home' campaign, Wheatle (2013) reminds us that when *'a government is under increasing pressure they will not only pull out the race card, they will serrate the edges of the whole pack and throw it in any black or brown face'*. So not only do popular concerns about the *illegal* immigrant become recast as a problem of (legitimate) immigration but become particularised as a political and social problem of 'outsiders' particularised as black and of other minority ethnic groups.

Whilst the above can be framed within the at times fraught race relations debates of the 1960s (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980), contemporary discourses continue to

situate black people as a particular social problem within British society, quantified by their concentration within the lower stratums of British society. The recent Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) report entitled 'Healing a divided Britain' highlights the multi-dimensionality of socio-economic inequalities within British society and the ways in which this situation affects the opportunities available to particular BAME groups and individuals (EHRC 2016). To rehearse, BAME children are twice as likely to live in poverty compared to White people and are more likely to live in overcrowded households (EHRC 2016:27-29). The picture, however, is complex where Black children and those of mixed White/Black Caribbean parentage are particularly likely to be excluded from school (EHRC 2016:27). A recent report, however, highlights the significant improvements in the grades achieved by Chinese, Indian, Black African and Bangladeshi students over the past two decades who overall now outperform White British children. In comparison, Black Caribbean and Pakistani students continue to perform relatively poorly. The report writer attributes such educational attainment differences to variations in the support structures available to students from different ethnic groups regardless of overall poverty (Shah, 2016). In some spheres, differences in opportunities appear to be getting worse. Whereas between 2010 and 2015 the number of long-term unemployed young White people decreased by 2%, the number of long-term unemployed Black young people increased by 49% (EHRC, 2016). Even when in employment, disparity continues where Black workers with degrees earn on average 23% less than their white counterparts (EHRC 2016).

Sadly, such differences are not only confined to socio-economic problems. The political reconceptualization of the outsider as criminal emerges as a pertinent theme for Hall et al (1978) within their insightful study of the mugging panic of the 1970s. Here, Hall et al evidence how the offence of street robbery becomes (re)presented as a new crime, mediated as the preserve of black youth. 'Policing the Crisis' documents the State's complicity in the racialisation of street robbery, with mugging employed as a discursive device to explain the dramatic economic and social changes of the period. At the centre of Hall et al work then is an appreciation of the processes through which race is constructed as a social and political relation. Today, the construct of black people as disproportionately involved in crime and offending behaviour endures.

Situated within the 'race and crime' debate of the early 1980s (Lea and Young 1984, Gilroy and Bridges 1982) black people remain connoted as responsible for the perpetration of crime and in particular serious violent crime (Williams 2015). Arguably, such constructs are preserved through the bi-annual official publication of 'Statistics on Race in the Criminal Justice System' (RCJS), which since 1991, has been instrumental in evidencing the disproportionate presence of BAME people in the CJS (MOJ 2015). Critically, the racialisation of crime endures as a contemporary concern through the disproportionate attribution of young black men as gang-involved, gang-associated or 'at-risk' of gang violence (Williams and Clarke 2016, Williams 2015). Within the context of this study then, shifts in the use of penal regulation and sanctions are best understood as another government reaction to the construction of BAME people and, in particular, young black men as predisposed to gang-enabled offending behaviour including serious violence. Yet, there is a clear and significant disconnect where non-black people who predominate official statistics in the perpetration of serious violence (Williams and Clarke 2016, Williams 2015).

To be developed throughout this study, the existence of such empirical 'facts' presented above are mercilessly communicated as illustrative of social and criminal problems. The problem is located within a racialized and ethnic disparity away from the norm. The 'norm' is an imagined white British host against which black and brown Others are measured. The black others' distance away from the norm is connoted as evidence of THE problem. So disparities, the distance from the norm, in unemployment, health inequalities, educational attainment, poverty, crime and offending behaviour become the focal point for academic, political and policy investigation and intervention. Moreover, the empiricised distance from the norm, as regurgitated in research reports and government outputs become presented as evidence of the failures of black and brown people to assimilate and integrate towards the (white British) norm (EHRC 2016, Casey 2016). So with reference to the Ashcroft report cited earlier, even at its simplest level, the above signifies the utility of 'empirical' and 'objective' knowledge to reinforce a common-sense view of black people as associated with an array of social, economic and political problems. The suggestion which intuitively arises is that the changing (racial) 'character' of British society is

related to a 'disadvantageous' increase in the numbers of black people who in turn, experience problems because they are not of the norm.

Understanding the processes through which race is perennially constructed as a problem is a central feature of this study. Added to this, and despite the passage of time since their arrival, the perpetual problematisation of the post-war Jamaican migrant and their (grand)children necessitates academic attention. So for Keith (1993:245),

> 'through time and over space the dominant themes in racializing discourses fluctuate and contradict each other. The precise nature of 'Blackness' that is connoted evolves. In Britain, at a crude level, the succession of racist images of (gender-specific) Afro-Caribbean criminality have followed from the pimp of the 1950s, to the Black power activist of the 1960s, to the mugger of the 1970s, to the rioter of the 1980s and , quite possibly, to the ultimate folk devil, the underworld 'Yardie' of the 1990s'.

Whilst the character names have shifted from 'coloured' to 'black' to 'BAME', and the 'reported' (offending) behaviours of concern move from 'pimps' to 'muggers', 'drug dealers' to violent 'gangs', the inevitable consequence of the story remains the same (Williams 2015). Of particular concern, the above discourses have evolved outside of and irrespective of the stories and narratives of those of whom the story speaks. The Windrush story is only one story, a single story (Ngozi-Adichie 2009, Plummer 2001) which serves to silence those men and women who migrated to England from the Caribbean. With this reflection residing at the heart of this study, Ngozi-Adichie (2009) reminds us to 'beware the single story' as such stories function to reinforce stereotypes, simplistically serving to perpetuate (an)other. Similarly, Sivanandan (2008:np) notes that within the Windrush story, 'myths and stereotypes reinforce each other. The myth sets out the story, the stereotype fits in the characters'. Consequently, the Windrush story has mystified the character, motivations and aspirations of the post war migrant. For Harris (2009) the post-war immigrant was harmfully presented as 'textual objects', devoid of agency and subsequently reaffirmed those dominant stereotypes which were promulgated about their character. Consequently, the story of post-war migration reaffirms the mediated construct that 'poverty pushed us out of our countries, and prosperity pulled us into Britain. Hence the stereotype that we were

lazy, feckless people who were on the make.' (Sivanandan 2008). The Windrush as the single story served to other.

Othering refers to 'the process of attaching moral codes of inferiority to difference', emerging as a critical discursive tool for understanding discrimination(s) and exclusion used against individuals and/or groups based on their belonging to marginalised populations (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012:299-300). Significantly, the discipline of Sociology is implicated in the construction of racial hierarchies, which 'institutionalise oppression and discrimination, through the production of Others' (Spalek 2008:4). First, it is accepted, that the identification of a group as 'other' originates in social processes linked to those cultural and political themes, which predominate within any given society. Second, the construction and social categorisation of the 'other' marks the 'normative boundaries' of the community and thus the appropriate methods of inclusion (Ajzenstadt and Shapira 2012). Otherisation, used throughout this thesis as the process of becoming othered, necessitates the discursive attribution and hence perpetuation of dominant norms, resulting in the negation and suppression of difference. For Spalek (2008:4), it is those identifiers that reside outside of the moral boundaries and 'regimes of power' which are deemed Other, that is 'the devalued - and their voices and perspectives are largely suppressed'.

In light of the contention that Sociology is complicit in the construction of the racial other, it is critical that in executing the study that I move to reflexively evaluate the pathologising tendencies of social research. Herein, the conceptual work of Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) will be used to highlight the mechanisms which facilitate othering in the production and dissemination of social research. In summary, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi note the objectification of the research participant through the 'subjugation of their common humanity' where research ignores or of more concern resists personal perspectives and subjectivities (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012:300). Objectification results in the resilient imposition of stereotypical inferiority traits and characteristics associated with the Othered. Second, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi note the sociological production of the other includes their decontextualisation where behaviours are seemingly 'abstracted from the context within which the behaviour occurs'. Decontextualisation then serves to perpetuate the portrayal of actions, behaviours and

responses as having no reason or rationality and therefore reframed as deterministic, fixed pathological traits of the individual. Similarly, sociological research that neglects the significance of history serves to dehistorization the subject and as such, the object of study is presented within the temporal (socio-political) moment of the present. Such an approach consequently ignores, negates and detaches the 'personal individual history of the research participants' (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012: 300). To dehistorize facilitates the construction and (re)presentation of the other as a new other, located at the centre of mediated panics, seemingly devoid of rationality and essentialised as 'dangerous' and threatening to our way of life. Overwhelmingly and as will emerge throughout this study, otherising research and policy outputs are presented within a mechanism of deauthorization, producing perspectives that are external to the research participant, essentially reducing the participants to 'given objects' obscuring the ways in which they are the product of politically and officially sanctioned research interpretations. The discourses which are concealed and reside behind the deauthorized research product, are endowed with an unconvertible authority, an infallibility, insulated from counter-challenge and critique. From the outset then, this study acknowledges the centrality of (an)other that resides at the centre of official and popularised dominant stories and narratives pertaining to the emergence of the post-war Caribbean migrant, their children and their grandchildren.

A critical contention here is that the conceptual transition from the 'outsider' status of economy-saving 'sons of the empire', the descendants of the post-war Caribbean migrant have transmogrified into an economy-deteriorating and economy-draining, threatening 'folk devil' necessitating regulatory State control. Yet, arguably, this transition has not been subject to a sociological inquiry that centralises those who arrived from June 1948 and in turn became the objects of otherisation. Consequently, those who are Othered remain silenced and their stories concealed (Harris 2009). Moreover, and as this study will demonstrate, research outputs within the discipline of Sociology have infrequently centralised the intergenerational familial stories which can breathe life into the experiences of those who have *become* othered. From the outset then, this study aims to excavate the experiences of ten Jamaican families who arrived in England prior to the enactment of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962. The focus upon Jamaican families reflects the fact that the majority of those who

disembarked the Windrush were of Jamaican descent (Fryer 1984, Phillips and Phillips 2009). Furthermore, whilst negated constructions of the racialised outsider have become an enduring feature of much sociological and criminological discourse, there remains a particularised construction of the Jamaican immigrant as problem and being imbue with criminogenic traits and characteristics (Williams and Clarke 2018). However, in order to detect those shifts in discursive representations of the families and to resist dehistoricisation, research conversations were undertaken with three generations of the ten families. The intergenerational nature of this study afforded an opportunity to engage with wider collective familial perceptions and understandings of the incessant and shifting constructions and reconstructions of black people in Britain. Finally, through the family's stories, the study ascertained the inter- and intra-generational perceptions, reactions and strategies utilised in resisting the increasingly negative and mediated constructions of black people in England as (an)other.

By way of structure, *Chapter Two* and *Three* provide the social and political context within which post-war migration conceptualised, detected and responded to as a social and political concern. Herein, there is an examination of the shifting perceptions, which mark the production of the Caribbean migrant toward a discourse of the black immigrant as problem precipitating the contemporary construct of black people as predisposed to criminality. From the outset, Caribbean migration was not new with intergenerational recollections of migration going back centuries (Chamberlain 1993). In drawing upon the voices and narratives of the families upon who this study rest, chapter two will evaluate government, academic and 'grey' literature that relates to the factors that eventuated post-war migration to England between the periods of 1948 and 1962. Intuitively, this chapter is concerned to appraise (political and academic) reactions to the presence of the post-war Caribbean migrant within British society. This review further reveals a series of competing narratives, some of which serve to lend academic legitimacy to the problematisation of the black population. Subsequently, a number of significant critiques hold this 'dangerous' sociology (Miles and Phizacklea 1982, Amos et al 1982) as complicit in the production and subjugation of the 'black immigrant'. Chapter Two therefore notes both the historical and contemporary State erection of borders to restrict the migratory influx of the Other. Yet notably, the erection of borders through the enactment of immigration controls did not

arrest levels of Commonwealth migration or the emergence of communities racialised as black. Chapter Three therefore considers the development of State regulatory 'borders' and strategies for those constructed as outsiders, yet who (legitimately) reside within the geographical borders of Britain. Central to Chapter Three then is the emergence of a political, academic and othering discourse which evokes the production of a black criminal other, imbued with criminogenic lifestyle traits which were culturally transmitted to the children and grandchildren of the first generation. The raced relations and criminological effects of these sub-fields of sociology emerge as significant to positivistic conceptualisations of black people and communities now racialised as black. What is of significance here is that counter-narratives to the centrality of this realist, pathological sociology (Keith 1993) were likewise devoid of the voices and narratives of those who they sought to defend. Post-war Caribbean migrants then were subject to an invasive political and academic scrutiny, and yet were infrequently consulted. Moreover, where their voices do emerge, they are heard through a social policy framework concerned more with their quantifiable presentations as numbers, counts and frequencies, connoting their statistical (dis)location in unemployment, educational non-attainment, housing, ill health and other indicators of poverty (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980).

Extrapolating the perceptions, understandings and experiences of those who encounter those discourses that relentlessly served to other, is an area that if approached with care can assist in appreciating the contemporary position of black people and contemporary raced relations in Britain. Investigating those imagined and enduring images of black people (and increasingly other minority ethnic groups) as the perpetual folk devil arises as a critical focus for this study. In resisting the ontological aspirations of those more realist approaches, Chapter Four discusses the methodological approach necessary to hear the voices and narratives of families from the Old Trafford area of Manchester. Whilst quantitative approaches are rejected as unsuitable to hear voices, it is also pertinent to recognise the aforementioned sinister history of qualitative research, which has similarly conspired to produce and construct others (Vidich and Lyman 2000). This study therefore adopted a narrative approach, principally inspired by the work of Ken Plummer (2001, 2013) within a modified grounded theory (GTM) approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Urquhart 2013). In

particular, this approach draws upon the features of GTM, which demands an appreciation of the qualitative research data and materials generated, through which theory can be generated, emerging inductively from the qualitative data. Whilst the study is situated within a humanist approach, in excavating the narratives of the 'powerless' representative of 'histories from below' (Sharpe 2001, Plummer 2001, Thompson 1964) it is anticipated that new understandings and knowledge will facilitate a vivid appreciation of the families experiences and perceptions. Significantly, in telling and hearing stories, research conversations will be utilised as a 'resource' through which to foreground an understanding of those early years through to contemporary recollections, from the standpoint of the story-teller. Therefore, chapters Five, Six and Seven present the findings that emerged from the fieldwork conversations. The distinct chapters represent the three research cohorts namely, the first generation – operationalised as those who migrated from Jamaica and arrived in England prior to the year 1962. The first-borns (second cohort) comprise of the first British-born child to the first generation respondents. The final research cohort was the 3rd generation, made up of the children born to the first-borns and the grandchildren of the first generation. In Chapter Eight I interrogate the central findings by reflecting upon narrated constructions and conceptualisations of becoming (an)other. Conversations present a contemporary appreciation of self-definition and identity negotiation for the children and grandchildren of the first generation. Narratives are suggestive of intergenerational continuities relating to the imposition of negated constructs which were presented as contravening the evermore complex (normative) boundaries of contemporary British society. Furthermore, each generation eventuated toward and claimed Britishness. In appreciating this finding, otherisation as encountered and appreciated had profound effects upon family members, referenced as "shocks" which have effects upon the individual's self-conceptualisation, necessitating resolution. Whilst external and more public encounters were precipitated by disruptive encounters with significant others, the study also attests to a series of remarkably innovative and at times concerning adaptations, reactions and (re)negotiations as a means through which to assuage dissonance that accompanies problematic otherisation, as a means to cohere self-definition and self-identity in those moments of becoming (an)other.

Chapter Two: The Other as the object of Raced Relations

Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to commence the process of excavating Jamaican families' stories toward an understanding of their experiences of living in Manchester, England. In particular, the chapter is structured to elucidate processes of becoming Othered as captured within the relevant academic, grey[2] and official sources and outputs of those who migrated from the Caribbean and were subsequently 'absorbed' into British society. Interwoven with family narratives on decisions to migrate, this chapter will also review and critically appraise the embryonic and emergent Sociology of Race Relations in order to reveal what emerges as a contrary representation of the post-war Caribbean migrant to ascertain the ways in which the discipline of Sociology itself served to Other.

As will become evident, Sociology has served to privilege macro examinations of migration and 'processes of absorption' for Caribbean migrants into British society (Jenkins 1986, 2008, Chamberlain 1998). Within the following then, it will be argued that such approaches have conspired to silence the voices of those who migrated by presenting migration through the lens of the colonial Metropole (Olwig 1998). In this regard, the chapter commences a process of critically (re)presenting the subjectively framed 'lives, struggles, and achievements [that] have been […] forgotten' (Fryer 1984:xi). Finally, in utilising early post-war literature as a resource, it will be possible to detect the academic, social and political shifts in the (re)conceptualization of the post-war 'immigrant' which subsequently served to signify those to be excluded, away from those who belong (Anderson 2013).

Caribbean migration

Stubbornly, academic conceptualisations of migration are anchored to a discourse of work (Chamberlain 1998, Rose et al 1969). Amid a lengthy history of migration, Britain

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[2] Grey literature refers to literature that is either unpublished or published in a non-commercial form.

has experienced the immigration of Irish workers since the mid-19th century alongside a history of Eastern European Jews who migration to this country at the end of the 19th century (Rose et al 1969). Miles and Phizacklea (1984) note that approximately 77,000 immigrants were brought to Britain between 1946 and 1950 as part of the earlier implemented European Volunteers Workers scheme who were quickly absorbed into the essential industries of agriculture, coal mining, textiles, clothing, foundries and other industries. In the main, these immigrants were Polish armed forces personnel who could not return to Poland following the war and some 8,000 Ukrainian 'prisoners of war'. The necessity for migrant labour in the immediate post-war period can be further demonstrated through a Royal Commission Report on Population Analysis (1948) which estimated that 'some 140,000 young people might have to migrate [annually] to Britain to meet the labour shortages'. Therefore it is possible to see the political and economic merits of post-war immigration as a strategy to secure the labour needs of the growing British economy. From this position, immigration is oft-presented as an economic requisite stimulated by a series of 'push and pulls' rationally experienced by those who migrate. Fundamentally, enduring comparatively poorer socio-economic experiences served to unceremoniously 'push' and drive populations away from their country of birth towards the prosperity and opportunities of another country (Patterson 1963).

Of importance, mainstream 'scholarly studies of migration contributed to its vindication; economics explained causation, sociology explained settlement, politics explained citizenship' (Chamberlain 1998:6). Within formal definitions and explorations of migration as represented within the work of Patterson and Rose et al discussed below, migration is reduced to 'a rational, non-random, irrevocable act of choice'. Intrinsic within such academic and official outputs resides the construction of the (im)migrant as other, an invisible deterministic object. For Olwig (1998) such constructions arise from the conceptual framework for analysis adopted to study patterns of migration which invariably lead towards the conclusions drawn. For example and arguably related to the approaches located within early 'race relations' studies which seek to understand the 'disparate' experiences of migration from a variety of Caribbean countries to their colonial centres, such constructions are likely to privilege and foreground the perspectives of the 'metropole' and consequently

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present migration as a linear 'unilateral' movement (Olwig 1998). Notable contributions however have sought to challenge the simplistic conceptualisation of Caribbean migration as an essentially post-war and economically driven phenomenon. Significantly, an appraisal of the chapters contained within Mary Chamberlain's (1998) 'Caribbean Migrations: globalised identities' offers a lens through which to better appreciate the complexity of migration, the internal tensions that underpin decisions to migrate and a revealing of the subjective base from which migrations occur. For Lutz (1998) along with James (1993) there is a resistance to the academic theorisation of migration through macro models, which they argue served to represent Caribbean migrants as mere 'puppets on a string' driven by determining structural forces. Structural forces such as '(relative) poverty, political instability and social disintegration in the country of origin' opportunistically coincide with 'labour shortage and good economic conditions in the country of destiny' (Lutz 1998:95). Foregrounding the macro further serves to pattern a 'schematic of before and after', which assumes that the countries of origin and destination are 'worlds apart'. To develop this, the migrant's *before* world is characterised as 'traditional, rural, and even archaic while the *after* is seen as the opposite: modern, urban and individualized'. Within such characterisations, the migrant becomes lost. Consumed within these macro structures, the migrant becomes a 'victim' unable to manage the anomic strains of the modern who subsequently is thrown into [identity, economic and social] crisis, arising between 'two irreconcilable [before and after] cultures. The imposition of a stereotyped and homogenous construct, affirmed through an official dominant discourse, serves to conceal the Caribbean migrant's subjectivity, humanity, and consequently their narratives. What remains is a 'single story', one which privileges the narrative of the 'host', the 'us' whilst concealing and othering the subjectivity of the 'them'. It is within this context that the telling, hearing and appreciation of the following stories subjectively appreciate and illuminates those early moments for the first generation.

Contemporary conceptualisations of Caribbean migration connote that 'the experience of migration itself developed paradoxically, a consciousness of the Caribbean' (Chamberlain 1998: 15). Through this consciousness there develops a better appreciation of the significance and centrality of migration away from the above

simplistic definitions captured within the earlier discourses of post-war Caribbean migration. For Chamberlain (1998:5)

> 'The culture of the Caribbean continues its globalising mission in the persons of its migrants. Its transnationals, who traffic freely in and through the culture of the Caribbean, as they have done for 500 years or so, absorbing what they encounter as much as being absorbed by it, changing and being changed, indigenizing the new as well as the old'.

In defiance of the singular and dominant Windrush story, Caribbean migration did not commence following the Second World War. Consequently, Caribbean migration is better understood as transitions across the Caribbean (Harris 1993, Chamberlain 1998) rather than away from the Caribbean. As will be heard through the voices of the first generation, family members and friends were living abroad or had migration experiences prior to the Empire Windrush's arrival into Tilbury Docks. Whilst MJJ's father was working and living in America who in turn sent remittance to his daughter who had migrated to England, UJ spoke of leaving home at the age of 15 years, to work away in Kingston. In remembering, I recall my mother telling me that my grandfather frequently travelled to Cuba to work, returning to Jamaica with gifts for his children.

For Chamberlain (1998:15) then, migration is characterised by its 'fluidity, not fixity'. For the migrant, the nation is 'unbound and the City boundless'. Conceptually, and informing the fieldwork aspect of this study, to migrate moves us beyond a deterministic 'before and after' analysis, toward an understanding of migration as a movement between 'one part of something to another' [Oxford Dictionary]. In developing an appreciation of this consciousness, Lutz (1998) points towards intergenerational transmission as significant to appreciating migrations. Central to this contention then is that intergenerational transmission is contingent in the 'creation of the social', that is the acknowledgement of 'knowledge of standardised cultural prescriptions' which are handed down from one generation to the next. Added to this, Lutz contends that traditional conceptions of migration deny the migrant's agentic self and ability to 'deal with a changing environment'. Through her research which involved hearing the life stories or 'migration stories' of Surinamese mothers and daughters,

Lutz demonstrates how migrants culturally react to structural changes and environments by exploiting their social and cultural capital. To migrate then was conceptualised here as a 'rite of passage', a 'mental travelling between different locales', as a basis for conceiving of 'one's own belonging' (Lutz 1998:96). Furthermore, an examination of intergenerational transference reveals 'continuity and change' in the cultural knowledge and understanding of migrant groups. By situating the individual within their structural context, migration is not presented as an anomaly, a rupture and in turn becomes reframed as an 'intermediary' in a person's life course – wherein 'cultural schemes and patterns are changed, reformulated and reproduced'. Similarly for Olwiz (1998) in her study of the migration of Nevisians to the West Yorkshire city of Leeds, the examination of 'life stories' again serves to reject the construction of Caribbean migration as a seemingly post-war phenomenon towards an acknowledgement of migration as a historically familiar feature of the Nevisian life course. Crucially, the question of how such cultural/social transmission is experienced, the extent to which it equips the (grand)children of the first generation and finally how this interacts with storied recollections of familial experiences for those Jamaican families living in Manchester becomes an important line of inquiry for this study.

Extending beyond the relevance and significance of employment as a critical driver of Caribbean migration (Patterson 1963, Rose et al 1969), the research-informed recollections in 'Caribbean Migrations' posit a number of other personal socio-cultural features of migration. Echoing the stories and narratives of the first generation to follow, migration was undertaken as a 'family endeavour' for Nevisians whose stories informed the work of Olwig (1998). Such endeavours reveal a family contribution (both financial and cultural) as a means to support the migration of a family member. Similar to my research conversations where MB's father sold a cow to enable her travel to England, Olwig references how one of her respondents' family 'sold sheep' to facilitate migration. Yet, added to this and similarly inferred by my first generation respondents, migration served to facilitate individuals in 'getting away from parents' and assisting the migrant in 'building independence from 'authority figures''. As such to migrate becomes 'reflexive of maturation', through the act or ritual of remittances and sending money back to family members. Whilst not obligatory, such acts reaffirmed to the

young migrant their becoming 'real adults' and in turn necessitated a reappraisal of 'migration as a natural part of the process of growing up' (Olwig 1998: 75).

With due regard to the above, the following presents the migration stories along with a consideration of decisions to migrate for the first generation of the families to be included within this study. Such stories serve to illuminate the unheard drivers for migration and further offers an insight to the temporal moment and context within which such decisions were undertaken. The stories reveal a subjective depth, defying the deterministic macro models of migration which are contained within dominant theorisations of race relations. Furthermore, whilst this study now turns toward the particular migratory stories of peoples from the Jamaica, the stories respectfully reflect the broader consciousness of the Caribbean.

On migration decisions

"It was clear to me from a very early age that I wanted to be an actor. But there was no way you could do this in Jamaica, at all. Ever, at all. I spent most of my school life doing plays and doing poetry and the All Island Speech festivals and winning prizes. So it was clear that was where I was heading. But my father wanted us to be professional people as a lot of Jamaicans did, Doctor, Lawyer, you know the usual things."

"You will have to understand that in Jamaica…you had to follow a particular line. So you went to a posh school and then you would go to university, and then you would go into politics or you would go into the professions. There was no other route for you in Jamaica. Or you left the island and went and did your Masters in America or whatever and then you came back and followed the path."

"If you left school at 18 [years of age] and went to work, then that was something else. But if you got good grades, you were either going to America or you were going to the University of the West Indies. So there was no other route really. So I thought I would leave school, go to university and meet exactly the same people I had met when I was going to school. And Jamaica, it's a tiny place when you think about it and I wanted to act, I wanted to be an actor, I wanted to be in the theatre, I wanted to speak the text."

[WL, male]

"I wanted to do three things when I was growing up. Not three, it's four. I wanted to either be a nurse, because when I was growing up I used to have a little cloth doll. And I used to dress it up immensely. I used to sew little dresses with me hands because my sister work on the machine and whatever she sew, any what you call scraps [of material], that was good I put them together. And when you look at the doll, there were big ribbons there [laughs]. So I used to take care of me dolls, so I thought, that's what I wanted to be."

"Because I found out what I want to do, it takes a bit longer to get in the hospitals there [in Jamaica]. The age that I was then, I thought, by the time I'm to get into hospital I'd be much older. So, that's one reason. Because as you know, it's not many hospitals like it is here. It's only the one main hospital, so it takes a bit longer. Still, it's still a big decision." [MA, female]

"W]hen I finished school, most of my friends were moving away. People were going abroad. So I thought about it and decided that I would go abroad too. So that's how it was. I came here when I was 18… [I] sort of had that mind-set for a long time. And of course with all my friends going to England all over the place I just decided that I was going to go. [I]t's strange isn't it.   I wasn't worried about coming. I wanted to do it. I decided I was going to do it and that was that. You know. And of course, I should have been worried about what it was going to be like. I didn't think about the cold weather. I just wanted to get away. I wanted to do something that was going to help my family. And that was it. I can remember, I must have been 7 years old and my father asked me what I would like to be when I leave school. And I said I wanted to go to England to do Nursing. Just like that. And I mean at that time I didn't know anything about England, but I knew the name. And that's what I told him."

[MB, female]

Early post-war academic understandings of Jamaican migration remained suspended within an explanatory framework where post-war migration arises as a consequence of the 'push' and 'pull' dyad (James 1993, Bourne and Sivanandan 1980). Intuitively, people are *pushed* to migrate as a strategy to escape the pervasiveness of the all-consuming socio-economic pains endured. However, the extracts above seemingly

disrupt the simplistic attribution of the first generation as homogenised and driven by socio-economic strain alleviation. There is subjective complexity, which challenges the presumed fixity of migration and migration models (Chamberlain 1998). WL's reflections above suggests that the drivers for migration are non-economic. On the contrary, his father's aspirations emerge as a significant anchor holding him to a 'particular line' of doing what was expected or demanded of you. Adhering and committing to parental, familial, educational and/or employment expectations. His awareness of the particular line affirms to WL who he is, who and what he ought to be related to what his father wants him to be. Throughout this thesis, the 'particular line' is conceptualised then as an intentional and conscious expression of the traditions or social status of the particular family or group (Goffman 1957). The particular line is an expression of who WL (and the other first generation respondents) ought to be, how they ought to present, the management of impressions which he is required to project. Adherence then to the particular line necessitates the concealment of WLs aspirational actor pushing him toward the inevitable professions of "doctor, lawyer, you know the usual things". You see, in Jamaica, there was "no way" to *become* the 'actor'.

MB and MA's stories evoke childhood memories of long-held aspirations which underpinned their eventual decision to migrate. MB recollects a consciousness of a momentum of migration, a youthful exodus towards England and "America". Amidst wider Caribbean migrations, MB perceives what is described as a "mind-set" of young people "moving away", "going abroad". However, the year is 1946 when the 7-year-old MB outlandishly tells her father that she wants to go to England, to be a nurse when she grows up. Detected within the story is a youthful enthusiasm. The anticipation of an adventure, the 'push' of a "challenge", urging young people to "get away" from the particular line. In momentary contemplation, MB rhetorically ask me "It's strange, isn't it?" A reflection that acknowledges the absurdity of leaving "home" whilst "not knowing anything about England". The question is critical in understanding the complexity of decisions to migrate. Yet for WL, the decision and motivation to migrate was not undertaken to realise economic goals, but a conscious process towards revealing the self, towards the presentation of his actor.

Toward migration

From such a position, migration arises as a-way through which to resist and to move away from the imposition of those expectations, frequently expressed as the particular line. WL is unequivocal in his understanding that he could not stay in Jamaica "ever, at all." In response to the question, "where did the desire to act come from?"

> "I have no idea, no idea. My father never understood it and did everything in his power to stop it. He would lock the door at night and I couldn't get out. I had to arrange with my sisters to open a window to let me in if I wanted to go and do a play. And I had to keep it secret. My father was fearful that I would become a sort of homosexual I think, because that was in his head. 'You don't want to have anything to do with those people. Yuh nuh wha fe mix wid dem people. Yuh want to watch dem people' [both laugh]. That's how he sort of saw it. He saw it as a kind of effeminate thing and you know there's a strong, macho, culture in Jamaica, a maleness, you know."

WL realises that from an early age that the only way to *become* the actor was by finding a way out of Jamaica. His ideal self could only be expressed outside of his father's gaze. In conversation, he acknowledges the personal sacrifices his father made to afford him his education. Yet, his father's unease with him 'mixing' with "dem people" necessitates the management of impressions, a concealment. He therefore presents as his father sees him, adhering to his particular line. WL acts in secret, whilst simultaneously and carefully managing and projecting an impression of adherence to the particular line. Consequently, he is not like 'dem people'. In turn, he maintains a favourable identity to his father (Goffman 1959, Howarth 2002). Furthermore, to conceal the actor reduces the attachment and imposition of 'stigma' to his character, resisting any potential association with "homosexuals" or "dem kind a people". The strategy of concealment, ably assisted by his sisters, metaphorically precipitates his eventual migration away from Jamaica. WL therefore has migrated toward something else even before his eventual migration. Yet, the particular line is pervasive, an omnipresent threat to his concealed self-identity as actor.

The 'particular line' arises again in conversation with JJ.

"You see, in Jamaica in those days, when you left school a lot of blokes move on to higher education. But if you not in that position to go to higher education, some would go to the farm, some would learn a trade. You have Tailor, Carpenter, Mason, Shoemaker. You know, you would learn something. So whatever trade you like, you tell your parents 'I'd like to learn such and such a trade' and some of them would send you to get trade. [T]hey would find a contractor, if you want to go on the building trade, find contractor, joiner, building work and put you with him. [B]ut when you go learn that trade…that don't guarantee you anything. So he might charge your parents say £20 or £30 to learn you a trade, you know. But that don't guarantee that you going to get any money. So you work, but you don't get any money. Sometimes, the boss might give you five shilling, ok 'tek it buy yuself a beer'. Five shillings is a lot of money and that's it.

So,

"I was working in St. Thomas and the contractor guy that I was working with…used to get paid fortnight. But that don't say when you get pay. They go to town on a Friday and get that cheque [but], you might not see dem 'til the Saturday. Sometime you don't see dem 'til the Monday. So you work for dem but they do not like to pay money. So if they supposed to give you £5 for the week, they might give you £3.50 and say they didn't get all the money from the people. So they have to pay you half. And that goes on for a while."

"[A] friend of mine, we used to work together, he was coming to England and he said to me, 'why don't you come over to England, when I go over I will receive you'. So when I went back down to Clarendon I said to my dad, "I think I will go to England" And he never against it. So it would be ok if you go then, he wouldn't stand in my way."

[JJ, male]

For JJ, the "boss" is the source of his (status) frustration. Set within the context of his parents paying for his employment 'training', his frustration is born of the unpredictability and inconsistency of being paid his wages on time. It is Olwig (1998) who found that migration was a means for the young Caribbean to evade the controls of the 'authority figure'. To migrate then is seen as (a)way out of Jamaica and away from the source of his frustration. To migrate then offers JJ the potential of control and

self-determination. In conversation, JJ reflects that coming to England "made him a man". Yet, unlike the disclosures above, his decision to migrate is presented as arising from a seemingly spontaneous conversation with a work friend. The sense (or lack) of control is reiterated through the significant influence of parents and guardians on the decision and (financial and receiving) arrangements for migration. That JJ approaches his father to sanction his migration decision reflects the age of the first generation and their (financial) dependence upon their authority figures. Mainstream theories of migration have arguably overlooked the significance of financial costs incurred through migration to England.[3] So, UJ recollects a conversation with a man in Jamaica who asked him, "if you have dem kind a money, why yuh a guh a England?" Migration necessitated financial and furthermore a significant amount of social and cultural capital to facilitate the sending and receiving elements of migration. In addition, migration also offered the potential to go off and have 'fun' with friends. So whilst JJ's father sanctioned his travel, he "would not allow me to be received by my friend as he thought, we would get up to tricks."

Through conversations, migration on one hand is discussed as a strategy to resist the particular line and on the other, is conjured as a way from Jamaica. Yet, explanations to migrate which involved being with friends or to pursue personal aspirations were concealed and 'strategically' silenced, being replaced by the more impressionistic virtuous narrative of "helping" or "supporting" family. Within this context then, migration is undertaken in pursuance of the "better life" to "help" and "support" family. Arguably, such disclosures come to dominate the construct of the Jamaican migrant as economically motivated and driven. Put simply, WL's father would "never" sanction his travel to England to be an actor! JJ's father would not allow him to travel to be received by a friend. That the 18-year-old MB wanted to be a nurse "to support family" results in her father selling a cow to finance her travel of which "he always reminded me of that." Herein, we can detect the 'family endeavour' as pronounced by Olwig

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[3] First generation respondents disclosed that migration to England was expensive with travel cost in the region of six month's salary, ranging between £75 if the mode of travel was on boat or £85 if the individual travelled by aeroplane. Whilst this has been difficult to verify, there was a consistent reference to the above cost for travel.

(1998) as crucial for migration. With this in mind, and whilst acknowledging the presence of concealed motives, the first generation 'talk up' the financial benefits of migration whilst 'silencing' any personal benefits of migration. For MJJ,

"I came in 1962. I didn't know anybody in the UK but my father's, cousin's friend had a cousin living on Lincroft Street. So he wrote this lady and I came over to her. [M]y father in America was supporting me, but the money wasn't coming to me. The money was going to her and I wasn't benefitting. I was so naïve at the time. So one day my friend asked me 'why is the money from your dad going to her and she's not doing anything for you?' This was a year into this money coming. I was supposed to go straight into nursing, but I had other ideas in my head. So, I thought you're right. So I wrote my dad and said I'm working now, don't send any more money. **So your dad was in America and sending money to England for you?**[4] [H]e supported me. He wanted me to go straight into the nursing school, but I didn't. I did my own thing. Yes, I got into trouble and we didn't speak for a while, cause I told him 'it was my life'. I did write to him and apologise later. Remember, I was only 18 [years of age] and in my dad's eye, I was still a child."

Evident here are 'vocabularies of motive' conceptually developed by Mills (1940) where motives, or what we say we will do, become concealed within the vocabulary used. Such 'diplomacy' does not insinuate 'intentional lies' but demonstrates an awareness of the potentiality of undesirable or negative consequences, therefore ensuring a narrative or vocabularies that will not jeopardise our motives (see also Maruna 2001). For Manis and Meltzer (1967:226), each participant is expected to suppress his immediate heartfelt feelings, conveying a view of the situation which he feels the others 'will be able to find (at least temporarily) acceptable'. For MJJ then, nursing along with its accompanying virtues, are verbalised as the motive for migration to her father. Such claims countenance the financial and receiving support for her eventual migration. More importantly, it temporarily conceals other motives for migrating. MJJ "had other ideas in her head" wanting to do her "own thing". Migrating away affords MJJ (a)way to live her "life". There would not have been familial support for her to live her own life. It is through vocabularies of motive that MJJ's migration is

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[4] All interviewer questions and comments are in bold.

secured. Despite, getting into "trouble" and not speaking for a while, she migrates away to live her own life. It is also worth acknowledging that MJJ's life in England was financed by her father, who was living in America. The story again disrupts the dominant construct of migration as financially motivated. While only 18 years of age, migration as 'getting away' is familiar to MJJ, as was receiving financial support from her father who had already migrated to America.

The stories we live by are conceptualised as "myths" through which to (re)present or reorder our lives (McAdams 1993). As such, examination of decisions to migrate without cognisance of the migrant as agentic serves to objectify and silence their voices. Whilst migration is often presented as an endeavour rationally undertaken, other disclosures give voice to concealed stories of Jamaican migrants who were less than enthusiastic about leaving Jamaica.

Silenced stories

"Well, my maddah pass away after giving birth to me and my dad was on his own with my bradah and myself. And a very well to do family wanted to take [adopt] me. [M]y fardah says 'well OK, on one condition, you do not change his name'. So my name is still what it was from birth...[O]ver the years, as I can tell you, the upbringing dat I had, my fardah couldn't give it to me. And my schooling, was just the same, you know. Everyting was fine… Anyting I warnt, I had it.

"The family was quite big and we had some likkle bit of an argument. And my step mother said to me, 'you know what you do?' I said 'well tell me what I must do. 'Go to England, I'm sending you to England.' [T]hat was in 1957. They send me to England. **What was the argument about?** It's just that I didn't like one of my step brother missus. And I had an argument and my old lady [stepmother] said, "Well alright I don't want this to continue, so the best ting you do is come to your parents' family in England." [MrB, male]

"In 1953, my maddah seh to me if I want to go to England, from dem times people start fe come a England. So I seh, no mam. For the two tings I don't like. They used to tell we, in de wintah [in England], if yuh scratch yuh ears, piece come off [both laugh] and when yuh young and come into dis country, dem just throw you in de army. And I don't want piece a me ears fe come off and I dont want to go in no war, coz they were tarkin

'bout de war startin up. I was so young and a enjoy meself, for dem times when you a 19, 20, 21 [year old] and you jus'a enjoy life, yu understand. And me nevah did want fe leave and fe come here [England] you understan. So my maddah neva like what I seh. So that was [19]53. [19]54, she come back an she ask me again. An I seh no, cause dem times, me ave nobody response. Me ave girl fren and whole heap a girls, an a go out, an a enjoy meself. Me nuh warn fe guh a England, me a enjoy meself. Yuh undastan wha me mean. Life suh nice wid me, we a dance, sound system. Mek a tell yuh, back home, we enjoy weself. And believe you me, I going to tell yuh. Wen we working there, we used to get £3.50 a week, I will tell yuh. £3.50, and that £3.50 what yuh getting. Me did ave me own 'ouse. So me, to tell yu de truut [truth], me was so happy. She [Mother] come back '54 an ask me again. I said, 'no mam I don't want to go.' And she kinda upset wid me. So de braddah dat falla me [younger brother], I call him one day and seh, "would you like to go a England?" Him seh yes, but nobody don't seh nuthin. But mek I tell yuh, the reason dat dem didn't seh anyting to him, he wasn't that free-handed [generous]. He neva so kind, to give away nuthin. So me went an arsk im, in the [19]55 an im seh nobody don't ask him, so me went an seh to me mom. So anyhow, after seh two weeks, she [mother] ask me, when yu seh to [brother's name], what did he say? He seh 'he would be glad fe go, mom'. So she seh, tel 'im im can start fe look bout [start to sort it out].

Then,

"[M]y sista…come over in '57. Dat time me still nuh warn fe come. Then de braddah that falla my sista, the fourth one, he came up in (19)61. When he came over in 61…[H]e write back to me and seh it's not what I heard dem talk about, with de ears and dem sart a ting. So, if I warnt fe come, den yuh fe come. At dat time, I bill a nice likkle 'ouse wid me fardah. He was a builder. Dat time, I an' my missus now, me tek up response (responsibility), yu undastand. So me seh, me ave her now, maybe time a guh come, where might be she warnt a pair of shoes and me not able to give her, and den she see somebody, a man, who can give her. So I decide I'm going [to England] for three years. Its three years me going fah. A seh longest I will stay, is five years, but I seh, not longer than five years. An from (19)62, I nevah see five years long suh [both laugh].

[MG, male]

MG's *reluctance* to travel to England can be explained through his encountering fantastical "silly stories" representative of a pervasive and yet uninformed consciousness of England. Of more significance, constrained opportunities along with the characterisation of Jamaica as poverty-stricken are disrupted through his disclosure (Pryce 1973). For him, life is good, he was enjoying himself and he did not want to leave. Similarly, MrB wanted for nothing, everything he wanted he got it. When considered within the context of WL's storied account, the experience of living in Jamaica for respondents defies the omnipresent presence of economic push factors which are perennially evoked to explain post-war migration. This is not to deny the existence of hardship and poverty in Jamaica, but to acknowledge that whilst "things was hard" the first generation in conversation did not disclose poverty as a significant factor in making decisions to migrate.

Similarly, for UJ,

> "You hear about this England and you see people a go and come. So you here now [in Jamaica] and life not really bad wid you, so you really don't warnt guh nowhere. But when you dere a Jamaica man, don't forget this, when you work all a week a Jamaica and you get a fivah, you feel nice. You mek £5. You can't spen it. Sometimes it carn't done. Everyting a fe sixpence, thruppance. You go to a bar and you have a shilling, it can buy you and your friend drinks, buy cigarettes, it nice you know."

For MrB then, migration is *banishment,* utilised as a device through which his stepmother resolved a family dispute. The disclosure is remarkable, yet delivered in a sanguine manner. Outside of his mothers' instruction, there are no push factors here for MrB. Nor are there pull factors. For some respondents, there was evidently some resistance to the imagined pulls of England due to the experience of a "good life" in Jamaica. To build further on this point, conversations gave voice to the 'reluctant migrant' who like MG did not aspire to leave Jamaica, but eventually concede to a familial push.

> "Well I didn't really decide seh I was going to come to England. [My brother] came first and then afterwards, he sen for your fardah. Then after your dad came up…[pause] I didn't want to come anyway, I didn't want to leave me children. And then just as he [husband] left [to England], I have Dean. So I really never did want fe come. I never

stop bawling [crying] from I hit that plane. I bawl until I reach England. I didn't want to left me children. They was just going to school, they were just young."

But,

"Mom think it would be better. Me there already with four kids and they was going down [getting older]. Mom always have that ambition for the family to be something. I couldn't take that away from me madda. You must be someting. Everybody in the district used to watch us, how my madda used to make we be someting different, you know."

"When [my brother] come and people start to work and who did have family, you find that they could work and send back couple pounds to who they left [in Jamaica]. [W]hen Christmas time come, people gone to the post office in town and we see that people send money through [from England]. So…you neighbour can seh, 'well I get so much from me son that is in England' [W]ell this one get jealous and decide, well I send my son [to England] as well. They get a job and they can work and they can send something back to help the parents and the rest of family, then everybody try [to send somebody to England].

[MW, female]

A reluctance to migrate was also a feature of conversation with MW who had left four children behind in Jamaica with her parents. During a sombre exchange, she repeats that they [children] were "just young" presenting some indication of a coercion to migrate. For MW, there is a more powerful pull of "home", that of her children and parents, anchoring her to Jamaica. She wanted to be there for her children's imminent start at school for her aging parents. So, "why did you come then?" MW deferentially speaks of the influence of her mother and eldest brother as significant in presenting the benefits of migration.

In conversation, MW reminisces about how her mother always expected her children to 'be something'. Being conscious then of the challenge and difficulty of having four children "already", whose father had migrated to England along with her brother. Here then, an inferred negative situation (having four children) emerges as a 'barrier' to becoming 'something'. MW reluctantly acknowledges how travel to England could

offer a way out of the difficulties that lay ahead on her particular path, conceptualised as doing something better with your "life." On one level, to migrate meant being able to "send something back", remittances to support her family as well as 'making good' and as a mark of maturity (Maruna 2001, Olwig 1998) and 'becoming something' rather than being consigned to a difficult life. Concealed and silenced within her narrative is a metaphorical 'push' of parental expectation arising as a more complex feature of the family endeavour. To elaborate, MW speaks of a "jealousy" from those neighbours who did not have people sending money "back home" from England. Arguably, rather than simply financially driven, migration to England afforded the migrator and family members left behind the opportunity to present the impression of social and cultural improvement, an expression of cultural capital. MW's migration in this context would afford her mother the presentation of a daughter who has gone off to England to become something, a daughter who has resisted the particular line. To project an impression of (social and cultural) mobility arises as a significant influence and motive for migration. Unequivocally, living in England was imagined as improving ones social status simply illustrated by one's ability to send money back to Jamaica. You see, for MG below, England was the place where they "print money", a place with fabulous wealth, so "Buckingham Palace must be paved off with gold".

Status as represented through 'wealth acquisition' or more realistically, the impression of being able to consume modern goods, to send remittance, transmitted through the letters and pictures sent to Jamaica convey such impressions. So, the 'front room' adored with the strategically place consumables of the gramophone, the telephone, the sideboard all serve to communicate 'success', indicative of becoming 'something'. Illustrative of becoming British. Arguably, the construction of Britain as wealthy, prosperous as "paved with gold" is a product of the British colonial legacy in Jamaica. All my respondents knew of England. Kincaid's (1991) powerful essay is illustrative of the way many respondents recalled their education in Jamaica as perpetuating a consciousness of Britain and Britishness as wealthy and powerful.

MG reflects,

> "[W]en you hear about England, dem seh a de madda country, and is where money print and King and Queen, an all dem tings. Dats wha dem learn yuh a school. We

used to seh when we was small, dat country, it must be nice. We used to seh, Buckingham Palace, that place, it mus be pave off wid gold."

Similarly for MsB,

"The things we learnt about England was about industry, the things that provided money for England. I know about Blackburn, Bolton all those places before I came here. Oh yeah, this is what I found so strange, because English children didn't know anything about Jamaica, didn't know where it was. And we were able to tell them about the kinds of industry they had like coal industry, that kind of thing. I thought 'I know all these things and they didn't know and this is their country'. They didn't even know which part of the world Jamaica was. Lots of things we knew, we were taught at school. The children here were not aware."

The above disclosures may appear to contradict previous findings, by suggesting that migratory motives were financially driven. That significant family members initiate, support and sanction migration for the potential of financial rewards appears patently logical. However, to clarify, conversations foreground impressions of social status and mobility attached to being able to send family members to England, over the financial merits of being able to send back a "few pounds". To 'be something' is oriented more towards the acquisition of status and increased social mobility, over assumed financial benefit. For the first generation then, the social status intrinsically attributed to Englishness, commonly referenced as a "better life" compensates for the significant financial outlay of migration.

A "better life"

Transcending the explanations for migration identified above, there emerges a persistent theme of "a better life". All respondents, whether they were virtuous, reluctant or banished, made reference to the concept of a better life as an explanation for their migration. Within the multiple essays that comprise Colour and Citizenship (Rose et al 1969) the better life thematically dominates subjective appreciations of migration. Moreover, the dominant Windrush story as outlined within the introduction to this thesis further situates the pull of a better life as a significant feature of migration

stories. However, what develops as apparent through research conversations is that the 'better life' is not constitutive of material, financial or economic attainment. In light of the above disclosures of migratory (in)decision, migration then is driven by more latent, uncommunicated and undeclared factors. Amongst which, family influence and self-realisation are crucial. Yet, such claims again become concealed within the officially derived and economic dyad of push and pull.

"To find a better life. You know to get a job, to help their relatives. And it was like a challenge. People were going abroad. People who had relatives in America were sponsoring them to come and there was a…it was a trial. People were moving away. Basically to find a better life for themselves. And that's how it was. [M]y dreams as a teenager was to be able to support my family, to support my relatives and my parents. I've always wanted to do that. And so this is why I decided that I'd to come to England."

[MsB]

"**How did your family feel about you leaving?** I have to say in between, you know, because of course my mum was still there and [her] child is going away and moreover, the youngest child. But you know, it would be for the better. She wasn't too depressed about it, no. Wasn't happy you going, but not too depressed about it. So we coming away and she had <u>a better life</u>. She didn't have to work so hard. Send tings for her, send money, make things a little more comfortable. But it wasn't really easy going and I don't think it was easy going for a lot of people…so that's why you have this influx in the (19)60s because we were invited here. The government knows about us. We didn't just come in like those people who coming in on boats and getting drown, we didn't come in that way. [We come] for a better life really. **What do you mean for a better life?** Even though [pause], to get more education, so that you can get a job, so to look after yourself. But then you can help your parents, or help your brothers and sisters. To help themselves better so you don't have to be dependent on anybody all the time. For instance, when I came away, I had an elder sister who went to America, we all looked after my mother because she had to struggle and bring us up. There's no Dad, so there isn't much that she could get for herself. So we all helped her." [MA]

"When I decided to come here I told him [father] I wanted to leave, I didn't like the life and I wanted to be somebody different. But I couldn't tell him that I wanted to be an actor of course. But while I was in Jamaica I found the prospectus for a college in

Kent, the Rose Bruford College which had an acting course, but had a teaching course in it. So I told my father that I would like to go to England to become a teacher. And he said fine. So he got me a berth, he was working with United Fruit Company, so I got a berth on the ship, I came to Southampton, I had a cousin in Ealing in west London, I went there to her." [WL]

Like MJJ earlier, appropriating the discourse of the "better life" on the one hand serves to conceal ulterior motives for migration, yet inadvertently legitimises the dominant story as a transcendental narrative masking the more self-beneficial and non-financial migratory motives and stories.

So, some nine years following the approach of his mother, MG eventually migrates to England. He was now living with his wife (to be) and acknowledges a sense of responsibility, which in part, rationalises his eventual decision to leave. Importantly, his decision is finalised by the reassurances communicated by his brother about life in England. MG's concession to the migratory pull of England is increased by a reality that all his younger siblings were now living in England. His narrative shifts away from the youthful enthusiasm and pulls of the Jamaican 'good life' toward a more sobering reflection of personal responsibility signifying a maturity (Olwig 1998). Still with a dogged defiance, he states that he would only go to England for three years and at a maximum of five years. Similarly, for MW, MsB, UJ and other respondents, all stated that they would stay in England for "five years". It is noteworthy that only three respondents believed they would never return to Jamaica to live. Namely, MrB, the banished migrant, WL the actor who eventually concedes to his father that he "didn't like the life" and MA who conversely saw her migration as offering a "better life" for her mother.

For MsB however,

"America didn't appeal to me…because America was different. You had to have someone to sponsor you. Whereas here [in England] if you had family or friends, you'd ask them to receive you and put you up, until you were able to find accommodation for yourself…I had a British passport. [I]t was easier to come here than it was to go to America. Somehow I didn't fancy going to America. I don't know why, but I just…it never entered my mind, although my father had been there on several occasions, as

a farmworker, America didn't appeal to me, still doesn't. **Do you know what that was about?** No (pause), well I think it's probably to do with racism. I know the Americans were very cheeky, you know, always calling people niggers and stuff like that. Didn't really treat them [Black people] as well as they ought to. So that wasn't an option really."

MsB left Jamaica in 1957, when matters of discrimination, racism and civil rights are to the fore in the USA. Legalised discrimination as manifest through Jim Crow, alongside academic and activists conceptualisations of antipathy towards black people are only just beginning to emerge (Alexander 2012, Tyler 2018). It is noteworthy that it was in 1968 that Carmichael and Hamilton coined the term institutional racism, long after the first generation had arrived and settled in England. It is within this context that the USA was eliminated as a country to which she would migrate. The unexpected reference to "racism" here is notable particularly given that racism was conceived as occurring within the USA and not in England. At this point of the conversation, MsB did not refer to racism or the racialized treatment of black people in England. Immediately, this finding appears at odds with the dominant story of post-war Caribbean migration to Britain, which centralises the experience of racism as integral to the post war experience. As such, this presents a line of inquiry to be explored in chapter five relating to those experiences of otherisation and difference.

Taken together, the above narratives and reflections upon decisions to migrate reveal a significant challenge to those more dominant expressions located within macro explanations of migration.   As outlined within the introduction to this chapter, the above reflections will now be situated within the context of the broader academic literature related to Caribbean migration. To this end, the following will appraise the sociological literature which sought to understand and theorise the absorption and integration of 'dark strangers'.

Encountering 'dark strangers'.

One of the earliest attempts to explore the arrival and 'absorption' of post-war Caribbean migrants into British society can be found in the work of Sheila Patterson, commissioned in 1955 to study the emerging West Indian community in Brixton, London. The central objective of the study was to 'ascertain to what extent a migrant group…had adapted itself to and become accepted in a South London borough.' (Patterson 1963:36). Innovatively, Patterson presents a summary of the conceptual framework, which offers an illuminating and illustrative insight into the methodological tensions of early race relations research. From the outset, Patterson emotively notes that the presence of 'dark strangers', described as people the colour of 'café noir and café au lait', on the streets of London evokes within her a 'profound reaction' expressed as a sense of 'shock', strangeness and as something 'unexpected and alien', further elaborated as a 'culture shock' (1963:14). In deliberating the framework through which to approach the absorption of black people into Brixton, Patterson resists the 'instinct' to approach the study as one of a 'racial situation', arguing this to be 'inadequate and usually inapplicable or misleading within the British context' (1963:16). Subsequently, Patterson settles upon the 'immigrant-host' framework as a more reliable interpretative model to make sense of the presence and subsequent integration of the post-war black immigrant. Although there is a tentative acknowledgement of colour as potentially obstructing 'adaptation and acceptance' of the post-war immigrant into the 'host' society, this factor is deemed peripheral and is therefore reduced to 'its rightful place as only one, albeit a very important one, of the manifold factors influencing and often complicating the particular immigrant-host relationship.' (Patterson 1963:17). It is noteworthy that Patterson's adoption of the immigrant-host framework for assessing integration alongside an unwillingness to conceptualise the 'culture shock' through a colour lens was arrived at following the fieldwork which informed her study. Moreover, she notes, at the time of writing, that Britain does not have 'a colour or race situation, however much it may appear so to many colour conscious migrants – it is an immigrant problem'. This point is again elaborated upon through an acknowledgement of the quintessential cultural traits and peculiarities of Britain, being an 'insular, conservative, homogeneous society – mildly xenophobic or antipathy to outsiders would appear to be a cultural norm.' (Patterson

1963: 17). This 'mild xenophobia' in varying degrees is extended to all 'outsiders' irrespective of colour, country and even to 'people from the next village or street'. The extent to which the first, through to the, third generations consulted throughout this study conceived of their experiences as a 'mild antipathy' driven by their 'immigrant' status, rather than colour, emerges as a significant line of inquiry throughout this study. Moreover, how particular events and interactions between the 'immigrant and host' become interpreted and understood is of equal importance.

On reading Patterson's 'Dark Strangers' historically significant events appear underplayed or worse, unacknowledged. To develop, Harris (2009:483-484) contends, what she describes as a 'strategic silence' emanating from the early work of Stuart Hall related to the cultural and social transformation that accompanied the post-war immigrant. Harris notes that 'Britain became a multicultural society in the 1950s' and with the mediation of the economically driven black immigrant there emerged the 'colour problem' which was 'debated in parliament, on television, in newspapers, magazines, on the radio. It was the big story of the 1950s'. Similarly, Jacqueline Ould remarks that, 'August 1958 was a famously bad month for race relations in Britain' (2003:1). With reference to Fryer (1984), Ould indicates that 'racist attacks were by 1958 a commonplace [feature] of black life in London' (ibid: 1). Still further, Layton-Henry (1984) suggests that '[i]mmigration thus became a major political issue and politicians were forced to act when the race riots of 1958 alerted them to the potential seriousness of further neglect.' (Layton-Henry 1984: xiv). In light of Harris, Ould and Layton-Henry's observations, it appears 'strange' that for Patterson, the media-reported experience of racial violence and the media attention it received was deemed worthy only of marginal reference. The question this poses and again of relevance to this thesis is whether Patterson regards the events that contributed to the 'race riots' in Notting Hill as uncharacteristic and hence unworthy of reference? In addition, were mediated reports of racial violence occurring in London and in other parts of the UK, an accurate representation of the everyday experiences of the first generation who arrived in Manchester? More controversially, and to be developed below, are stories of racial violence communicated through a political strategy to evidence black migrants as responsible for straining the 'mild antipathy' of the

'conservative' British host toward an 'alien' racism, deemed characteristic of the USA, thereby necessitating state reaction and response?

To return to Patterson, the study deliberates the varying modes of 'absorption' necessary for the successful integration of the 'dark strangers'. To this end, she presents an evaluation of the different 'processes of absorption' (Patterson 1963:19-24). Significantly, such processes are temporal, reflecting differing phases of integration, which may shift and change for subsequent generations of the immigrant group. To be developed below (Parekh 1983), assimilation is conceptualised as 'the most complete phase of absorption' where the minority group or individual members completely adapt to the 'values and patterns of the receiving society' and where 'adaptation is accompanied by complete acceptance of the assimilating group.' With particular reference to minority groups, Patterson develops the model of pluralistic integration, where the minority group adapts itself to 'permanent membership of the receiving society' and the receiving society accepts the minority group as a 'lasting entity' (Patterson 1963:22). Of value here, Patterson notes that integration can be impeded by politically or religiously motivated minority groups who may form associations focused solely upon the minority group's aspirations. Finally, it is suggested that economically motivated migrant groups tend to be less organised, which is usually attributed to their 'impermanence' or because they 'migrate at will in small, unorganised groups and are usually from a peasant or urban proletariat with little experience of formal organisation.' (1963:21).

Consequently, first generation integration is rarely achieved as integration is only temporarily accommodated due to both deficiencies within the minority culture, but also with politically motivated and erected barriers to absorption. The presence of 'dark strangers' disrupted the normative boundaries of British society necessitating strategies to facilitate the integration of post-war Jamaican migration (Anderson 2013, Spalek 2008). Therefore, theories of race relations and concomitant models through which outsiders are to become absorbed or integrated into the majority culture emerged to facilitate post-war political strategies and policy. Embraced as a central line of inquiry, the processes of integration and particularly assimilation placed an emphasis and responsibility upon the minority group to accept the values, beliefs and

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norms of the majority group, that is, to present the self, as becoming and being a part of the (British) majority group. It is within this context that the central tensions of models and modes of race relations emerge.

> '[T]he prevailing political values, practices, symbols, myths, ceremonies, collective self-understanding and view of national identity should be suitably revised to reflect its multicultural character. 'We' cannot obviously integrate 'them' so long as 'we' remain 'we', 'we' must be loosened up to create a new common space in which 'they' can become part of a newly constructed 'we'. (Parekh 1998:3)

The problematisation of the 'black immigrant'

> 'Sociology fails in its attempt to construct an adequate understanding of race relations, it remains irrelevant to black experience. The sociology of race relations has constructed a 'pathology of Black life' which informs not only the policy makers but also 'common sense' understandings of race'.
>
> (Amos et al 1982:15)

To this point, the chapter has engaged a consideration of the antecedents of models through which to appraise race relations discourses linked to some of the earliest British manifestations of this body of work. However, within this body of work there emerge 'strategic silences' (Harris 2009) where the pathologising effects of a 'dangerous sociology' leads to a distorted perception of post-war black migrants. Hence, controversially, Sociology and in particular the sociology of race relations have played a critical, whilst seemingly unwitting, role in the 'othering' of those who arrived from Jamaica following the Second World War.

By the early 1980s, a counter-narrative began to emerge which challenged the 'pretence', role and function of what Keith (1993) describes is a 'pathological sociology'. Critically for Amos et al (1982:15), the primary objective of the Sociology of race relations (SRR) was to assist 'white people to be more tolerant of blacks by making Black culture more understandable' with the academic focus on raced relations which accentuates and seeks to resolve conflicts amid immigrant and 'host' inter-

personal relations. Central to this argument is the work of Amos et al (1982) and the text *'White Sociology, Black Struggle'* within which they argue that from the outset the *raison d'etre* of race relations research was to facilitate the assimilation of the Black immigrant into Britain (Amos et al 1982). In particular, this sociology was concerned with two key questions. Firstly, what is the degree of 'assimilation' and of 'adjustment' to the British way of life? Second, to what degree were Black people 'fitting in' and were they successfully becoming British? (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980).

Aspects of this sociology are evident through the body of knowledge that sought to respond to the aforementioned questions concerning the emergent Black population and to highlight the problems experienced by the newly arrived immigrants. In particular, Amos et al take the position that the race relations enterprise was a 'political project' concerned with making the culture of Black people more accessible and hence understandable. The assumption being that uninformed concerns in the 'host' community could be allayed through a better understanding of the personal, social and cultural idiosyncrasies of the 'immigrant'. The focus then becomes that of the 'interpersonal-relations between blacks and whites' (Amos et al 1982: 15). What transpires is research which concentrates upon 'blacks' as immigrants and the problems they were said to (re)present. The binary of host/immigrant model, first introduced by Sheila Patterson (1963) and central to early race-relations research, assumes a 'passive search for acceptance and benevolence on the part of the host' (Amos et al 1982: 16). Moreover, the emphasis upon relationships between the immigrant and host is simply reduced to a depoliticised study of 'cultural relations', devoid of interrogation or any situated analysis of structural and political dynamics; that is, the race relations problematic explores understanding of the immigrant/host binary outside of 'wider class/power relations' (Amos et al 1982:17). It is this approach, which is unearthed as the central concern, and the key point of critique of what Keith (1993) disparagingly labels as pathology sociology. Being the construction of Black immigrants within such theories of 'social problems', poverty and disadvantage, aligned to social democratic traditions (Gilroy 1987). For the purpose of this thesis, and noted earlier in this chapter, the experience of racism(s) was not included as an appropriate framework through which to make sense of emerging and prevalent social problems (Patterson 1963, Pryce 1979). Consequently, in order to understand the

now framed, socio-cultural and economic problems said to accompany Black immigration, the framework of race/cultural relations and an emphasis on the cultural peculiarities of immigrants/black people came to the fore (Carter et al 1987, Amos et al 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1984). Sociological studies within the 'race relations' model/paradigm centralised Black immigrants as the source of their own problems. For Bourne and Sivanandan (1980) this sociology was a 'dangerous' sociology abstracting and distorting Black immigrants from their lived reality, their context and experiences. As a means of facilitating an improvement in the lives and experiences of the immigrants, the sociology of race relations then was argued by Bourne and Sivanandan as being a 'millstone' around the necks of those it sought to help. The central argument here is that the abstraction of the Black immigrant from the historical contexts within which an imagined behaviour occurs objectifies socio-economic problems as innate features of individual cultural deficiencies (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012).

Consequently, the sociology of race relations and research based upon this tradition have resulted in two key concerns. First is the identification of Black people as the source of their own problems couched within a deficit model. Second is the utilisation of culture and particularly, a 'cultural pluralism', as the framework for understanding Black immigration and any subsequent social problems experienced by this group. In summary, the sociology of race relations essentially constitutes Black people, their culture, their ethnicity as the objects of study.

Studies that centre upon cultural presuppositions about the characteristics supposedly intrinsic to Black people continued to predominate debates and discussions of Black people in Britain. For example in discussion of the socio-cultural background and differences of New Commonwealth immigrants Patterson (1969) suggests that

> '…apart from a minority of professionals, white collar and skilled workers, the bulk of new commonwealth immigrants were not well equipped to enter a complex urban industrial society. So they followed the Irish into the lowest levels of the British economy.'

> (Patterson 1969: 4)

Patterson signifies a clear point of reference for beginning to explain the social position of Black immigrants, as being a consequence of their educational attainment levels or (the absence of) their previous work and employment experiences. This explanation forsakes more structural explanations that locate the employability problems experienced by Black immigrants within the racialized structures and limited opportunities afforded within British society (James 1993). Furthermore, parallels are drawn with the experiences endured by earlier immigrant groups to Britain, such as the Irish and Jewish people, where prior negative experiences encountered within the employment market are eventually diminished (Patterson 1969, Lea and Young 1984). Culturally, the West Indian then is described as coming from an *'English speaking, Christian, British-oriented sub-culture, albeit an impoverished and rural one'* (Patterson 1963:6). Patterson continues by stating that the West Indian is *'mobile and individualistic and resists the imposition of strong internal controls'* (Patterson 1963:6). Although there is a tacit acknowledgement that the West Indian came to England with high expectations of 'full and immediate' acceptance by the 'Mother Country', yet in a restrained acknowledgement of the reality of racism, Patterson states that there are a *'set of historical preconceptions associated with dark skin and Negroid features with alien and primitive cultures'*. The challenges then experienced by the first generation group derive from what Patterson describes as a *'general mild antipathy to and avoidance of outsiders'*. Notwithstanding the challenges faced and endured by the 'West Indian', Patterson is confident that they can eventually be assimilated into British society whether this be intentional or not. Implicitly throughout Patterson's analysis, is a construct of the West Indian as having weak culture. Additionally the construct of the black immigrant resides outside of a historical and structural framework through which to make sense of the challenges and difficulties that they were reported as experiencing. Specifically for the West Indian, the weak culture is presented as the singular explanation for the difficulties and challenges they experience and is therefore viewed as a problem for their future assimilation. Whilst cultural deficit models remain dominant in understandings of immigrants, immigration and migrants, it is of research importance to explore such contentions in our analysis of research conversations within the fieldwork component of this study.

Cultural deficit models are theorised through the concept of 'acculturation', which is conceptualised as responsible for the debilitating cultural deficits of the West Indian, presenting their culture as 'at odds' with the dominant British way of life (Pryce 1979). For critics, acculturation rests upon an ill-conceived premise of a 'loss of culture', due to the damaging effects of British *slavery and colonialism* characterised by a loss of language, religion and family/kinship systems (Amos et al 1982, Lawrence 1982). The theme of 'culture loss' arises as a pivotal and contentious argument that explains unsuccessful integration or 'processes of absorption' of the black community, within race relations research. An extreme version of the acculturation thesis appears in a study of the Jamaican community in Bristol, employed here to illustrate the harmful effects of race relations research (Pryce 1979). From the outset, Pryce centralises the West Indians in Bristol as descendants of slaves, who consequently have incorporated, inculcate and internalised the values and beliefs of the powerful, namely the values of his 'Master' (Amos et al 1984), thereby rendering them culturally naïve and unable to chart complex cultural environments. In turn, acculturation contributes to negative self-image and constructs of the self. Moreover, acculturation fosters the inculcation of anti-social attitudes and behaviours, which are essentially at odds with dominant British values and culture.

Being a Jamaican, Pryce offers an 'insider' view of black immigrants' lifestyle and culture through an ethnographic, participant observation approach. Conducted between the years of 1969 and 1974, Pryce is moved to explore why integration of the West Indian into Britain had failed and therefore the study is concerned with identifying and highlighting the idiosyncrasies, make-up and *lifestyle* of the West Indian that render assimilation and/or integration a particular challenge. The author develops a two-point typology to articulate the unassimilable features of Jamaican lifestyles, which inhibit integrate. Developing from a series of complex classifications, Pryce develops two 'orientations' the first of which is the *'stable law-abiding orientation'* made up of the 'lifestyles' of the *'saints', proletarian respectables'* and *'mainliners'*. On the other hand there was the orientation of *'expressive-disreputable'* made up of *the 'hustler', 'teenyboppers'* and the fluid lifestyle trait of the *'in-betweeners'*. For Pryce, the central distinction between the *stable law-abiding* and the *expressive-disreputable* orientations can be more simplistic understood as a distinction between those *'who*

work and those who 'hustle' (Pryce 1979: xiii), hustlers being those who make a living from socially illegitimate means.

Throughout 'Endless Pressure', Pryce constructs a picture of a pathological 'Jamaican-ness' of the Bristolian 'shanty-town' (his words) immigrants and their dependants. There is an association between the social position of Black immigrants, the problems they endure and the 'common historical heritage of imperialism, poverty and protest' (1979:2). Despite an acknowledgement of the influence of poverty and protest within Jamaican society, the socio-economic and historical backdrop are abstracted from the individualistic maladapted behaviours presented as characteristic of their 'Jamaican-ness' Again, Jamaican 'culture' appears inseparable from the 'culture-stripping' experience of slavery and Western capitalism described as 'the most massive acculturation event in human history' (Pryce 1979:3).

In language similar to that of Patterson, this theme is developed further where the Jamaican is presented as pre-disposed to an array of social problems due to their weak culture and hence a limitation in their ability to navigate more complex societies. For example, historically the slave had to 'choose' between identification with their masters' culture or death. In addition, the slave was exposed to the *'modes and ways of thinking'* of British capitalism, resulting in the Westernisation of the Jamaican (Pryce 1979:3).   For Pryce then, there is an ambiguity where the focus of concern is acculturation, including the loss of language, religion and family/kinship system, a process in which the Jamaican has learned to 'ape' British values and institutions. The relevance of Pryce's reflection on the socio-history of Jamaicans in Bristol is that they are poor because they are from the *'have nots'* class, at the base of the social and economic pyramid of Jamaican society. As such, the pathological sub-culture of the Jamaican manifests itself in a range of problematic intergenerational behaviours and practices that separate and 'Others' the Jamaican from the perceived norms of the dominant host society. It is these intergenerational and intrinsic cultural problems due to acculturation that emerge as a persistent theme throughout the sociology of race relations.

Clearly, Amos et al take issue with this line of theorisation and the pathologisation of the Black personality through the acculturation thesis as suggestive of 'maladjusted

personalities'. The key challenge arises where the emphasis on 'structural determinants' including the impact of slavery and colonialism leads to a deterministic denial of agency thereby reducing black people to the status of 'inactive victims' of slavery (Amos 1982:24). However arguably, there is a space through which the dominant Eurocentric cultures which promote as virtuous whiteness may have effect upon Black individuals' perception of self (Robinson 1995). Within this context, the experience of racism emerges as a viable explanatory tool to account for the perennial negative experiences and socio-cultural constructs of black people.

On political reactions to the 'black (im)migrant'.

Academically then, there develops two central points of analysis within which to understand this 'race relations problematic' (Miles and Phizacklea 1982). Banton (1991) acknowledges on the one hand, that research strategies to understand race relations and the 'interactions between racialized categories' can be conceptualised as either 'anascopic', as 'looking up' from the 'micro' as a means to understand 'interactions between racialized categories'. This approach centralises the individual position and perspective as a means through which to understand their experiences. Conversely, Banton conceptualises the approaches advocated by Rex (1970) as 'catascopic' being those that look down from the structural to examine experiences of racialized interactions as contingent upon the determining structures of colonialism (Rex 1970, Scraton and Chadwick 1996). Hence, to understand racialized relations in Britain it is necessary to examine the micro by looking 'down from the macro'. As 'two children of empire', Steinberg (2015:1383) argues that both Banton and Rex utilise the discipline of Sociology as a means through which to assess race relations, which in itself is steeped within the history of empire and imperialism. From the outset then, imperialism as a feature of 'racialized interactions' resides as intrinsic to 'the paradigms and discourses, past and present'. It is here then that social research is itself implicated in the colonial interest of powerful organisations and institutions rather than the needs of black colonial subjects (Bourne 2008, Vidich and Lyman 2000).

Towards conclusion of this section, and by way of introduction to a reflection of literature and documents which reveal the politicised nature and reaction to the presence of 'dark strangers', Sivanandan (2008) addresses the 'mythology' intrinsic to the stereotyped constructs of post war migrants as economically driven.

> 'It was said, for instance, that the post-war "influx" of West Indian and Asian immigrants to this country was due to "push-and-pull" factors. Poverty pushed us out of our countries, and prosperity pulled us into Britain. Hence the stereotype that we were lazy, feckless people who were on the make. But what wasn't said was that it was colonialism that both impoverished us and enriched Britain. So that when, after the war, Britain needed all the labour it could lay its hands on for the reconstruction of a war-damaged economy, it turned to the reserves of labour that it had piled up in the colonies. That's why it passed the Nationality Act of 1948 making us colonials British nationals. (Equally, when, after 1962, it did not need that labour, it brought in a series of restrictive and racist immigration acts).'

> (Sivanandan 2008, IRR comment piece)

In adopting the host-immigrant frame to understand the process through which 'dark strangers' of the 1950s were absorbed into British society, Patterson had sought to circumvent research and policy approaches that centralised the race or colour of the post-war migrant. Yet, of significance, literature pertaining to the political reaction to post-war immigration attest to a series of political actors who were somewhat less reserved in situating 'race' as central to the immigration and race relation 'problematic'. The following will therefore review the political response to post-war immigration in order to detect those factors which led to the enactment of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962. For Sivanandan above, there is a relationship between the image of those who responded to the economic labour needs of Britain and the social construct of the black immigrant as 'on the make'. Critically, for the purpose of this study, the following appraisal of this body of literature provides a resource through which to illuminate the central political concerns, which precipitated the implementation of the CIA Act. Further, the following will offer insights into the political narrative of post-war British society, and the emergent discourses to which the post-war Jamaican and wider Caribbean migrant was subject.

In 1987, Carter et al published *'The 1951-55 Conservative Government and the Racialisation of Black Immigration.'* In this paper, the authors highlight the dominant discourse and the ambiguities that have informed our understanding of post-war immigration and in particular, the role of the state in the racialisation of Black immigration to Britain. As detected above, the state is often 'absent or viewed as having played a minimal role in the emerging discourse around coloured colonial immigration' (Carter et al 1987:1). This narrative affords substance to a discourse which presents the state as *reacting* to the social problem of immigration and the challenges of assimilation. Further, the idea that the state was merely reacting to the public's response to 'aliens within their midst' conceals a complicit and active role undertaken by the British government in facilitating the racialisation of the post-war immigrant. In contrast to the enthusiastic 'homecoming' afforded to the 'sons of the empire' documented earlier, two days later there is a record of dissenting voices in a letter to Clement Attlee signed by 11 Labour MPs, calling for the 'control of Black immigration'. The concern was that

> 'an influx of coloured people domiciled here is likely to impair the harmony, strength and cohesion of our public and social life and to cause discord and unhappiness among all concerned.'

> (Carter et al 1987:1)

Carter et al continue by reviewing the covert political process of building an 'evidence base' through which to support a draft immigration Bill to 'control' levels of immigration from as early as 1951. The emergent political narrative then was less about the attitudes of a few individuals and amounted to

> 'the construction of an ideological framework in which Black people were seen to be threatening, alien and unassimilable and the development of policies to discourage and control Black immigration.'

> [Carter et al 1987:1]

Politically then, there was a concerted effort through which to build a case to *'hold the tide'* against coloured immigration. The basis for this according to Carter et al is

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located not only in racist ideals intrinsic to Britain's imperialist past, but also to a concern of the 'deleterious effects' of Black immigration on the 'racial character of the English people' (Miles and Phizacklea 1984). Carter et al. argue further, that in order to restrict the levels of Black immigration there was a need for a 'strong case' to be built around a 'racialized reconstruction of 'Britishness' in which to be white was to belong and to be Black was to be excluded' (1987:1). To be clear, the racialisation of immigration then was not simply a matter of developing an argument against black immigration. A central tension that led toward the enactment of the Immigration Act was set against the principles of citizenship enacted through the 1946 Nationality Act were the principle of the 'right to enter' was

> '… not something that we want to tamper with lightly. In a world in which restrictions on personal movement and immigration have increased we still take pride in the fact that a man can say *civis Britannicus sum* whatever his colour may be, and we can take pride in the fact that he wants and can come to the Mother country.'
>
> (Henry Hopkinson, *Minister of State for Colonial Affairs* cited in Miles and Phizacklea (1984:27)

Of relevance, the 1948 British Nationality Act granted in law the right 'to enter, work and settle in Britain to all colonial and commonwealth citizens' (Rose 1969: 21). In essence, the Act placed in law a revision in the legal definition of British citizenship to reflect the emerging multi-racial character of the Commonwealth. According to Anderson (2013:2.4), the motive for the British Nationality Act was related to the maintenance of British subjecthood with the gradual momentum of former colonies moving towards independence. As such, if the concept of British subjecthood was to survive, it needed to be rethought within the context of the independence of former colonies. To this end, the British Nationality Act divided citizenship into two broad categories, namely citizenship of independent Commonwealth countries and citizenship for the remainder of what had been the British Empire, which were brought into 'a unified citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies (Rose 1969). Whilst not an immigration policy, but a nationality policy with immigration consequences (Anderson 2013) through which post war immigration emerges as an unintended

consequence, an Act which sought to consolidate UK citizenship – through a legal proclamation of who belonged.

The 'strong case' then was to be built around a number of themes supported by the development of an empirical base in the areas of 'unemployment, National Assistance, 'numbers', housing, health, criminality and miscegenation, which it was hoped would confirm that Black immigration posed insoluble problems of social, economic and political assimilation' (Carter et al 1987: 2). What emerged then was the utilisation of state resources to build a case based upon two key areas, namely the speed of Black immigration and the increasing size of the Black population.

As acknowledged within the introduction, there are conflicting arguments around the 'numbers' of Black immigrants with the more populist reporting of numbers often at odds with the official reality. An example of this lay in figures within a Cabinet Office report (1954) which reported that the size of the Black population stood between 50,000 and 60,000. When compared to the figures presented earlier (Patterson 1963) the Cabinet Office figures appear to significantly over-represent the number of Black immigrants when set against reported police figures of less than 25,000 people (Carter 1987). Carter et al. continue by illustrating that a careful examination of the numbers undermined the popular emerging view of ever-increasing numbers of Black immigrants. As such, there develops a complexity in building the numerical case against immigration, necessitating a shift toward more ideologically based arguments. Ideologically then, the danger lay in 'a significant change in the racial character of the English people' that continued and prolonged Black immigration would bring (Carter 1987: 3). As a result, the underlying government strategy shifted towards pre-emptive action to avoid any future problems of Black settlement, focusing upon the areas of employment, housing and crime.

> 'Landlordism, declining property values, spiralling rents, overcrowding, dilapidation and decay were cited as the inevitable consequences of Black settlement. Black people not only created slums, it was argued, but these 'new Harlems' had their provenance in the 'racial' character of the inhabitants. Indeed, their very way of life was seen to pose a fundamental threat to social order.'

> [Carter et al 1987:3].

It is noteworthy that the work of Carter et al (1987) is not without criticism. Hansen (2000:12) challenges what he describes as the 'racialization school' including the work of Carter et al, along with Miles and Phizacklea (1984) as initially being so 'deterministic as not to merit attention'. Hansen's central argument is the simplistic notion that the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) was enacted as a means to 'keep blacks out'. For Hansen this is untenable and does not correspond with the evidence. For example, Hansen indicates that public opinion supported the implementation of discriminatory immigration policies a long time prior to the enactment of the 1962 Act. Therefore had the government been driven by racialisation, immigration controls would have been implemented much sooner. He continues that Carter's work is a selective interpretation of a range of 'unofficial documents' to support his 'racialisation of immigration policy' thesis. For Hansen, that there were racist people in government is not questioned, but the assertion that the British state was racist – that is racism was institutional and state-sanctioned - is derided as fanciful. Most critically, that racialisation theorists' (including Miles and Phizacklea) claim 'migration controls were unrelated to public opposition is untenable'. Hansen (2000:16) cites a series of opinion polls which chart the 'increasing public demand for tighter immigration controls, with such demands intensified in the run-up to the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962'.

While Carter et al are subject to a sustained critique, within the above, there is presented within their work a narrative that served to attribute the presence of the black migrant with socio-economic problems. Furthermore, there is some recognition of the construction of newly arrive migrants as being imbued with characteristics and traits conducive to particular social problems. To elaborate, Ould (2003) undertook an archival evaluation of Manchester newspapers to ascertain the extent to which the reporting of the Notting Hill 'race riots' in 1958 had been covered within Greater Manchester news print. As part of this project, Ould came across a week long, serialised feature entitled 'Strangers in our midst' written by the news reporter Cockcroft. Of interest, what Ould discovered was a 'sympathetic' presentation of the difficulties and struggles endured by new immigrants to Manchester. So Cockcroft notes that,

'Moss Side, now synonymous with vice to most people in this area. [A]nd the coloured people have now been placed by the same people in a triple link up. Moss Side …vice…blacks. One thing is forgotten. Vice was raising quite a stench in this jaded relic of a once-respectable Victorian suburb long before a calypso ever rang out among the flaking walls….[t]hose who are trying to carve out an honest living bear with patient resignation the slur stamped unmercifully on their kind in general.'

The extract reveals a rare, yet valuable insight into a reality suggestive of an arising construct of socio-economic problems being attributed to post-war black immigrants who were settling in the Moss Side area of Manchester. The report highlights that many social problems attributed to immigration existed prior to the emergence of Caribbean migrants thereby prompting a further point for inquiry for this study. Moreover, the above strategy to 'build a case' partly explains the preponderance of academic race relations outputs which pay particular attention to accommodation, employment, education, family structure and crime, as a metric through which to explain and describe the success and failures of assimilation, absorption and broader race relations policy. That the racialisation of the immigrant is contested raises further questions as to the precise mechanisms, processes and features of the first generation's presence that facilitated the reconstruction of the black immigrant as problematic, and hence becoming construed as the Other.

'Race as Stigma'?

It is Galahad, a central character in Selvon's fictional book 'Lonely Londoners', who articulates a less academic means through which to make sense of his personal experiences as a post-war migrant living in London.

'And Galahad watch the colour of his hand, and talk to it, saying, 'Colour, is you that causing all this, you know. Why the hell you can't be blue, or red or green, if you can't be white? You know is you that cause a lot of misery in the world. Is not me, you know, is you! Look at you, you so black and innocent, and this time so you causing misery all over the world! So Galahad talking to the colour Black, as if is a person, telling it that is not he who causing botheration in the place, but Black, who is a worthless thing for making trouble all about. 'Black you see what you cause to happen yesterday? I went to look at that room…in the Gate, and as soon as the landlady see you she say the room let already. She aint even give me a chance to say good morning. Why the hell you can't change colour?' (Selvon 1956:77).

The negative experiences encountered by Galahad arise due to his skin colour. It is the colour black which blocks opportunities and inhibits his integration causing him 'botheration'. It is blackness that masks who Galahad really is, it conceals his true self and renders him invisible. Similarly, for Cockroft (1958, cited in Ould 1993) it was blackness that emerged as the central explanation for the problems encountered by a migrant he interviewed in Manchester.

"I was to meet several who had lost their jobs for a variety of official reasons but only one in reality….Of the nine thousand unemployed in the Greater Manchester area, over 5000 are registered at the office which embraces Moss Side. Because, you see, the colour of your skin does count when you ask for a job."

For Goffman (1968:2) stigma is an attribute of the self which is 'deeply discrediting' in marking a group of people as different due to a shared 'socially relevant feature', such as skin colour. Further, Eijberts and Roggeband (2015:2) note the 'bearer of such stigma becomes 'devalued' and dehumanised; degraded from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one'. In this regard, 'race is seen in or on the body' and therefore 'race as stigma' affords a sensitive analytical lens through which to reflect upon and appreciate the 'operation and contestation of racism' (Howarth 2006:1). In relation then to encounters experienced and disclosed by the families within this study, the following will offer a reflection upon the contemporary re-emergence and relevance of the concept of stigma and in particular, 'race as stigma' as a frame through which to appreciate experiences of otherisation (Howarth 2006, Tyler 2018).

According to Goffman, stigma is a mark, burn or cut into the skin which serves to symbolise the threat of the so-stigmatised person. The subsequent development of this concept saw its application to those suffering from HIV, physical and mental impairment or the actual scarring of the body – all of which are presented as impairments of the body. To frame 'race' as stigma therefore necessitates an acceptance of blackness as 'impairment', as an innate barrier towards full social engagement and participation. Race as stigma then marks out the post-war migrant as an object of suspicion and foci for social/criminal regulation. To build upon this, Howarth (2006) signposts the merits of conceptualising race as stigma. First, the appropriation of stigma highlights the 'embodiment of race', which emerges as indicative and illustrative of the 'interaction order' (Goffman 1993). Second, it serves to foreground the dehumanising nature of discourses and practices that (produce) 'race'. From here then, race as stigma facilitates an appreciation of 'raced relations' – affording a lens through which to understand the development of social constructions and the implementation of (social and political) racialised discourses which serve to other. Third and to be developed further and throughout this thesis, adopting stigma as a site for understanding interactions with racisms allows race to be understood in relation to its 'material contexts of unequal relations of power' (Howarth 2006:1). With reference to Goffman, Howarth draws upon the physical and medical deficiencies of mental illness, HIV/AIDS and disability to develop the ways in which race produces and sustains inequalities including histories of domination, colonisation and global economics. Fourth, for Howarth 'race exists as stigma in the eye of the beholder'. Here then, and a pertinent line of inquiry for this study, stigma is produced, attributed and imposed on others. Significantly, and as located within Galahad's reflections, the imposition of stigma jars against individual identity claims and definitions of self. The imposition of race as stigma consequently leads to 'misrecognition in non-dialogical encounters'. For MsB of the first generation, that they [English people] "did not know anything about black people" signifies the persistent 'misrecognition' of who she is. The reoccurring 'shocks' encountered and disclosed by the first generation (see chapter five) are marked by the distance between self conceptualisations and self-definitions and imagined (racialised) constructions that are imposed upon the first generation.

"[T]hey were never taught anything positive about Black people. Everything was negative. Even if you speak to some very old people today, they will tell you that they didn't know that we went to school, that we had schools over there, that we dressed like we do, it's the way they were brought up. They had a documentary on the television once, I was at home and they were asking white people about Black people. And one woman said, 'I don't like them they're dirty, look at their skin' [laughs]. And I thought, 'where has she been'? But I didn't get cross about it, because I thought people like those, they'd never left Manchester. There was one woman had never been out of Manchester all her life, she didn't know where London was, you know. So I thought to myself, well you have to forgive them. They didn't know, they were taught these things at school. All negatives about Black people, as far as they were concerned we were servants. You know and to see us in a position of trust is very hard for them to comprehend, because they didn't know we could read, write and those things."

[MsB]

If we "look at their skin", it is race as stigma which creates 'tension', a potential space of struggle and negotiation within which those stigmatised as raced produce ways to challenge the imposition of stigmatising representations. Of significance, whilst the primary focus of this study is concerned with the perception and experiences of otherisation there is a further need to consider the ways in which the families react and respond to their experiences. In citing her own research, Howarth (2002) considers the ways in which the stigmatised co-produce ways of challenging stigmatising representations. Of relevance, she found through focus groups conducted with young black and brown people from London, that individuals struggled to reject stigmatising representations and consequently through 'self-stereotyping, endorsed negative self-images'. Crucially, it is important to consider the extent to which self-stereotyping and the endorsement of negative self-images are evident within the stories and narratives of the families within this study. In returning to stigma, Eijberts and Roggeband (2015:6-7) highlight a number of strategies in which individuals may respond to 'race as stigma'. First, stigmatised bodies may respond by physically *concealing* stigma. Added to this, *conciling* points towards the stigmatised person's acceptance of the stigma. In *circumventing the stigma,* the stigmatised person avoids spaces wherein the stigma may become accentuated or acknowledged. Further, Eijberts and Roggeband identify *compensating* strategies where the stigma

serves as a motivation toward the improvement of 'social capital skills', similar to Howarth's (2006) concept of social mobility. Further reactions to stigma also include *confronting* wherein the stigmatised person challenges those who impose stigma. Finally, in *consolidating* the stigma, the so stigmatised group responds by increasing their social identification with stigmatised groups.

Howarth (2006) further notes that personal strategies are enacted to 'cope' and 'challenge' stigmatising (social and media) representations in order to facilitate the construction of positive social identities. These strategies are presented as *social mobility,* which marks the individual's move to transcend the ascription of negative attributes and constructions of race through personal and *social change* and campaigns against race as stigma. Furthermore, Howarth (2002:156) detects the strategy of *re-evaluation* of the so stigmatised group wherein the group 'take on' and challenge negative representations, strategically turning the 'stigma into positive versions of…who they are'.

Yet, the above reflections on stigma and the codifying of reactions and resistance to stigma are routinely theorised at the micro level. So whilst Howarth asserts the virtues of stigma as facilitating an appreciation of negotiations with racisms and stigmatising representations of stigma, the above reactions and responses to race as stigma align with individualistic, psycho-social adaptions to negated raced relations and disruptive encounters. In seeking to remedy this tension and furthering an examination of the viability of stigma as an explanatory frame, Tyler (2018) primarily notes the embodiment of stigma within the very structures of the society. With particular reference to the interaction order, being those 'social situations in which two or more individuals are physically in one another's response presence' (2018:6) Goffman (1983) posits that observations of the interaction order can inform of the 'norms, rules, conventions and procedures' that facilitate orderly social interactions. Furthermore, society '"works" and "coheres" to the extent that members of society understand and share, or at least accept, the norms in operation in any given social context' (2018:9). To become stigmatised emerges from exchanges with other people 'be this a look, glance, a comment or a more overt form of discrimination'. For Tyler, and in critique of Goffman, there is 'little curiosity about where [such] norms come from, what they

prescribe, what the effects of these prescriptions might be, or how they might be challenged or transformed' (2018:9).   Intuitively then, Goffman's consideration of 'impression management' is more concerned with how the stigmatised person manages (and reacts to) stigmatised interactions, rather than a reflection upon where the stigma comes from and how this is imposed. Here then, Goffman is concerned with how social rules work rather than what such rules suggest.   Evidently, where stigma is conceptualised as 'emanating from the body of the stigmatised' this serves to other by affirming negative conceptualisations of blackness.   Here and of particular concern to Tyler, stigma becomes abstracted from the 'power relations' of society and in turn become attributable to the stigmatised.

In resituating Goffman then, Tyler reflects upon Jim Crow America, a critical moment in American history, and a moment which coincides with the publication of Stigma in 1963.   Of relevance to this study, Tyler's work serves to reflect upon the interaction order of Jim Crow wherein racialised discrimination is sanctioned and legitimised in law.   In resituating Goffman within the interaction order of US history, Tyler is able to articulate the imposition of stigma as embodied within the very structures of a "whites only" Jim Crow America. Race as stigma within this context then serves to mark out those to be excluded from white spaces. With reference to the families whose voices inform this study, Weedon (2004) and Harris (1993) suggest that the post-war black migrant entered into a 'racial order' on their arrival to England in 1948. This then marks a central line of inquiry through which the storied recollections of experiences of living in Manchester, England serve to facilitate an appreciation of the social order and both the macro and micro interactions that cohere the self.   Furthermore, how do the families make sense of their otherisation where race as stigma is situated within the comparatively less pronounced racial order of 1960s Britain and hence open to subjective (mis)interpretations amid non-dialogical interactions and encounters?

Conclusion

The academic, political and social conflation of the black immigrant, race relations and immigration controls is complex with competing explanations for their historical and contemporary development.   The above review pertaining to the immediate post war

period and related to the emergence of the Caribbean migrant however demonstrates perennial shifts in the conceptualisation and constructions of those who disembarked the Empire Windrush in 1948. Moreover, there develops then a series of deliberately mediated (and admittedly unwitting) constructs posited around a 'cultural deficits' model deployed to explain the failure of enacted 'processes of absorption' of the black immigrant into British society. Such approaches advertently serve to suggest a failure of race relations with such failings driven by the cultural deficits of (an)other individual, abstracted from the structural context of post-war British society (Pryce 1978, Patterson 1963, 1968). Whilst the deficits model is subject to challenge by theorists presenting a catascopic approach, that situates the social problems endured by the black post-war immigrant within a socio-historical structural context, they likewise fail to accord privilege to the voices and narratives of those who arrived in England prior to 1962. As research objects then, they are silent.

Of note, the number of black migrants arriving from the Caribbean continued despite the implementation of immigration controls! In this regard, arguments that immigration controls were introduced to exclude the black immigrant are not sustainable. Rather, and of significance for this study, where such controls were implemented to symbolically exclude by delineating those who belong, offers a more worthwhile lens and point of inquiry. From this position, the enactment of regulatory strategies and controls potentially serve a symbolic function to assuage the 'mild antipathy' of a host electorate and population. In addition, the symbolism of immigration controls further connotes an 'action function', that the State is responding to the problem of immigration (Aliverti 2012). Hence, the function of state enacted immigration controls, facilitates the perpetual 'production of the other', demarcating the 'them' from the 'us' thereby legitimising the imposition of regulatory controls (Anderson 2013). Yet, there is a consequence. The enduring nature of the pathologisation of black people lends academic and political credence to the criminal regulation of black people. Within the next chapter, cultural deficit models endure to make sense of the continuities in the lower socio-economic position of the children and grandchildren of the first generation, with such deficits being transmitted from the first generation to the second generation (Murray 1990, Murray and Herrnstein 1994). Moreover, and akin to the frustration of the voices located within the above quotes, such deficit models resist challenge being

consistently evoked to explain the emergence of (an)other and further to legitimise the criminal regulation of the black outsider through the Criminal Justice System.

Chapter Three: The Other as the object of Criminology

Within the previous chapter is the contention that accompanying the arrival of Patterson's 'dark strangers' to Britain was a dangerous sociology which (un)wittingly reaffirmed the conceptualisation of the post war black migrant as a social, political and cultural problem.   Related to the work of Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2013) such reconceptualisation contributes to the construction of an objectified and hence Othered black immigrant. This identification along with a number of seemingly unique, yet powerfully mediated events facilitated a politicised conjuring of a 'strong case' to legitimise the introduction of immigration controls (Carter et al 1987) framed within a powerful discourse which attributed a plethora of socio-economic problems with the culturally maladapted and criminogenic presence of the 'black immigrant' (Miles and Phizacklea 1984. Pryce 1979). Yet, rather than being located within empirical fact or (social) reality, the black immigrant was constructed, imbued with pathological traits and characteristics, and argued as being incompatible with the social, economic and cultural complexity of British society (Amos et al 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1982, Sivanandan 2008). Uncritically, the raison d'etre of race relations research was to identity the problems encountered by the post-war immigrant to inform evidence informed solutions to facilitate their successful integration (Rose et al 1969, Patterson 1968). However, for Bourne and Sivanandan (1980) race relations research was central to the production and problematisation of the black immigrant and thereby was concerned with the research question of, the degree to which black people were becoming absorbed, were 'fitting in', assimilating and hence becoming British.

At its core, this thesis is concerned to excavate the factors that mark a significant shift in the conception of post-war immigration from a 'welcome' to a contemporary representation of immigrants and migrants as a social and political problem. Moreover, how post-war migrants and their children perceive and understand this shift is a critical line of inquiry.   As a Research and Evaluation Officer for the National Probation Service between the years 1997 and 2007 and now as a senior lecturer in Criminology, the preponderance of discourses, approaches and theories which serve to present the 'black community' as criminogenic, has been a research conundrum and point of personal, professional and political frustration.   From a personal perspective, such ideas are at odds, with my personal experience and understanding

as a young black man growing up in the Manchester area. The central focus of this chapter is to explore the emergence of criminalised constructs of black people in Britain which has served to legitimise the incursion of penal apparatus as a means through which to regulate those constructed as infringing the normative boundaries of British society (Gilroy 1987, Hall 1978). It was within the previous chapter that crime arises as a hallmark of black immigration. Within this chapter, it is therefore necessary to develop this theme as a method through which to mark the continuity in the criminological assertions presented in relation to immigration and how such constructs have underpinned the stubborn persistence of a black people and crime nexus.

The following then will firstly, examine the contemporary (over)representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people within the Criminal Justice System of England and Wales drawing again on official government documents and reports. Whilst a powerful association between racialized groups and criminalised offending behaviour is evident, there remains an inadequacy in academic explanations for such a nexus (CLINKS 2014). It is with this in mind that this chapter will consider the contribution of Criminology and its accompanying domain assumptions (Scraton and Chadwick 1987) which facilitate the perpetual construction and durability of the ascription of the crime label for black people and communities. Crime is presented as inter-generationally transmitted from the 'black immigrant', to their children and now their grandchildren. It is the durability of such ideas that necessitates a critical review of the criminological literature, alongside official criminal justice documents and outputs, it will be possible to trace the discursive shifts that result in the transmogrifying of the problematic black immigrant toward the criminal black youth.

Finally, the chapter draws upon a number of published papers, journal articles and book chapters (listed below) which were written solely or co-authored by myself and for which permission to reproduce has been agreed.

- Williams, P. (2015) 'Criminalising the Other: Challenging the Race and Gang nexus.' Race and Class, Vol. 56(3): 18–35
- Williams, P. and Clarke, B. (2016) 'Dangerous Associations: Joint enterprise, gangs and racism'. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.

- Williams, P. and Clarke, B. (2018) 'Disrupting the 'single story': Collective punishment, myth-making and the criminalisation of racialized communities' in Poynting, S., Bhatia, M. and Tufail, W. (ed) Racism, Crime and Media. Palgrave.

The Criminology of the Other

Sociology, and more recently Criminology, as a discipline of modernity informed by enlightenment philosophy, has been criticised for creating racial hierarchies, which have helped to 'institutionalise oppression and discrimination, through the production of the Others' (Spalek 2008, Bowling and Phillips 2004). Othering is best conceptualised as 'the process of attaching moral codes of inferiority to difference' (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012, Aliverti 2012). From this position, otherisation is a discursive tool for understanding discrimination and exclusion against individuals and/or groups based on their belonging to marginalised populations (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012). Whilst, the Other has become appropriated throughout a number of academic disciplines, reflecting various methods of analyses and inquiry the identification of a group as the 'other' originates in social processes linked to the cultural and political themes within specific societies. That is othering and processes of otherisation are contingent upon the political and social context within which they arise. Second and related to the above, the construction and social categorisation of the other marks the normative boundaries of the community and thus the appropriate methods of inclusion (and exclusion) (Ajzenstadt and Shaprio 2012, Anderson 2013, Spalek 2008). Otherisation therefore, involves the perpetuation of dominant norms which results in the suppression, silencing and concealment of difference(s). For Spalek (2008), those identities that reside outside of the moral boundaries and 'regimes of power' are deemed the Other, that is 'the devalued - and their voices and perspectives are largely suppressed'.

With particular reference to the discipline of Criminology, 'othering' facilitates the constitution of 'a judicial status and the socio-political condition of a group, designated by society as not belonging to its core values'. The discipline then is concerned with the systematic identification, isolation and in turn (policy) reaction to the ontologically

vague construct of 'crime' (Spalek 2008). Critically, it is those individuals who are deemed to pose a threat to the social order or those who disrupt the imagined normative boundaries through the imposed signifiers of, race, sexual conduct, gender and other social, cultural and political attributes. For Ajzenstadt and Shaprio (2012:687),

> 'Marking the 'other'—the 'outsider'—as violating social and moral boundaries is thus a symbolic cultural code, according to which people and groups may be included in society and become a 'deserving' member, or may be excluded and regarded as 'undeserving'…[T]his classification process leads to the designation of a host of penal, social and legal practices of control.'

Whilst in criminology, the Other is often presented as a negated status conferred upon an individual or groups as a facilitator for their criminalisation (Becker 1964), not all Others are subject to processes of criminalisation or criminal regulation. As such, it is therefore necessary to consider the conceptual distinction between the constructions of the Other as outsider and social constructions, which result in the imposition of State penal and legal regulation. Critically, this difference can be communicated through the concept of the 'folk devil', invariably attributed and 'applied' to those who are episodically evoked as transcending the legal boundaries and are therefore mediated as threatening societal values (Cohen 1973, Becker 1964). The other as 'folk devil' is best conceptualised through the amplification and transmission of symbols and cues concerning those whose deviance, behaviour, lifestyle traits and 'subculture' pose a threat to society's norms. The identification and mediation of the 'outsider' becomes problematized through the attribution of folk devil status, who in turn become foci necessitating state regulation through criminal justice apparatus which cyclically (re)affirms their imposed negated status and its subsequent mediation (Wilkins 1964, Cohen 1973, Hall 1978, Alexander 2008).

The process through which the post-war Caribbean migrant then becomes (an)other crime problem was notably chronicled by Stuart Hall and colleagues in their classic text, 'Policing the Crisis'. Writing in 1978, the book explores the context and structural contingencies that facilitate processes whereby 'race' as a social and political relation become manipulated and utilised by the State. 'Policing the Crisis' focuses attention upon the reconfiguration of street robbery, as a new (and imported) offence of

'mugging' appropriated as a discursive tool through which to articulate dramatic economic and social changes of the period (Hall et al 1978). The contradictory nature of this crisis can be found in the literature, where post war ideas around black immigrants and crime reflect a remarkable shift from a position which posits the under involvement of black people with crime and offending behaviour, through to the now annually reported 'over-representation' in academic and official CJ policy discourses. For example, the following quote from a Yorkshire Chief Constable in 1952 suggests,

> 'the West Africans are all out for a good time, spending money on quaint suits and flashy ornaments and visiting dance halls at every opportunity. The Jamaicans are somewhat similar, but they have a more sensible outlook and rarely get into trouble. They take great pains with their appearance and use face cream etc. to make themselves attractive to the females they meet at dances, cafes etc. One feels, however, that they only attract a certain type of female by reason of the fact that they have more money to spend than the average young Englishman.'

Similarly,

> 'Everywhere they have appeared the police and magistrates are ready to say that the West Indians make no trouble, which is more than some are ready to say of Irish workers.'

And finally,

> '...on the whole the coloured population are as well behaved as many local citizens.'

> (All quotations cited in Carter et al 1987:7, emphasis added)

Together, the above quotes offer an unambiguous view derived from police sources of 'Jamaicans' and 'coloureds' as less involved in crime and offending behaviour. When such findings are juxtaposed with contemporary publications (MOJ 2015) amid wider media constructs of black peoples involvement with crime and offending behaviour, it becomes necessary to consider the strategies through which black people *become* subject to processes of criminalisation.

The Contemporary Position

On the 31st January 2016, the British Prime Minister David Cameron announced a review, to be led by the Labour MP David Lammy, to investigate 'evidence of possible bias against black defendants and other ethnic minorities.' He continued,

> "If you're black, you're more likely to be in a prison cell than studying at a top university. And if you're black, it seems you're more likely to be sentenced to custody for a crime than if you're white. We should investigate why this is and how we can end this possible discrimination." [Ross 2016]

The concept of the black male as crime prone remains one of the enduring realities of contemporary British society. Traces of such imagery are historically located within the British conscience, presenting a powerful discourse episodically evoked, repackaged, looped and (re)presented as an infallible myth, transcendental folklore, a 'single story' to explain the crime problem within British society (Ngozi-Adichie 2009, Hall 1978, Gilroy 2002, Spalek 2008, Bowling and Phillips 2003). The story succeeds in the presentation of a simplistic and consumable explanation, which accentuates and reaffirms 'them' from 'us' (Keith 1993, Anderson 2013), demanding penal solutions to protect the public from the dangerous black criminal other. The following will therefore proceed through a contemporary appraisal and evaluation of the literature which serves to (re)affirm an association between black people and criminality.

The now bi-annual publication of the 'Statistics on Race in the Criminal Justice System' (RCJS) marks a statutory obligation enacted through Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act (1991) that:

> 'The Secretary of State shall in each year publish such information as he considers expedient for the purpose...of facilitating the performance of those engaged in the administration of justice to <u>avoid discriminating</u> against any persons on the ground of race or sex or any other improper ground...' [MOJ 2015:10 emphasis added]

Now in its 27th year, the report has consistently demonstrated the disparity of CJS experiences between Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people and their white

counterparts in England and Wales.[5] The most recent publication (MOJ 2017) again shows that BAME people are up to eight times more likely to be subject to stop and search by the police when compared to their white counterparts. In addition, BAME people were three times more likely to be arrested and sentenced for indictable offences. Further, a discussion of imprisonment rates points to the significant overrepresentation of BAME people when compared to both their white counterparts and their proportions within the general population. Where 15 people per 10,000 of the population are serving a custodial sentence, this figure increases to 44 per 10,000 for the 'mixed' group and 55 per 10,000 for the 'black' group (MOJ 2015).

The now almost predictable outputs of RCJS are often (mis)read as indicative of a black criminality. They are not. They are at best, a numerical representation of an individual's encounters with the agencies of the CJS, providing a bureaucratic monitoring function of the system's throughput. Such statistics cannot explain the *processes* that result in differential outcomes for BAME people, a point acknowledged within the report, where 'no causative links can be drawn from these summary statistics' (MOJ 2015:7). Of concern then, the report ambiguously alludes to racial disparities, yet neglects to offer any meaningful explanation for this apparent 'discrimination'. For example, the vexed issue of police stop and search and in particular the use of s60 of the Police and Criminal Evidence (PACE) Act, 1984 empowers the police to undertake 'suspicionless' (Bowling 2015) stop and searches of individuals where,

> 'the police believe, with good reason, that there is a possibility of serious violence; that a person is carrying a dangerous object or offensive weapon; or that an incident involving serious violence has taken place and a dangerous instrument or offensive weapon used in the incident is being carried in the locality' (MOJ 2012:44).

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[5] Whilst I acknowledge the criminal justice 'system' in England and Wales encompasses a large and varied number of organisations, for our purpose, we isolate The Police Service, Her Majesty's Court Services (HMCS) inclusive of Crown and Magistrates Courts, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) and Her Majesty's Prison Service (HMPS).

The most recent data attests to the disproportionate use of s60 against Black people. For example, in 2007/08, just over a quarter (28%) of s60 stops were recorded as being carried out on BAME people, with 65% conducted on white people. Markedly, there has been a significant reversal in this trend where by 2010/11, 64% of s60 stops involved BAME people against 31% for white people. Whilst such findings are often subject to what Gilroy (1982) terms 'empirical haggling' the report serves to strategically silence claims of discriminatory policing practice, and yet serves to mediate and suggest to the reader an enduring association between black people and criminal behaviour. As alluded to above, such ideas have become intergenerationally mediated as an idiosyncrasy of black people in Britain, so alongside the official documents which uncritically affirm such criminal associations, it is through analysis of the mediation of such discourses which serves to consolidate the durability of the race and crime nexus.

Race and Crime nexus

Along with the bi-annual publication of statistics on race in the criminal justice system, a perennial concern within the sociology of deviance and the sub-discipline of Criminology has been the contentious debate as to the relationship between black people and crime. Whilst racializing concepts of black people as criminal can be detected within the early theories of Cesare Lombroso (Bowling and Phillips 2003, Spalek 2008), the following section is concerned with the emergence of recent academic criminological explanations as a method to appreciate the contemporary problematisation of the black people in Britain.

Included within Lea and Young's (1984) 'What is to be done about Law and Order' was a specific chapter relating to what emerged as the 'race and crime' debate. Presented as an uncompromising rebuttal of criticisms put forward by Paul Gilroy and colleagues in a series of papers relating to 'The Myth of Black Criminality' (see Gilroy and Bridges, Gilroy, etc.). At the core of this debate lay the emergence of official police statistics, which attests to an overrepresentation of black people as involved in the offence of street robbery. Specifically, Lea and Young cite figures, which suggested that, 36% of victim reported crime of 'robbery and violent theft' in London was perpetrated by 'coloureds' (1984:140). For Lea and Young then, such figures were

indicative of the 'reality' of black crime, which served to confirmed a shift in the criminal behaviour patterns of what was a previously crime-free or low crime cohort of the population. What Lea and Young succeeded in was the attribution of street robbery or 'mugging' (Hall et al 1978) as the preserve of black people, which in turn became characterised as a 'black crime'.

Of particular relevance here, the race and crime debate was precipitated by the 'Brixton Riots' which took place between the 10th-12th April 1981, where it was reported that up to 5000 people were involved in clashes between the police resulting in 280 injuries to police officers and some 45 injuries to members of the public. In addition, buildings and vehicles were damaged and notably, such imagery was for the first time, beamed into the homes of the British public (Fryer 1984, Marlow and Loveday 2000). Similarly, disorders also took place in many other cities across the country including the Moss Side area of Manchester (Scarman 1982, Fryer 1984, Bowling and Phillips 2004). For Gilroy et al, the emergence of 'black crime' was illustrative of the construction of 'alien violence' as an important and powerful discursive tool in the hands of 'politicians and police officers'.   It is against this backdrop that both political and importantly academic debate of such 'alien violence' facilitates and legitimises the growth and use of law and order apparatus, including military policing, through 'a racist appeal to the British nation [which was] integral to maintaining popular support for the government in crisis conditions' (Gilroy 1982:47).

> '[I]ndeed the recent history of 'law and order' characterised by an increasing authoritarianism is scarcely separable from the growth of popular racism and nationalism in the period following Enoch Powell's famous intervention'.

For now, Gilroy's arguments which moved to situate the emergence of 'black crime' as representative of the need to reaffirm nationhood, a move to affirm those who belong and those who are to be excluded. So,

> 'The imagery of alien violence and criminality personified in the 'mugger' and the 'illegal' immigrant has become an important card in the hands of politicians and police officers whose authority is undermined by the political fluctuations of the crisis. For them, as for many working-class Britons, the irresolvable difference between themselves and the undesired immigrants is clearly expressed in the latter's culture of

criminality and inbred inability to cope with that highest achievement of civilisation - the rule of law' (Gilroy 1982:48).

Consequently, empowering and evoking the system of criminal justice 'accommodates the principal institutional sites in which 'race relations' are made and rendered intelligible as intractable problems of crime, disorder, violence and social pathology.' From this vantage point, the key contemporary features of criminal justice policy is not simply the process of criminalisation in an attempt to manage the problem of crime, but rather has a more far reaching utility, as a mechanism, through which to manage an array of non-criminal, social problems (Carlen 2013:32, Mathiesen 2004). Conceptually then, 'black crime' emerges simultaneously within a 'law and order' framework intentionally developed to legitimise the 'rule of law' under a guise of order maintenance. The onset and maintenance of associations between black people and crime is itself infused within the institutions of law and the construction of nationhood.

> '[T]he ability of the law and the ideology of legality to express and represent the nation state and national unity precedes the identification of racially distinct crimes and criminals. The subject of law is also the subject of the nation. Law is primarily a national institution, and adherence to its rule symbolises the imagined community of the nation and expresses the fundamental unity and equality of its citizens.' (Gilroy 2002)

The criminal justice system and specifically the police then become the site through which to manage and regulate the 'outsider'. It is this specific and direct move towards the construction of the black criminal, which facilitates and legitimises othering processes. To quote from Amos et al (1982:32).

> '[T]he ideological potency of the discourses of youth and race in the signification of social instability and change is scarcely in doubt. The recent convergence between the views of senior conservative politicians, senior policemen, _sociologists_, state intellectuals in the race field and popular purveyors of common-sense racism in the media in which black youth are seen to comprise a simultaneous criminal and political threat to the social order of this country, invokes a powerful image of black youth as 'folk devil'' [emphasis added].

In relation to this thesis then, the construct of the 'black criminal' can be utilised as resource, or as Katz and Jacobs-Jackson (2004) suggest, a 'window' through which

to reveal the predominance of criminological-induced 'false stereotypes' that (re)produce and maintain a race and crime nexus. In ascertaining the subsequent construction of the first generation and their descendants as criminal, an examination of emergent powerful criminological narratives will serve to illuminate the mediated impressions, which coalesce to facilitate their otherisation and subsequent problematisation. To this end, Lea and Young's ire is invoked by the criticism of their theorisation, related to the emergence of black crime and specifically street crime during the 1970s and early 1980s. In particular and similar to the critiques of race relations research, discussed in the previous chapter, it was stated that their criminological analysis failed to adequately account for the structural position of black people within society. The emergence of 'black crime' and 'alien violence' becomes presented as isolated from and unrelated to community policing and broader social regulation thereby reducing 'black crime' as an innate, sub-cultural feature of black people and black communities. So for Gilroy (1982:52),

> 'John Lea and Jock Young have argued that the source of the summer riots lay, not in matters of police harassment and abuse, but in the political marginalisation of inner-city communities. Their analysis is disabled by a startling ignorance of police community relations. Worse than this, the view of the black communities which they advance shares a great deal with the most conservative explanations of the conflict. They view West Indian life as characterised by pathological family relations and a high degree of generational conflict, but these are not presented as the sole source of black criminality. Discrimination, disadvantage, and economic alienation clash with inappropriate aspirations derived from the internalisation of 'British values' (sic) and this also generates the 'propensity' to crime.'

Located within the above, we can detect the persistence of analytical frameworks, which attributed to the post-war migrant including tensions in processes of assimilation and integration into British society, as an explanation for the increased likelihood of black people to be involved with crime. Gilroy and Bridges are therefore concerned at the pervasiveness of criminological theories that simplistically locate the onset of crime and offending behaviour as a consequence of 'anomic strain' (Merton 1964, Lea and Young 1984) between socio-economic alienation and the aspirations of the 'West Indian' who aspire to British values. Remarkably, it is again the limits of acculturation towards an imagined Britishness for the second generation alongside 'discrimination'

and social 'disadvantage', that produces black crime and offending behaviour. So rather than police community interactions as being relevant to the process of criminalisation, for Lea and Young (1984:128).

> 'A more plausible explanation might be to suggest that what was happening in the 1970s, and which was marginally reflected in police evidence to the Select Committee in 1971, was the failure of the Race Relations legislation of the 1960s to lay the basis for racial integration. In this context, the growth of the second generation of young black British, coming through the school system and facing…the dual process of assimilation and rejection, resulted in the growth in street crime.'

The above theoretical proposition marks common sense-making shifts in police and academic discourses of the black post-war migrant as initially uninvolved in crime (non-criminal) towards a position that positively seeks to validate a newly formed race crime nexus personified through the unassimilated violent black criminal. Critically for this study then, it is necessary to consider the notion of 'assimilation' and the extent to which the first-borns (second-generation) present as unassimilated into British society and the effects of (or reactions to) anomic strains.

There has long been a criminological history, which has simplistically served to present a linear relationship between immigration, crime and offending behaviour and broader social problems (Bowling and Phillips 2003). It is toward such theories, conceptualised within the Chicago School of the 1930s (Park and Burgess 1925) that Lea and Young turn, as a means through which to counter what they describe as the 'colonial' approach proffered by Gilroy et al. by using criminological explanations situated within the culture and subculture of the immigrant. Within this theoretical tradition, Lea and Young (1984:125) argue that 'immigrant communities must be understood in terms of their real histories, [and] not ones imposed upon them to fit in with some political preconceptions'. Following this and in utter dismissal of the 'anti-colonial struggle' approach argued by Gilroy et al as facilitating continuities in structural inequality, discrimination and racism, they challenge as 'idealistic', the proposition that a 'cultural Geist accompanies immigrants from the colonies to the imperialist city and is directly available to the second-generation sons and daughters born in the city'. Moreover, that second generation West Indians' are simply imbue with a 'home culture' from the West Indies, denies the comparatively different conditions in Britain to the West Indies

and the 'creativity and innovation of youth'. Finally, and informing a critical line of inquiry for this study, Lea and Young (1984:125) suggest that the colonial approach denies the contention that immigrant groups are heterogeneous, 'not only intergenerationally but also intra-generationally'. As such, ascertaining an appreciation of black crime necessitates a need to develop understandings of the culture from which the immigrant migrates, alongside the specific culture of the particular immigrant. Further, they argue the need to consider the 'subcultures which grow up as part of the process of adaptation to the country of immigration' (Lea and Young 1984). Therefore, the relationship between generations should be considered as a process of 'reworking' culture, rather than a deterministic process of 'transmission'. Significantly, within their theorising, Lea and Young are therefore able to dislocate the construction of 'black crime' away from the determining context of racism(s) and colonialism towards a sub-cultural discourse that locates 'black' crime within the historically pathological experience of migration and (failed) absorption into British society. It is therefore essential to reflect upon the intergenerational differences in experiences along with the perception of becoming problematised for the post-war migrants, their children and grandchildren consulted as part of this study.

In relation to black crime, subcultural theorists and approaches assert that subcultures emerge as 'adaptations' to problems faced by individuals and groups (Merton 1938). Notably, adaptations may not bring resolution to the problems experienced and consequently, adaptations reoccur because of the incompatibility between the cultural traits of the individual and group, particularly within the constraints of the cultural norms of the dominant society. Significantly, Lea and Young cite Pryce (1979) to illustrate the variability in reactions and responses to cultural and socio-economic strain such as 'Pentecostalism, Rastafarianism, hustling, and respectability'. Thus, criminal behaviour, presented as one of a series of potential adaptations, emerges from the frustration and strain of living within a hostile, alienating environment located within limited socio-economic opportunities. For Lea and Young, black crime is real, developing as a reaction to the criminogenic environments within which immigrant individuals and groups are concentrated. In addition, such adaptation or reactions are illustrative of the failures of race relations legislation. Clearly, over-policing and structural forms of oppression and discrimination are marginal explanations at best,

giving way to other more enduring explanations, which foreground cultural deficits and incompatibility as deterministic arising as it were through interactions with criminogenic environments.

In light of this, the above provides an insight into the (mis)applicability of criminologies as a means through which to observe the internal obstructions of a Sociology that reproduces negative constructions of black people. Such obstructions (re)emerge through the concealment and 'arguing away' of racism(s) as an explanatory framework through which to understand the prevalence of criminalising constructs pertaining to black people and black communities (Gilroy 2002). Detected within the work of Lea and Young, there is a reluctance to name racialisation as an intrinsic feature of the CJS in England and Wales which renders contemporary criminology 'pathological' and 'dangerous' and of limited normative value in explaining the overrepresentation of black people within the CJS (Dorling et al 2008, Keith 1993, Bourne and Sivanandan 1980). Yet, such criminologies further serve to other by presenting the social, economic and personal problems endured within a 'structurally neutral' cultural framework that accentuates a plethora of assumed cultural-criminogenic peculiarities and idiosyncrasies (Amos et al 1982). Gutzmore (1983:26) notes the convergence of a powerful

> 'crucial ideological and repressive state apparatus' of academics, the police, Home Office, the media and others - collectively providing a critical function in both the identification and mediation of the black 'folk devil'.

Yet significantly, there is a discursive blurring where, 'academics share both language and concepts with police ideologues' (ibid). So the disclosure of Sir Kenneth Newman where 'in the Jamaicans you have people who are constitutionally disorderly, disposed to be anti-authority' (ibid), sits seamlessly alongside sociologists who profess that,

> '[T[here is a penchant for violence in the West Indian culture, possibly stemming from the days of slavery…Whatever the source of the proclivity there can be no denying its existence: black youth do have a certain fascination with violence'.

> (Cashmore and Troyna 1982:32)

Such convergence are central to 'criminologies of the other' (Garland 1996) which proffer an explanatory framework within which crime becomes an undeniable feature of black 'West Indian' culture. It is perhaps unsurprising then that politicians also adopt this 'single story' (Gilroy 1982, Amos et al 1982).

The Media: rehearsal, amplification and consolidation of the black criminal other

To extend upon this theme. On 20th July 2016, The *Daily Mail* ran the header "A genteel setting blighted by sex, mayhem and the shooting of a Brixton 'gangster': How several blind eyes – and political correctness – helped Yardies invade a Surrey village idyll." The article focuses attention on the murder of a 34-year-old man at a party in Headley, Surrey. Regrettably, the article is less concerned with the fatal shooting of the partygoer, than the "impact" of guests who were "mainly from the Caribbean community in Brixton" upon the "unsuspecting folk of Headley many of them retired". The newspaper article deftly presents the image of a quintessentially English village subject to an organised party where the "earth began to shake with the sound of Reggae music". Of particular relevance, "Witnesses said several guests were suspected of being Yardies, a term for Jamaican-born gangsters originally from the backyards of Kingston, the capital of the Caribbean island". Significantly, "Detectives from Scotland Yard's Trident unit, which specialises in gang-related crime, are now helping the Surrey force with the investigation". Such newspaper articles metaphorically mediate contemporary concerns of an 'invasion' of white Englishness by the black "Jamaican" criminal other. Moreover, what accompanied the 'arrival' of the Jamaican "Yardies" incursion to the "wealthy hamlet" is serious, gun-enabled violence. For the *Daily Mail* and its readers, the incursion of the 'black Jamaican Yardie gang' via Kingston, Jamaica, is the signifier for the eventual violence, brought to 'their' English village from the 'ganglands' of Brixton. The newspaper article and the media more widely, presents a masterclass in 'melodramatic techniques', with stories of 'over the top' conflict, hyperbole and melancholia', furnishing members of the public with a pseudo-authoritative grasp of the criminogenic risks posed by black

people. The imagined black gang in such circumstances is a mediated construct that requires little explanation to members of the public (Alexander 2008, Hallsworth and Young 2008, Hallsworth 2014). Quite simply, such ideas have always been communicated on a daily basis, yet are consumed as new(s). Gutzmore (1983) noted in relation to the black mugger of the late 1970's, how local news media are key to building the localised codes which today are played out in the processes of criminalising black people. In Manchester, on the 16th August 2007, the *Manchester Evening News* graphically presented the images of predominantly black and brown faces of people who were killed by guns under the banner 'How Many More?'

Significantly, within the article there is no reference to the race and ethnicity of the victims, but the story, situated within a 'gang' discourse provides the reader with an analytical short cut, away from the contextual realities of each fatality. The news editor, Sarah Lester, reports that 'in showing the faces, it made people see them [the victims] not just as "gang members", but people'. The racialized dimensions of the story are relayed through intermittent references to the ethnically heterogeneous locations of Moss Side, Hulme, Longsight and Old Trafford in Manchester. The news effect is to associate the victims of gun violence in Manchester as gang members, residing in those communities predominated by black and brown people (Williams 2015, Williams and Clarke 2018).

Similarly, on 15th February 2016, The *Evening Standard* ran the headline 'London is facing 'a new surge' of gang killings, warns Chuka Umunna'. Within the piece, the Labour MP Umunna offers a 'chilling warning' of a surge in gang-related violence. Umunna's intervention follows the *Evening Standard's* serialisation of 'Gangs in London' which presented an ill-defined, but graphic commentary of gang feuds and 'gang wars' in London, replete with the images of young black men concentrated within the marginalised and economically deprived areas of the nation's capital. Elsewhere,

in the *Birmingham Mail* under the headline 'Inside the gangs who bring fear and misery to parts of Birmingham' (22 May 2013), Detective Chief Inspector Wallis takes the reader through the names and areas of newly emerging gangs including "The Hutton Boys, Unstoppable Terrorist Soldiers, Slash, Bang-Bang, B515s, Raiders, and the Wolf Pack." Unhelpfully, Chief Inspector Wallis offers a professional insight where "If you go to the east area where there is undoubtedly a higher percentage of Asian people, then it's no great surprise that some of the gangs there are Asian-based." In a city already infamous for 'The Johnson Crew and The Burger Bar Boys' such media representations reaffirm the 'dog-whistle' to conjure the imagined black gang within the consciousness of the public and significantly, to jury members within the court arena. Within the above examples, it is possible to detect media effects and strategies which serve to affirm the continuity and durability of negated constructs of black people with crime and more specifically violent crime. From here, racialized criminalisation recognises the interplay of power relations through which negative and detrimental constructions of particular groups are created and sustained (Phillips 2011, Quraishi and Philburn 2015:13, Alexander 2004). The cumulative effects of such relentless reporting results in the presentation of black people as 'suspect' necessitating increased surveillance and regulation (Hillyard 1993). The racialisation of crime then emerges as a feature of the interactions, encounters and social constructions, aroused through dominant criminal discourses and narratives, which coalesce to preserve a consciousness, which propagates the black criminal other (Phillips 2012; Alexander 2008).

There are continuities through which negated constructs of black people and serious violent crime remain as a contemporary staple of mediated constructs of black people in Britain. For example, the 'English riots' of 6-11 August 2011, which followed the fatal shooting of Mark Duggan, by the London Metropolitan police saw media and academic attention confined to 'reading the riots' to ascertain the factors that triggered 'the most serious bout of civil unrest for a generation' (Lewis and Newburn 2012). Yet, less scrutiny was paid to the misleading police/media construction of Mark Duggan as a 'well known gangster' who was 'heavily involved with criminality' (Barkas 2014). Through an excellent commentary entitled 'Framing the death of Mark Duggan', Barkas reconstructs the significance of a concerted strategy of (mis)information or

'gang-making' (Smithson et al 2013, Williams 2015) from 'unnamed police sources' to media outlets which presented Mark Duggan as "part of a gang linked to Jamaica's 'Yardies'" and associated with 'Manchester gangsters'. Within this process, the attribution of the gang-label necessitates a motive, which emerges through police 'intelligence' that Duggan 'intended to kill someone with a gun' with this story furthered by the *Telegraph* newspaper which announced that this was to be a retaliatory 'tit-for-tat murder'. The 'spectre' of Mark Duggan as a 'violent gangster' becomes amplified and cemented through media 'gang-speak' with the funeral of Mark Duggan reported as "Gansta salute for a 'fallen soldier'". It is noteworthy that Mark Duggan had never served a custodial sentence, having only two minor convictions, one for handing stolen goods and another for cannabis possession (Barkas 2014).

To develop upon the theme of mediated representations, Alexander (2008) considers the soundbites of politician and media commentators, which powerfully transmit the cultural deficiencies of the Black and Asian community. Among the examples highlighted are Tony Blair's 2007 response to a spate of serious violent offences in London when he declared that 'knife and gun murders in London were not being caused by poverty, but a distinctive black culture'. (Blair 2007) Also, following a ministerial visit to Manchester, Chris Grayling, the then shadow Home Secretary reported witnessing 'urban warfare' which prompted him to liken the 'streets of Moss Side to an episode of The Wire' (Osuh 2009). Yet again, whilst it is noteworthy that Grayling does not make explicit reference to 'race', the deft reference to Moss Side symbolically and potently, alongside the suggestion of urban warfare, reaffirms the association between the black community and criminality. Similarly, Blair's comments serve to absolve his government of its responsibility in responding to the problems of serious violence by attributing this to the communities within which such violence occurs. More explicitly however, following the aforementioned 'English riots', the historian David Starkey declared that,

> "the whites have become black, a particular sort of violent, destructive, nihilistic gangster culture has become the fashion … which is this Jamaica patois that has intruded in England. This is why so many of us have this sense of literally a foreign country" (O'Carroll 2011).

It is worthwhile to pause here for a moment. Within the above, Starkey illustrates the continuities in the representation of 'riots' as an expression of 'alien violence'. Offensively, Starkey conflates 'riot' within a 'gangster culture', with its roots seemingly found in Jamaican. Moreover, the reference to a 'patois' and the contamination of white people by a pervasive and destructive culture of black people finalises and completes his black people and criminality nexus and their deleterious effect upon white British society. Clearly, and despite the assertions put forward by Lea and Young above, black violent crime as a concomitant of a violent expressive culture was transmitted from Jamaica to Britain.

Above, the statements and pretentions of criminologists, politicians and media commentators signifies the perceptions held and mediated within British society. Yet, a further appraisal of a number of official and academic studies into the contemporary phenomenon of the violent gang implicitly offers a lens through which to detect the proliferation of unstated associations made between young black men, youth violence and 'gangs'. So, in an attempt to rationalise the inappropriately titled 'Die Another Day: a practitioner's review for preventing gang and weapon violence in London', Jonathan Toy (2008) references Gunst's (1996) 'Born Fi' Dead: a journey through the yardie posse underworld on the 'rise and establishment of gang and gun crime in Jamaica'. Toy goes on to state that the 'rise' was the result of a

> 'political power struggle that used the social and economic inequalities to breed generations of violent behaviour and as a result, generations of violent gangs'.

Again, violence as intergenerationally transmitted serves to affirm the conceptualisation of young black men as involved in gangs as deterministically driven by Jamaican cultural deficiencies. Such constructs can be academically positioned within an 'underclass thesis' as advocated by Murray (1991, 1994). In the book 'Reluctant Gangsters', John Pitts (2007) argues that the onset of gang-related offending behaviour relates to its proximity to a number of socio-economic and criminogenic cultural factors. These factors are associated with the high prevalence of 'female headed households', the absence of legitimate (employment) opportunities, the overwhelming influence of anti-social and pro-criminal lifestyles including 'hip hop

culture' particularised through gangster rap, the influence of Jamaican politics and the exploitation of UK drug markets by international 'Yardie' gangs.

Similarly, some academic writers demonstrate an awareness of the stubborn criminological taboo which associates Black youth and violent crime, Joseph and Gunter (2011) draw together the multiple complexities of the global economy, and the advent and dominance of neoliberal social and economic policies to show that the poor have become trapped within a cycle of deprivation and poverty. Significantly, within this construct, Black people find themselves 'shut out' of mainstream society and residing at the bottom of the economic ladder. This economic powerlessness leads to the inevitable 'strain', which results in frustration and rage and therefore facilitates the adoption of alternative social and cultural values that promote and normalise gang membership and violence. It appears that, in being unafraid to confront the 'criminological taboo', Joseph and Gunter's ethnographic study alerts the reader to the inadequacy of black culture to insulate young black people from the 'on road' culture of 'gangs' and the systemic socio-economic inequality that abounds in London.

To understand this 'pathological criminology', Garland (1996:461) posits that, within the discipline of Criminology a dualistic, ambivalent and polarised response to the offender has appeared, characterised by the development of a

> '[C]riminology of the other…of the threatening outcast, the fear-some stranger, the excluded and the embittered. [It] is concerned to demonize the criminal, to excite popular fears and hostilities, and to promote support for state punishment.'

It is through such criminological thought that we can better appreciate the sustained misconstruction of Black people as the criminal 'folk devil' which has served to initiate negative criminal justice encounters and the racial over-representation of black people within the CJS of England and Wales. It is this realist criminology, presented as 'taking crime seriously', which has mercilessly driven punitive crime control measures and regulatory responses towards the 'outsider' and the 'stranger'.

> 'Just go to any club in Dalston, East London, or Brixton in the South, look at the gold, the jewellery, watch how the action mixes with the ragga and the jungle, look at the

swagger, listen to the patois: the guns are not just instruments they are sexy, his is not a job, it is excitement, this is not an alternative to work, it is a sensual riposte to labour'

(Young 2004:59).

For Young above, along with Pitts, Joseph and Gunter, and others, such research alludes to a 'seductive' lifestyle of the 'gang' and more broadly, criminal behaviour as a palliative to the 'strains' of residing in economically depressed communities characterised by pathological mothers, brothers or Others who, neglected by absent fathers and lacking legitimate opportunities, are drawn into crime. However, such factors offer at best, a weak causal explanation for the majority of young people labelled by the police and other control agencies as 'gang-involved', associated or on the periphery of gang-involvement.

In a direct rebuttal of the above propositions a number of recent studies (Williams 2015, Williams and Clarke 2016, Clinks 2014, Lammy 2016), suggest the conflation of what they describe as 'dangerous associations' involving the racialized construction of particular groups and individuals as (re)presenting 'risks' (of harm) which advertently initiate police interactions and encounters. Specifically, constructions of black young people as disproportionately involved in 'gangs' has served to explain and legitimise ethnic disparities in policing practice. Within this context, rather than conceiving of stop and search then as a seemingly random extemporised encounter with unintentional, yet racialized disparities, this approach foregrounds as significant police-definitions, as imposed, upon particular groups and communities and how such definitions drive over-policing and the quotidian encounters between young black people and police. To this end, the following drawing upon the work of Williams and Clarke (2015) will utilise the gang as a resource (Katz and Jacob-Jackson 2004) through which to illustrate the contemporary criminalisation of racialized groups and communities. From the outset, Williams and Clarke utilise a range of official and police data sources relating to the ethnic profiles of individuals registered to police gang database and data lists within the three geographic locations of Manchester, London and Nottingham. Manchester data gathered from the Greater Manchester Police, Xcalibre Task Force as part of the Manchester Ending Gangs and Youth Violence (EGYV) problem profile developed in 2012/2013 was presented alongside analysis

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undertaken by Bridges (2015) drawn from a Freedom of Information (FOI) request examining the ethnic composition of the Metropolitan Police's Trident 'Gang Matrix'. This found that, similar to Manchester, the vast majority (87%) of nominals on the Metropolitan Police's 'gang matrix' were defined as belonging to a Black, Asian or Minority ethnic background. Furthermore, data from Nottingham reflects that the police's Vanguard team also identify 64% of Urban Street Gang members (USGs) as being from a minority ethnic background, against 36% who were categorised as 'white'. From their simple analysis, it is clear that the gang label is disproportionately attributed to BAME people, when compared to both the size of the BAME populations within each of the cities presented and the numbers of white British people flagged or registered as involved with gangs. From Manchester, through to Nottingham and London, the gang is racialized to predominantly black and brown men. Placing this data in context, narratives regarding the creation of police gang team's such as Xcalibre, Trident and Stealth reveal how the response to 'gangs' was racialized from their inception. The Metropolitan police's Trident unit, like Xcalibre in Manchester, was conceived as being a response to 'black on black crime' within BAME communities. Furthermore, such units were established on the basis that the police perceived that they were unable to engage with 'communities' in their response to violent crime. However, gang databases compiled by such police units have a policy and operational significance that develops over time, potentially failing to respond to the changing nature of the defined problem (Clarke et al 2012). This is revealed in Manchester, where the significant reduction in the levels of 'gang related' firearms discharges and fatalities (between 2004/2005 and 2012/2013) has not been accompanied by a reduction in the resourcing of gang units. Paradoxically, the reduction in 'gang-related' firearms discharges and fatalities has been accompanied by an increase in the number of (police) reported gangs. Of significance, the work of Williams and Clarke 2015, also demonstrates that the 'gang' and youth violence cohorts were distinct. The analysis further illustrated a stark disconnect between the two groups, and pointed to the significance of 'race' and ethnicity in explaining this disconnect. Therefore, within Manchester and London it is BAME people who are overwhelmingly identified and registered to 'gangs' lists, although they make up much smaller proportions of those perpetuating serious violence.

However, there is a danger that the omnibus categorisation of 'race' and ethnicity to BAME conceals the attribution of the 'gang' label to specific BAME groups. Further analysis therefore reveals that the 'gang' label was particularised to the 'Black' group - those categorised as belonging to the 'Black British', 'Black Caribbean', 'Black African' and/or 'Black Mixed' groups (Williams and Clarke 2015:12). So, where the 'Black only' group is compared to 'non-Black' groups (including 'White' individuals and those classified in the police data as being from other minority ethnic groups) we can conclude that the gang label is significantly attributed to Black men, whilst a significantly reduced proportion of Black individuals are located within the serious youth violence cohorts. These findings, focusing as they do on young 'Black British', 'Black Caribbean', 'Black African' and 'Black Mixed' men, offer an opportunity through which we can begin to consider the problematic nature of the 'gang' and its use as a resource to criminalise racialized groups.

In light of the above criticism of Criminology, it is arguable that social research should be concerned with a more in-depth interrogation of the processes and practices that facilitate the attribution of the 'gang' label to young Black people. To this end, it is evident that the police as 'definers of crime' resolve any gang definition conundrum (Smithson et al 2013) through the production of 'intelligence', which irrefutably informs policing responses to the gang. This intelligence further conspires in 'decision-based evidence-making' (Silver et al 2014) produced by researchers who uncritically accept the police databases and lists of predominantly young Black men as the starting point of their studies. It is notable that John Pitts' study into the 'Reluctant Gangster' of Waltham Forest in London utilised the 'intelligence' gathered by the police. Arguably and as shown above, reliance upon such sources of information can only serve to 'rationalise policing reconstructions of reality' (Keith 1993), especially when adopted within a 'neutral social science approach to the study of "gangs". In light of a (social) reality of policing and criminal justice practices, which results in the differential treatment of Black and Asian people throughout all stages of the criminal justice system, it is clearly untenable not to consider that the racial composition of the English gang is yet another feature of racialized policing.

By way of demystifying the above contradictions, Hobbs noted that the definitional debates intrinsic to the 'gangs discourse' are overlaid with political considerations and the need to attract funding in difficult financial times. As such, 'the harder researchers look, the bigger the gang problem becomes.' Therefore, it is not inconceivable that the police and community stakeholders engage in a process of 'chasing gangs' as a strategy for attracting government funds and resources. The gang industry of England and Wales is contingent upon the maintenance of a discourse requiring the police and the wider CJ agencies to quantify the danger and 'risk' posed to members of the public. Further, within austere times, the criminal justice mantra that 'resources follow risk' serves to incentivise criminal justice agencies, voluntary and community sector organisations to adopt 'gang speak' and 'risk talk' to qualify for increasingly limited resources. It is not inconsequential that the allocation of government funding resources to tackle the effects of the post-English riots in 2011 was contingent on the number of reported gang members in any given area of England and Wales. Within this context, it is no exaggeration to assert that the gang as presented within a Manchester and London construct is a product of the CJS sustaining the gang narrative, or, as Fraser and Atkinson (2014) suggest, 'making up gangs'. Consequently, the research shows that the profile of the police-defined 'gang nominal' is demographically unrepresentative of those young people who perpetrate harms associated with serious violence in Manchester. Therefore police strategies conceptualised around a racialized construct of the 'gang' will never be effective in arresting levels of serious violence, but can only serve to 'perpetuate and legitimise the racist over-policing of BAME people and communities in England and Wales'.

Memoried racialisation

> 'since its inception criminology has enjoyed an intimate relationship with the powerful, a relationship determined largely by its failure to subject to critique the category of crime which has been handed down by the state and around which the Criminal Justice System has been organised.'

(Hillyard et al 2004:18)

As discussed within the previous chapter, Ould's archival analysis of newspaper articles and outputs from the year 1958 identified a pervading consciousness that the

arrival of black immigrants in Manchester was accompanied by a series of social problems. Critically, Cockcroft's sympathetic collection of articles captures the attribution of 'vice' with the arrival of 'strangers in our midst'. More importantly, the article acknowledges a 'triple link up' or the conflation of 'vice' and 'blacks' within the Moss Side area. Here then, Moss Side as a reference point *becomes* synonymous with 'dark strangers' and dark strangers become synonymous with 'vice'. The pre-existing social and economic problems of the Moss Side area therefore became repackaged, looped and mediated (Fraser and Atkinson 2014) as coinciding with the arrival of the black Jamaican immigrant. The above is significant in relation to this study emerging as a central line of inquiry. To what extent was that first-generation of Jamaican migrants, and their descendants aware of 'vice' *becoming* attributed to their presence? Moreover, and as discussed above, the emergence of such constructs were accompanied by increased contact and encounters with the police and wider social and penal regulatory agencies in response to a black criminal other. The continuities then of mediated representations of age-old signifiers to connote the black immigrant, their children and their grandchildren are replicated through Grayling's reference to Moss Side, Blair's reference to cultural deficits, "not poverty", to Starkey's concern with the contamination of white people by a wholly false "Jamaican Patois". Alongside, newspaper references to "gangs", 'single-headed households', worklessness, riot and violence.

Remarkably, there is little reference to the views, narratives and experiences of those of whom the research, studies and newspaper articles speak. They are 'strangers' and their strangeness is magnified by their silence. They are the textual objects about which realist criminological theories and research knowledge is constructed and disseminated to inform of the effects that the presence of the black immigrant has on the wider society. They are storied, trapped within a destructive narrative around which their stories are concealed. Still further, the narrative becomes memorised, retold, enacted and utilised as a resource through which to subjugate their experiences, their understanding. The effect of this 'strategic silencing' (Harris 2009) is that understandings of the experiences of the first generation, their children and grandchildren become lost in the 'empirical haggling' of academics, politicians,

activists and media commentators. Whilst simultaneously, control agencies continue their incursion into the lives and communities of black people (Williams 2015).

To develop this further, recollections of riots and popular urban uprisings are often precipitated by instances of extreme police violence and over-policing perpetrated against black and brown people living within communities characterised by 'high ethnic heterogeneity'. The vexed and strained history of police (black) community relations, alongside infamous myths of muggers, rioters and local gangs endure within police 'canteens', multi-agency gang units being amplified further by an increasing range of local mass media. Haining et al (2007:13) notes that 'police perceptions may be influenced by particular past experiences and attitudes as well as what is or is not remembered.' Of importance here, the study found that police respondents believed that 'high intensity' areas for serious violence were those that were characterised by 'high ethnic heterogeneity', despite contradictory evidence presented by police recorded crime data. In other words, the police perception of 'unsafe areas' was premised upon the 'degree of concentration of minority ethnic people'. From here, criminal behaviours 'racialized as black' become an imagined quotidian feature of 'what is remembered', and of what is concealed within the collective memories of local police areas. Racialisation recognises the interplay of power relations through which negative and detrimental constructions of particular groups are created and sustained (Phillips 2011, Quraishi and Philburn 2015:13). Its cumulative effects result in the presentation of black people as 'suspect' consequently demanding increased surveillance and regulation due to the 'ascription of criminal characteristics'. The racialisation of crime then emerges as a feature of the interactions, encounters and (social) constructions, aroused through dominant CJ discourses and narratives, which coalesce to preserve a consciousness, which propagates the black criminal other (Phillips 2011; Alexander 2008). Yet, racialized criminalisation is not only confined within the collective memory of police, but as has already been discussed above, can further be detected within the contemporary work of sociologists and criminologists. Within this context, criminologies have maintained as its normative project, the identification and representation of the black criminal other (Williams 2015, Carlen 2013, Spalek 2008, Bowling and Phillips 2003). That is, those characterised as outsiders who infringe the normative boundaries of contemporary British society.

Conceptually, the 'other' corresponds as a feature of a dominant 'community of values' which serves to articulate the 'non-citizen' and 'failed citizen', the 'them', from the 'us'. The identification and attribution of (an)other is communicated and augments the evocation of State regulatory penal strategies through which to preserve 'us' (Anderson 2013, Jewkes 2011).

When conceptualised as story, the black criminal is presented as a simple, digestible construct of problematic black communities, evoked as the Other who approximates toward the imagined boundaries of white British society. With this in mind, how then do the families of post-war migrants negotiate and interact with such mediated constructs? As a feature of everyday experiences, what is the effect or impact of such mediations upon those who reside and live in Old Trafford, Manchester? Again, this study will explore such questions within the fieldwork stage of this study. The extent to which research participants are aware of and more important how they interact with such dominant mediated constructs will facilitate our understanding of the experiential presence within Britain.

Conclusion

The above discourses relating to the presence of black people in Britain marks a shift away from a 'dualistic racist/anti- racist dialogue towards a more nuance 'new racist' discussion of nation and belonging' (Gilroy 2002). As illustrated through the work of Ould (1993), 'race' or the presence of black people becomes 'synonymous' with moral and social decline, a transcendental signifier for the imagery of urban decay, poverty, frustrated and problematic youth and the violent 'gang'. Implicitly, the pathologising tendencies detected within Patterson's 'Dark Strangers' allude to the unassimilable features of the Asian community due to a distinctive culture, 'their own religion, language and a considerable amount of internal organisation and control'. Paradoxically, within mainstream criminology, such factors were at one time presented as 'protective', that is insulating young Asian men against the strains and onset of offending behaviour and crime (Maguire 1995, Williams and Durrance *forthcoming*). Yet today, such cultural 'distinctions' are deployed as a powerful discourse to explain

the emergence of young Asian men's involvement with crime as a rational device through which to vent their generational strains.

Above the 'empirical haggling' between Gilroy and Bridges and Lea and Young illustrate the tensions intrinsic to academic debates of crime, crime causation and importantly, how to respond to crime. Academically, the 'other' is increasingly conceptualised within the discipline of Criminology with a particular focus upon the prevalence and involvement of black people within the criminal justice system. Criminal justice statistics and wider societal deprivation indicators continuously point towards the over-representation of black people at all stages of the Criminal Justice process and more alarmingly to their concentration within the lower strata of British society. As intimated earlier, the contemporary representation of Black people as 'gang-involved' or as (re)presenting 'terror' testifies to the perennial and continued construction of black and brown people as the perpetual 'folk devil' and as an enduring problem within British society (Kundnani 2015, Cohen 2002). Whilst contemporary criminologists continue to offer up 'empirical evidence' of the factors associated with the onset and prevalence of black crime and offending behaviour through a burgeoning gang construct. Such studies are invariably 'co-opted' by state agencies (the Police Service, National Offender Management Service (NOMS) and the Youth Offending Service (YOS)) to inform social and criminal justice policy responses to the prevalence of harmful and criminal behaviours. Yet, what persists in the large swathes of criminological research, studies and reports is a criminology which gravitates toward the characterisation of the culturally pathological and deterministic peculiarities of black individuals and communities. It is noteworthy that such analyses have been subject to substantial and worthy challenge from a number of critical criminologists (Williams 2015, Smithson, et al 2012, Hallsworth and Young 2008). While the relationship between the role of academic research and researchers and the statements of politicians is clearly not linear, the symmetry in their discourses that problematise black culture is clearly worthy of further investigation. Particularly with reference to how black people and communities interact with such constructs. Historically, Keith remarks 'it is important to realize that it was in no small way through these early academic exercises in "race relations sociology" that, in 1967, the Home Office called for the appointment of liaison officers to help overcome the "cultural

barriers" between police and coloured communities' (Keith 1993:13). Unsurprisingly then, the State's response to the perceived threat/concerns has resulted in the emergence of regulatory strategies and devices (the crime control industry) (Christie 1993), as instruments for tackling the perceived 'problems' that particularly impact upon or are prevalent within the black community. Clearly, dominant discourses emerge from the daily proliferation of social scientific materials and paraphernalia, which continue to reinforce the negative, constructs and ideas related to black people and particularly the Jamaican. The contribution of social research and sociological approaches has often been viewed as a facilitator, a conduit, through which, albeit 'well meaning', research plays a role in marking the normative boundaries from which the othering of black people occurs. Attempts to understand the negated position of black people and their involvement in crime as an inevitable consequence of their structural position and socio-economic status in British society are increasingly untenable. That black people are more likely to be concentrated in depressed criminogenic areas of society and that this should logically result in their higher concentrations and involvement with crime and offending behaviour (Lea and Young 1982) simplistically reifies those explanations of crime causation pertaining to the strains of an advanced marginalisation (Winlow and Hall 2016). However, the correlation of crime as related to the social, economic and criminogenic environment within which black people live again culturally pathologises the onset and prevalence of crime and offending behaviour. These explanations are derived from a long history of positivistic, sub-cultural theories that locate offending behaviour within the criminogenic culture of the individual or neighbourhood (Gilroy 1982).   As a consequence, social control and state regulatory responses towards the 'outsider' and the 'stranger' have taken centre stage which now inform the development of criminological discourses, and contribute to the appeal of policies as a strategy and tool for regulating and disciplining the behaviour of immigrants and their families (Cohen 2010, Ajzenstadt and Shapira 2012, Smithson et al 2013). Criminalising the other offers a frame through which to better appreciate the sustained (re)construction and continuity of the black male as folk-devil and the perennial problem of over-policing and over-representation of black people within the Criminal Justice System (CJS) of England and Wales.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Whilst there is a lack of certainty as to the precise numbers of immigrants that arrived from the Caribbean in the 1950s, approximate figures suggest that in 1951, 2,200 immigrants arrived from the West Indies, reaching 26,400 by 1956. Significantly, in 1961, the year before the act became law, the number of West Indian immigrants had reached 61,600. Taken together, some 238,200 immigrants had entered the UK (Patterson 1963, Rose et al 1969). Whilst the above does not indicate the number of immigrants who returned to the West Indies, figures gathered by the British Caribbean Welfare Services in 1957 estimates a rate of return between 150 and 200 persons each month with a notable surge in 1959[6], which further complicates the estimation of the size of the black population (Patterson 1963:49). Regarding the literature reviewed within the previous two chapters there develops an academically informed social construction of the post-war migrant as presenting with a range of cultural traits, characteristics and features presenting as problematic within the context of British society. At its core, such constructs serve to inform an official dominant view which asserts that the negative socio-economic problems of accommodation, employment, education, etc. arise due to the cultural incompatibility of the black migrant. Such a discourse suggests that they were ill-equipped to navigate complex industrial societies (Pryce 1978) and to appreciate the 'bountiful' opportunities of mainstream British society thereby inhibiting their successful integration. The anomic strains then that consequently envelope the black immigrant necessitate a series of adaptations to blocked opportunities as a means to alleviate the pains and frustrations of social, economic and political marginalisation. Of significance, researches have placed on statistical record the eventual (and disproportionate) involvement of the first generation of post-war black immigrants, along with their children and grandchildren in crime and offending behaviour, emerging as both a simplistic, yet powerful discourse which reaffirms their possession of pathological cultural traits. Finally, the 'mild antipathy' of the 'host' community alongside the emergence of racism as a quotidian feature of the lives of black people signifies their exclusion and marginalisation from mainstream

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[6] Possibly attributable to the events in Notting Hill, 1958

British society (Patterson 1963, Lea and Young 1982). Paradoxically, it is their reactions to the strains and frustrations of marginalisation and racism(s) graphically illustrated through 'uprisings, riots and political campaigns' (Hall 1978, Gilroy 1987, Amos et al 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1984) that evidences and reaffirms their incompatibility amid an array of individualised factors that inhibits absorption into British society.

Yet, within the above accounts the research object of which the researches and outputs speak are strangely silent. The enactment of immigration controls and policies to facilitate successful race relations policies are seemingly devoid of the narrated and subjective experiences of those black and brown people, for whom such policies were reportedly implemented to support. Similarly, the incursion of the criminal justice system responds to the representations of black and brown people as criminogenic 'risks'. They are the dark strangers to be avoided, managed and controlled, they become 'suspect' (Hillyard 1993). It is in here that there resides an official discourse, a dominant narrative of the historical emergence of Black people in England. Further, this dominant discourse is not THE story of the post war Black immigrant but one derived from analysis of the politics of the 1950s and 1960s amid structural analyses of sociologists. This official discourse is suffused with the stories and narratives of the powerful - it excludes the lived realities and experiences of the first generation. As a result, the lived experience of Black immigration and settlement in post-war Britain has become *silenced* and 'crowded out' by the more official institutional narratives. Clearly then, this study seeks to facilitate the narratives/discourses, through story(s), as a means to understanding their experiences and the process through they detect their difference and otherisation.

For Anthony (2013:67) the previously discussed outputs are representative of a positivistic sociology and criminology that serves to reaffirm the imperialist 'boundary' markers of 'civilised and uncivilised', of those who correspond to the imagined nation and conceptualisations of Britishness. Further, the boundary markers serve to exclude those conferred as uncivilised. They become endowed with the legal marker of non-citizen (Anderson 2013). Through this research, the researched *become* the decontexualised object, who are enveloped within an enduring (strategic) silence

(Harris 2009), that conceals their motivations, desires, dreams, aspirations, failings, fears and concerns. A silence, which consumes their humanity. Still further, and to be developed below, positivistic social researches are argued to be complicit in representing those who travelled aboard the Empire Windrush in 1948, and now their dependents as an Other. They become disposal as political objects or what Anthony (2013:70) defines as 'national objects' to be 'moved or removed from the nation at will' and to satiate new or unexpected crisis. Their perennial reconstruction serves a political and cultural utility to perpetually present the black immigrant and/or the black criminal Other as 'manageable objects that sustain the stability and viability of whiteness'.

From the outset then, the research approach adopted for this study will centre and foreground the voices, stories and emergent narratives of ten families from the Old Trafford area of Manchester.   Drawing upon the virtues of narratology, intergenerational family stories will be utilised as a resource, sensitively developed within a qualitative and humanist framework within which the present research methods are built (Plummer 2001, McAdams 1993). The research conversation is the principle method employed through which this study will enliven and accentuate the subjective experiences of the first generation of individuals who arrived from Jamaica, along with the narrated experiences of their children and grandchildren. Notably, the conversation as research method will serve to democratise the research process, shifting the locus of power away from the researcher to the researched (Garland 2005, Phillips and Earle 2010). Thus, the research approach is explicitly reliant upon the stories of hitherto concealed voices as a means to illicit and appreciate the experiences, perceptions and understanding of the processes of political and social otherisation encountered through the families 'migrations' within British society.

The research aim is,

- To develop an appreciative understanding of the processes through which the families of Britain's post war Black immigrants from the Caribbean, and in particular Jamaica, perceive their construction as the 'other', negated as outsiders and 'underserving' of the benefits and entitlements afforded the British citizens.

- To intergenerationally excavate the narratives of ten families from the Old Trafford area of Manchester (Thompson 1964, Plummer 2001) through which to (re)construct and understand contemporary social positions of the descendants of the post war Jamaican immigrant. Indeed, we are concerned with an appreciation of their perceptions and their understanding of the process of becoming (an)other.

Roots of Otherisation

As highlighted in chapter three, Sociology and particularly, social research have been criticised for creating racial hierarchies that 'institutionalise oppression and discrimination, through the production of the Others'. Yet, no group can conceive of itself as the 'one' without conceiving of and defining the 'other'.

Consequently, the research (and academic) value of the Other can be found in its appropriation in various academic disciplines representing varying methods of analysis and forms of social inquiry. Yet, social research identifications of the Other develop from the cultural and social processes linked to the dominant context-specific themes of any given society. The social identification, categorisation and 'ontologisation' of the Other (Ahmed 2000) then marks the imagined boundaries of the community and hence the methods for inclusion (Ajzenstadt and Shapira 2012, Anderson 2013). Otherisation and those who are conceived of as the Other are representative of the dominant and pervasive norms which result in the suppression of their difference (Spalek 2008). Consequently, those who reside outside of the moral boundaries and 'regimes of power' are Othered, they are 'the devalued - and their voices and perspectives are largely suppressed'. The above discussion signals the limits of positivistic approaches for appreciating the subjectivities of those who migrated from Jamaica following the Second World War, due to a preference and reliance upon quantitative and statistical forms of knowledge production. Similar critiques and challenges have been devoted to the outputs of qualitative research.

Whilst sociological research is presented as normatively concerned with getting to know the 'other', Vidich and Lyman (2000) reference a more problematic origin of such

research, particularly with reference to Europe's 'colonising strategy'. Qualitative social research then is acknowledged as complicit in the cultural production, construction and pathologisation of the non-European, as other. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) demonstrate how qualitative social research in its pursuit to understand the 'other' became a 'metaphor for colonial knowledge' intrinsic to the development and legitimisation of European imperialism and colonialism. When considered within its colonial context then, research was the *objective* way of representing the 'dark skinned other to the white world' (2008:2). Characterised as a feature of and related to early social anthropology, the 'ethnographic enterprise' develops through excursions to foreign countries to study the culture, customs and habits of (an)other human group. Denzin and Lincoln continue that 'ethnographic reports of these groups were incorporated into the colonising strategy', that informed governmental and imperialist ways in which to control the 'foreign, deviant or troublesome Other'. Yet, to be developed later, there remains an uncomfortable relationship between (social) research, governmental policies and regulatory strategies. Jenkins (2008:17-18) in further discussion of anthropological models identifies the key features that unwittingly distanced the 'them' from the 'us' and further, affirms the 'similarity between the different sorts of 'them''. Characteristic of a distinctive feature of early social anthropology was the conceptual framework through which to understand and inform the 'tribe'. Conceptually, the tribe emerges from an orthodox *assumption* that primitive people were organised into tribal groups and in turn were conceived of 'as a real, substantial social entity' *becoming* 'central to the theoretical and methodological development of social anthropology'. It was through these early ruminations that negatively informed constructs through such research begin to emerge. First, the identification and categorisation of the tribe led to the demarcation of the 'tribal' and 'civilised' society in both 'commonsensical and analytical discourse'. Secondly, the reconstructed tribe, afforded early anthropologists a conceptualised device through which to understand the nature of 'non-civilised social organisation'. The subsequent disciplinary development and theoretical modelling of anthropology facilitated the investigation and theorisation of the 'Other' through an assertion that the 'tribe' was 'biologically self-perpetuating' with members sharing basic 'cultural values'. Herein, we can appreciate the methodological and theoretical continuities, which persist in modern realist equivalents, involving the examination and theorisation of 'race' and

ethnic groups (Back and Solomos 2000). Yet, rather than a need to undertake excursions to 'faraway lands', the emergence of the post war black immigrant necessitated systematic government-funded research studies to 'understand' and appreciate the 'cultural peculiarities' of the immigrant as a policy-making requisite that served to facilitate the assimilation and eventual integration of the Black 'outsider' into British society (Bourne 2008).

Such approaches as outlined by Jenkins therefore facilitates an understanding of those approaches which serve to contribute negatively fixed constructs and ideas of the Other. For Baumiester and Newman (1994:677) such approaches represent the *paradigmatic mode* of thought, which offer individual and group context-free abstractions seemingly pointing towards general laws being situated within the 'sphere of science, logic and mathematics' which deliberately transcend the particular, and the individual in favour of abstraction. In this regard, abstract inferences about personality and cultural group traits necessitate 'paradigmatic thinking' in terms of setting up generalisations that mercilessly subsume the individual. Arguably, research developed within this tradition derived from a positivist position premised upon a number of central assumptions. At its core, positivism posits that the social world can be understood measured and explained utilising research approaches more commonly associated with the natural sciences. Such approaches are concerned with the pursuit of objective and quantifiable 'truths' which can reliably be replicated, reproduced, measured and retested for causality. Epistemic knowledge then is derived principally through the quantitative interrogation and manipulation of the social world through rigorous statistical analysis. So rather than the earlier inferences of reality as being socially constructed, there is a fixed objective reality, to be understood through the adoption of quantitative methods and analysis.

Critically, positivism demands the isolation, identification and manipulation of social facts. Of significance in this regard, the social researcher must be objective, neutral and systematic in their testing of theory, deductively emerging throughout the research process. Moreover, for the positivist social researcher, objectivity and value neutrality are sacrosanct and therefore subjective biases are to be overcome and eliminated from the research process. At its core then, the application of methods and practices

located within the natural sciences are the only 'rational sources of knowledge' (Hammersley 1995:2) and as such, in order to acquire social facts and generalizable laws, positivist methods and approaches should be applied in and to the social world. Moreover, the use of quantitative method are centralised as ideal to developing accounts that correspond to independent reality as scientific reality consists of universal laws. (Hammersley 1995:2).

Yet,

> 'There are no objective observations, only observations situated in the worlds of – and between – the observer and the observed' (Howe 2004:29).

Therefore, it is incumbent to highlight the basis of such approaches in relation to social research related to 'dark strangers'.

It is the above approach to social research that is fixated upon the elucidation of difference, that serves to empirically ontologise (an)other (Ahmed 2000). It is from such approaches that the passengers aboard the Windrush emerged from the daily proliferation of social scientific materials. The 'counts', the 'percentages' the 'proportions of', all serve to inform the public of their presence, raising an awareness of 'strangers in their midst' (Ould 1993, Patterson 1963). Whether, this be government commissioned outputs that sought to address the tensions and challenges as exposed through 'Colour and Citizenship', or the ethnographic insider-accounts of 'Endless Pressure' reportedly endured by the Jamaican community in Bristol. Still further, such narratives and discourses can be detected within the theoretically State informing treatise presented in 'What is to be done about Law and Order' (Lea and Young 1984). Yet, even in the astute theoretical and visionary insights presented in 'Policing the Crisis', it is not the community's experiences that are presented as the focus for attention, but that over-policing and punitive regulation of black communities is incidental, a resource or as suggested earlier, a 'political' and 'manageable' object (Anthony 2013) through which the State reacts to hegemonic crisis. Consistently, such academic, official or activist work, offered up the abstracted textual object, the 'Dark Stranger' who travelled from Jamaica to England, and at times unwittingly and at other times, intentionally served in the otherisation of the post-war migrant.

There was therefore a need to resist the harmful othering of those who contributed their stories to this study. To this end, the study was inspired by and employed the strategies advocated by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) to guard against such tensions.

Writing against othering

A central criticism of race relations and criminological research is that its outputs are ahistorical, decontextualized bodies of work, which results in the pathologisation of those who arrived to Britain from 1948 and specifically black people of Caribbean descent (Amos et al 1982). In their discussion of research conducted on women in poverty, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) highlight a number of mechanisms and processes that left unchecked serve to other hitherto marginalised and unheard groups within the process of undertaking research and/or academic writing. In light of the central focus of this study, it is essential to summarise these mechanisms as an aide and personal strategy to minimise otherisation. As discussed earlier, a feature of 'pathological' sociology and criminology is a tendency to objectify the researched participant through the 'subjugation of their common humanity' and their individual complexity by ignoring or resisting their personal perspectives (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012:300). Their *objectification* may result in negative stereotyping and the application of inferiority traits associated with the other. It was Harris (2009) who observed that mediated constructs of post-war immigrants served to present them as 'textual objects' devoid of agency and simplistically presented as economically deterministic (Sivanandan 2008, Bourne and Sivanandan 1980). Objectification then also serves in *decontextualisation*, that is a focus upon behaviours, traits or characteristics that are 'abstracted from the context within which the behaviour occurs' (Krumo-Nevo and Sidi 2012:300). This, it is argued contributes to the portrayal of behaviours as having no reason or rationality and therefore becoming construed as a pathological trait of the individual and/or the group under investigation. Accompanying decontextualisation is a strategy that serves *dehistorization*, a preoccupation with and focus upon the present. Consequently, the subject is detached from the 'personal individual history of the research participants'. Dehistorization results in the (re)presentation of research outputs as a seemingly novel and 'new problem' necessitating a State response

(Wilkins 1964, Cohen 1973, Hall et al 1978). Within the context of this study then, dehistorization neglects the significant relevance of British colonial history through which post-war migration was made possible and further how pre-war Jamaicans conceptualised their self- and cultural- identity. Here then, outside of their historical context, the black immigrant emerges as devoid of rationality, innately deterministic and essentialised as 'dangerous' (Sivanandan 2008, James and Harris 1993). Finally, and critical to this study, there is the tendency of qualitative social research to *deauthorize*, which is to produce a perspective that is external to the research participant/subject, essentially reducing the participants to 'given objects' and obscuring the ways in which they are the product of research and the researchers interpretations. The powerful and harmful discourses that reside behind the veil of deauthorization are endowed within an incontrovertible authority, increasingly insulated from counter-critique of counter-challenge.

Respectfully, this study is cognisant of the harmful effects of objectification, decontextualisation, dehistorization and deauthorization. Critically, the above makes clear the particular features of social research, which have served to Other those connoted as the 'Windrush' generation.

To this point, the construct of the 'Windrush' generation has been used utilised uncritically as a noun to collectively describe those individuals who migrated from the Caribbean in 1948. In observance of Krumo-Nevo and Sidi, my use of the term serves to reaffirm those who migrated as part of a homogenous whole, as a real perduring entity. 'Windrush' profoundly illustrates the effects of otherisation in social research. As a construct, it presents a dehistoricised and decontexualised moment in post-war migration history. In embracing the clarity offer by Krumo-Nevo and Sidi, the 'Windrush' term serves as a transcendental signifier, obscuring the subjectivities of those agentic men and women who migrated to England, thereby further accentuating their otherisation. Consequently, the use of the term 'Windrush' within this study further denies the voice of those subjects who boarded the Empire Windrush, who subsequently disembarked as textual objects, deterministically driven by the whims of Patterson's push and pull factors. In respectful acknowledgement then, this study from

this point will refrain from using 'Windrush' as a noun to mitigate the effects of otherisation upon the families to be included within this study.

There is no one story

The self is conceived through our daily interactions and encounters throughout society. How the individual interprets, responds and reacts to every daily occurrence can only be appreciated and understood with cognisance of 'biography, structure and history', through understanding the individual (Plummer 2001, Wright Mills 1970). With due regard to the potentially harmful and damaging effects of qualitative research, the approach to be embraced for this study, 'is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world' (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:4) drawing upon a set of interpretive material practices that render the world of the 'subject' visible (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Importantly, and significantly for our purpose, such interpretive practices can be employed to open up and transform the world.

Drawing upon the work of Plummer (2001), this study acknowledges the empowering features of qualitative approaches and specifically narratology. Narrative approaches involve,

> '[C]oherent stories about particular experiences, which are temporally structured and context sensitive. Narrative is the mode of thought that best captures the experiential particularity of human action and intentionality, and it involves reasons, intentions, beliefs, and goals'.

(Baumeister and Newman 1994: 677)

Denzin (2008) points towards the emancipatory features of qualitative methods and their strength in giving voice to the powerless. The appeal of this approach for this study lies in the accumulation of empirical materials such as 'case studies, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artefacts, cultural texts and productions, observational, historical interactional and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives'. (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:4-5). Through the employment of multiple methodological practices, this approach offers

a strategy that adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to social inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:7). Coupled with this, the (reflexive) researcher engages in a range of interpretive practices to reconstruct a clearer understanding of the 'subject'. When undertaken with care and reflection and in cognisant of the structural relations of the researcher-researched relationship, this approach can directly 'resist' the othering effects of qualitative research highlighted earlier. Although discussed specifically in relation to narrative techniques of resisting othering, the approach

> "displays the goals and intentions of human actors; makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes; humanizes time; allows us to contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives.'
>
> (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2012: 301)

Plummer (2001) vociferously promotes the repositioning and (re)centring of the 'human' within the social sciences. His humanist aspirations are set upon the premise of the human being as the 'story-telling animal'. Whilst carefully acknowledging the harmful effects of qualitative approaches discussed above, where the story can be used to 'legitimise the negative', Plummer demands that we recognise that there is "no one story". This position supports that of Ngozi-Adichie (2009) who earlier warned of the 'dangers of the single story', which has inspired me to revisit and reframe the dominant 'Windrush' story. Yet further, Plummer cautions that a story never stands on its own, that is, it is deeply social, it is dialogic (2013). Therefore, there can be no one perspective or 'correct' telling of the story pertaining to the emergence of Britain's black population. '(E)ach telling, like light hitting a crystal, reflects a different perspective on any given incident' (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:8). To hear stories and the 'stories we live by' (McAdams 1993) offers an opportunity to appreciate the experience of being human. Furthermore, to listen to the voices of those who migrated from Jamaica to England opens up new worlds that illuminate our understanding of those early experiences. So from the outset,

> "[Y]ou don't immigrate once, the main trip, I mean, you're immigrating all the time. From the moment you arrive to the moment you die, you are always immigrating." (Cottle 1978)

"[I]t was only in Britain that we became West Indians" (Professor Stuart Hall in interview with Gary Younge 2002).

"…I did not know I was a coloured man until the English told me so. Somebody referred to me as a coloured person on the bus once and that was the first time." (Ratcliffe 1981:23).

Deftly, the quotes above demand a reappraisal of hitherto dominant ideas of those individuals who arrived in England following the Second World War. They offer a different view, suggestive of concealed voices demanding to be heard. Therefore, within this study, story(s) are respectfully employed 'as resource' (Plummer 2013). That is, the stories of those who arrived in England following the arrival of the SS Windrush will be utilised to enlighten their experiences and perception of becoming construed as (an)other, pervasively constructed and responded to as the 'other'. This approach serves to get inside those experiences, the realities of daily life, of that first generation through which to reconstruct those hitherto unheard histories of those previously deconstructed and fragmented so as their stories became silent and their experiences marginalised. The above quotes are also suggestive of momentary interactions within which the individual becomes aware of and acknowledges a difference which lend towards a process of self-defining as 'outsider'. Significantly, as a process, it appears marked by episodes that may contravene hitherto settled conceptions of self. Importantly, this process is arguably less to do with individual pathology/maladjustment and more an awakening to and acknowledgement of a previously unconsidered or unaware 'outsider' status. It is therefore of significance that this study is undertaken outside of a framework which posits individualised cultural pathology and deficits which have dominated investigations into the problems experienced and endured by post-war immigrants, towards the exploration and identification of awakenings evoked in events and episodes that necessitate reappraisals of the individuals identity. Of importance then, the research method adopted for this study must be able to excavate and ascertain the processes through which the post war immigrants become conscious of a seemingly imposed status. Moreover, to what extent did they consider themselves to be (an)other within their everyday interactions that facilitate and/or 'awakened' such an acknowledgement.

For Plummer, it is through the telling of stories that 'all sorrows can be borne'. Significantly, the story can facilitate a challenge to the perseverance of harmful discourses and positions manipulated by institutional narratives, which have come to dominate our understanding(s) and through which we characterise post war migration to England. Whilst set against these institutional narratives, there is a need to employ a research strategy that facilitates the appreciation of alternative discourses and explanations of the Jamaican immigrant. Conceived of then as a 'strategy of resistance', this repositions the experiences of the families under investigation. In particular, there is a need to allow for the deconstruction of the dominant story in order to reconstruct the 'multiplicities of narratives' through the voices and stories of those who travelled. In advocating for the developing of minority perspectives in Criminology, Phillips and Bowling (2003) argue that there is a need to push away from those more generalised discourses towards a perspective that centralises and articulates the lived experiences of specific black communities, which takes into account their histories and identities. Moreover, such a methodological approach is concerned to avoid the further objectification of the other – that is subjecting the researched to yet another social science gaze (Garland 2006). Importantly, 'there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity.' (Denzin and Lincoln 2008: 29). It therefore follows then that 'individuals are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts or stories of what they have done and why.'

The Research Site

The research undertaken for this study engaged ten families from the Old Trafford, a location that sits within the Metropolitan Borough Council area of Trafford in Greater Manchester. By way of explanation, Old Trafford as the research site was selected as there remain families and a community where the first generation migrated from Jamaica before 1962. Specifically and again with reference to the arrival of the Empire Windrush, early reports (see discussion in the introduction) indicated that the majority of those who disembarked were of Jamaican descent. Importantly, and not to exclude

or negate wider Caribbean, African and Asian migration, in seeking to disrupt the dominant 'single story' it was decided upon early in this study that a particular focus would be placed on the Old Trafford community of Greater Manchester.

Old Trafford is comprised of two council ward areas, namely Clifford and Longford. Combined, Clifford and Longford are described as 'densely populated wards at the north east tip of the borough', neighbouring Hulme and Whalley Range (see map below). Clifford ward in particular is known for its 'very diverse' population, vibrant communities and active community groups recently acknowledged as the 5th most integrated place in England and Wales (out of a total of 160 places) (Policy Exchange 2016). However, it should also be noted that there are wide gaps in social deprivation with Chorlton Road within the Clifford area ranked 1798, which is located within the lowest decile, through to Longford (Edge Lane) which is ranked at 18204 (Trafford Council 2017).
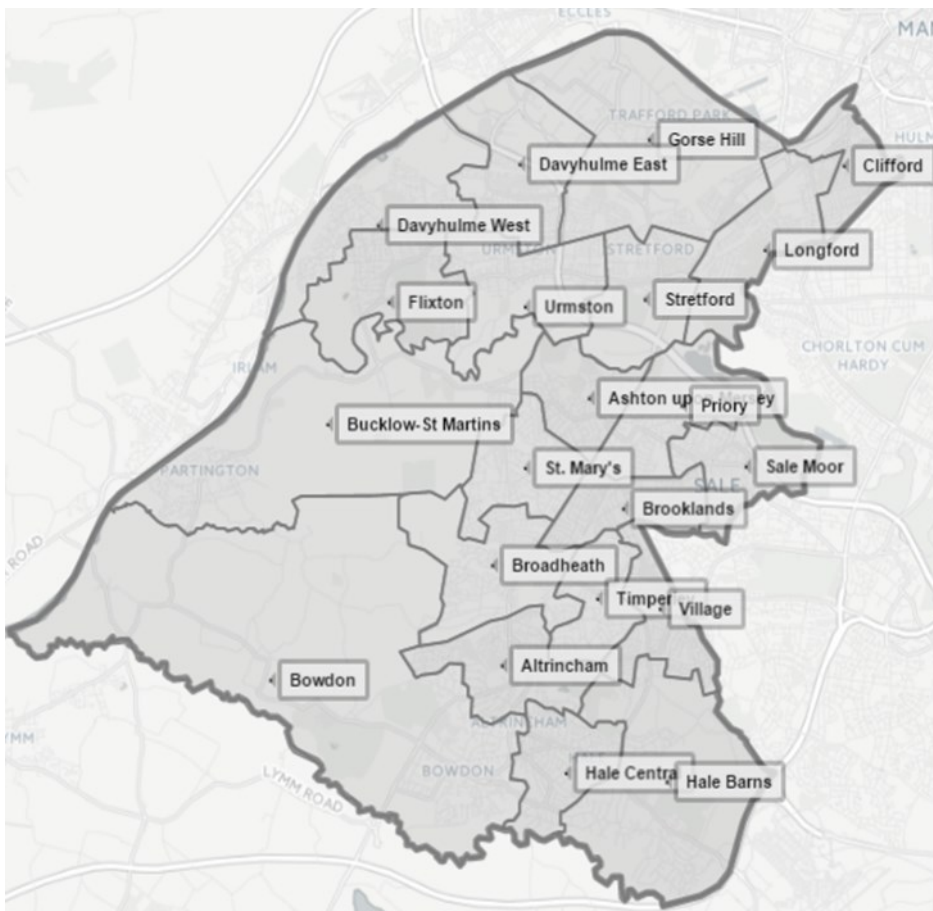
Source: Trafford Innovation and Intelligence Lab

Concerning race and ethnicity, data taken from the last available census shows that the black British/Caribbean, and (Black Caribbean and White) Mixed accounted for 11% of the population for the Old Trafford area. Today, the largest non-white ethnic group within the Old Trafford area was the Pakistani and Indian group.

Race and Ethnicity for Old Trafford area
(n=24166)

Group	Percentage
All Other Ethnic Groups	50%
'Caribbean' Group	11%
White British Group	39%
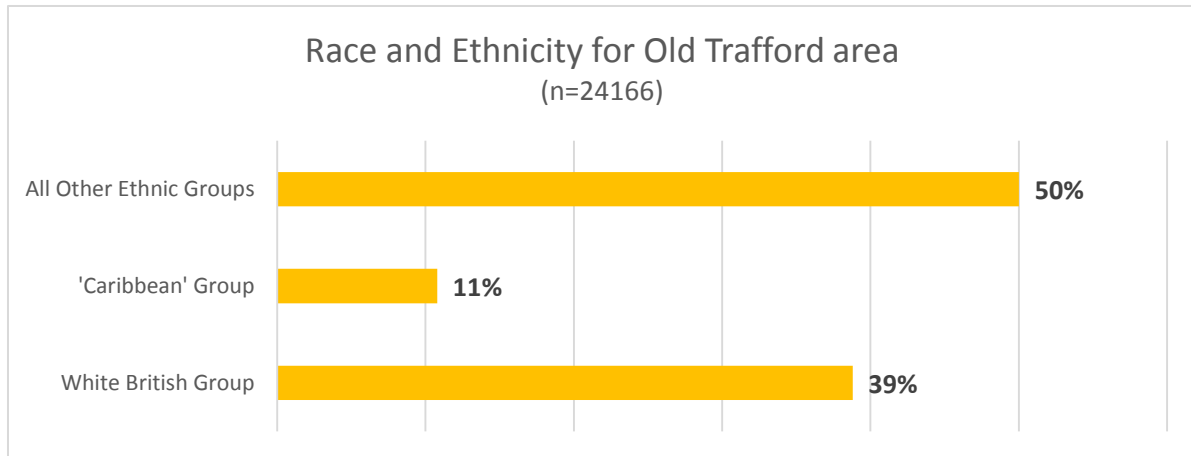
Source: Trafford Innovation and Intelligence Lab

Numerically, 2606 people of Caribbean descent live within the Old Trafford area. It is noteworthy that whilst this study is concerned with those families of Jamaican heritage, it was not possible to disaggregate this data. Whilst the above figures provide some indication of the numbers of individuals of Jamaican descent within the Old Trafford area, it is not possible to discern the changing nature of the community within Old Trafford. However, information from the 1971 census, a point in time which all the families included within this study were present within the Manchester area, indicates that there has been a significant shift in the size of the black population. It is further noteworthy that the official data retrieved from the Trafford Borough Council website is predominantly concerned with the presentation of a range of socio-economic data to ascertain the living standards and 'quality of life' of residents living within the Trafford area.   Again, such information can only offer a partial, limited and decontexualised impression of growing up and living in the Old Trafford area.

Methods

Philosophically then, this study is couched within a radical humanist paradigm (Plummer 2013) building upon the humanist tradition of Plummer referenced above, the ontological position of this study determines that human understanding, the perceptions that we derived from our experiences are impressionistic of a myriad of encounters and social interactions (Wilson 2016, Harries 2014, Howarth 2006). Therefore, appreciations of those subjective experiences of living and growing up in Old Trafford is better ascertained epistemologically through the stories and narratives of individuals and their immediate family. A further aspiration of this study is to move towards a reconstruction or excavation of their 'history from below'. Such ideas are borrowed from the discipline of History as a means through which to

> 'explore the historical experiences of those men and women whose existence is so often ignored, taken for granted or mentioned in passing in mainstream history. [T]herefore the study will be concerned with reconstructing the experience of a body of 'ordinary' people…trying to understand people in the past, as far as the modern historian is able, in light of their own experience and their (perceptions and) own reactions to that experience.'

(Sharpe 2001:26)

In moving towards a discussion of the precise method to be deployed in this study, it must also be acknowledged that qualitative approaches are also subject to interpretations which have historically contributed to the otherisation that this study desires to resist. To again acknowledge this, from the outset Amos et al (1982) challenge the research methodologies adopted in early race relations research into black people. Criticisms point toward the incorporation of methods without consideration or regard of the structural position of the researcher against the researched. For them, without due regard to the relations of power and the structuring features of racisms, the uncritical social researcher will,

'fail to acknowledge the extent to which the replies they get may be actually determined by their position as white 'authority figures' in a situation where power relations are reproduced in and through racism' (Amos et al 1982:22).

It is noteworthy that the above criticism should not only be concerned with the 'race' of the researcher, but also other structuring features such as, gender, class, ethnicity and age (Phillips and Bowling 2003, Phillips and Earle 2010). It is equally important to acknowledge that on one level, subjectivities and the positionality of the researcher can facilitate the exploration and examination of hitherto 'hidden' experiences of minority communities, yet other subjectivities can lead to the misrepresentation of the histories and experiences under investigation.

'At any stage of a project, from the initial phase of articulating a research question and deciding on the sampling strategies and methods to be used, through to the analysis and writing-up phases, different aspects of a researcher's self-identity will influence the outcomes. Exploring which aspects of self-identity become influential during research and examining the impact that these aspects have on the study being undertaken can enhance our understanding of the relationship between self-identity and research, and can highlight the micro-processes involved in perpetuating dominant knowledge constructions.'

(Garland et al 2006:432)

The above critiques whilst levelled at the 'race relations' researcher are similarly of relevance to this study. Clearly then appropriate steps must be implemented to fiercely manage and guard against such risks.

Based upon the methodological position outlined above, this study will employ in-depth interviews or what I better conceive of as 'conversations', with three cohorts of Black Jamaican migrants and their families. While similar to the open-ended interview, it is my view that the research 'conversation' facilitates a more meaningful retelling/understanding of histories, experiences and of events for the actor. The research conversation enables an intimate, careful and respectful space for the telling of stories outside of the scripted methodological approaches advocated in many a research textbook. To listen to stories within the context of a conversation enables

the development, recounting and (re)telling of the motives, drives and experiences of migration to Britain. The basis of the research conversation acknowledges the potential emotional challenge in 'giving birth' to stories. Stories are the "memories of the past that assembles us" (Plummer 2013). As such, the method is mindful of the 'therapeutic qualities of storytelling where the conversation can 'repair damaged lives', 'give us accounts of ourselves' and provide a space within which to make 'personal sense' of the self. The adoption of the conversation(s) is therefore to act as a conduit to the development of narratives through the (re)telling and recounting of life experiences through story. For Riessman (2000) the use of such approaches can resists the 'dehumanising tendencies' of qualitative social research and afford a less dominating and more 'relational modes' of interviewing. Further, it facilitates the democratisation of the research space, conceding power to the researched and thereby encouraging participants to follow their 'associative trails' and in turn organising meaning in their lives. Specifically, narrative analysis takes as the object of study the story itself, as a resource through which we can 'gather people around them' (Riessman 2000:4). Pertinently, stories pertaining to the constructions of imposed identity of hitherto 'defiled' groups can reveal 'shifts in language over time' to illuminate the contextual experiences within which the story is being told. So,

> 'for narratives to flourish, then there must be a community to hear; …for communities to hear, there must be stories which weave together their history, their identity, their politics.' (Plummer 1995:87).

The research conversation affords an approach that elucidates the intersections of 'biography, history and society'. It is only through the conversational telling of 'personal stories' that 'personal troubles' can be representative of and inform of the social, the historical context, situated within a political context. Yet whilst there is a broad tradition in the use of narrative methods, this study will draw upon a method reliant upon the excavation of the 'discrete story through extended accounts' (Riessman 2000). Such a strategy firstly unashamedly embraces at length, extracts of research conversations from the research participant (Cottle 1978). Formal data analysis then remains limited evolving out of the stories, the words and text, rather than the preconceived ideas of the researcher. Further, such an approach respectfully hears the discrete and individual story. Added to this, Riessman (2000:7-8) and

Plummer (2013) acknowledge the complex and messy nature of narratives which are temporally situated and where narrators 'look back on and recount lives that are located in particular times and places'. Throughout, such notions are further complicated where we incorporate intergenerational narratives of three generations (James 1993, Chamberlain 1998). Specifically, this study then uniquely presents familial narratives across three generations of ten families in order to appreciate the shifting contexts, discourses and experiences of families of living in Manchester.

'Cum mek we reason together'.

My parents first moved into a shared house in the Rusholme area of Manchester before buying their own home in Old Trafford in 1968. I was born in Withington Hospital, Manchester in 1970. I am one of ten children. Three of my brothers and my sister were born in Jamaica eventually coming to England in 1969. Within Manchester, the areas of Moss Side, Rusholme and Old Trafford was a key point of arrival for those who had travelled from the Caribbean. Consequently, many of my childhood and family friends have histories born from our experiences of living within the south central Manchester area. To excavate, retell and appreciate those early moments is an uppermost motivation for this study. To draw upon those collective memories through research conversations facilitates my desire to understand our parents, family members, family friends and other members of the community as to their arrival to Manchester, England. Clearly, the stories and narratives of those early years are evolving into mythology (McAdams 1993) to eventually become retained only within the memories of future generations or the leaves of books on bookshelves. It is with this in mind that this study facilitates the process of capturing a fragment of some of these stories and experiences as a testament to those early "pioneers". As 'we age not by our years, but by stories' [Maza Dohta].

In order to hear the 'stories we live by', my position within the research moment, alongside my history and biography cannot be concealed. To draw upon (McAdams 1993:11)

"If you want to know me, then you must know my story, for my story defines who I am. And if I want to know myself, to gain insight into the meaning of my life, then I, too, must come to know my own story. I must come to see all its particulars the narrative of the self – the personal myth – that I have tacitly, even unconsciously, composed over the course of my years. It is a story I continue to revise, and tell to myself (and sometimes others) as I go on living'.

In relation to the above, the following necessitates a reflection of my positionality and its significance in the recruitment, method and analyses of the families' narratives.

To converse is to create a space within which two or more individuals can talk and in which 'thoughts, ideas and feelings can be expressed.' The conversation is an informal discussion, requiring the creation of a space within which people can engage in in-depth dialogue. Critically the research conversation diverges from the data 'extracting' intentions of the more formalised research 'interview', in that the conversation is initiated and contingent upon a recognition of the familiar. To 'reason together' in true conversation requires a knowing, a lived appreciation and understanding of the giver situated within their history and biography. Central to the numerous conversations that informed this study then, is reciprocity.

The stories and narratives I heard as part of this study instantly evoked within me a sense of the familiar. I had heard these stories before, I had lived through these moments, concocted my own myths as a way to make sense of those now historical 'back then' moments. In hearing WL disclose that sensation of disapproval when he "got together" with his (white) wife, I was returned to my 18-year-old self, who alongside his 17-year-old pregnant girlfriend encountered a similar (familiar) disapproval. Yet what drove the disapproval? I couldn't put my finger on it. However, UJ could explained it. In conversation, MW reminded me of an encounter with my schoolteacher. After a PE session he remarked, "There's no need to shower, it won't come off." I heard it, as did my friends and yet somehow, it had become concealed in my memory – only to be aroused in conversation with my mother. Ironically, that same teacher had recommended me for a trial to play for the Manchester United under 16s basketball team. Racisms touch? I couldn't put my finger on it (Tate 2016).

At 17 years of age, I entered the white space of a pub in Urmston to meet my then boss and some other men I worked with. Whilst at the bar, I heard a man ask the person he was next to, "who's the spook?" There were no other black people in pub. I had become a 'spook' on entering that pub. The encounter compelled me to leave immediately. In retrospect, it was not a fear of harm to (my)self, but a desire to alleviate that sense of dissonance aroused in that moment which would only be relieved, dissipated once I had moved away from the unfamiliar of Urmston towards the familiar of Old Trafford.

I recall when one of my Old Trafford (OT) friends, received a black eye following a 'stop and search' encounter with the police in Stretford. Consequently, within our group, there was an anger, a frustration, accompanied by a fear of the violence that could be meted out by police. By being there, I knew that the police could harm black bodies, kill black bodies. We knew that there were deaths in police custody, that black people lost their lives in encounters with the police. Yet, it was PJ and EA (see Chapter Six) who again aroused that sensation within our conversations.

At the age of 17 years old, one of my best friends got his driving licence and we would get into his green Ford Cortina for "a drive". It was a sense of liberation, being able to go where we pleased. Yet, within a one-week period, the car was stopped by the police on four occasions. My friend's father eventually went to the police station and made a complaint. We would not have gone to the police to make a complaint, never! For us in the car, it was inevitable, normal, it was how the police ALWAYS responded to seeing young black men in a car. Was it because we were young, or that we were black or did the police have an aversion to green Ford Cortina's? The familiarity of the stop, of the whispered comments, the tuts of disapproval, the 'knock back' from nightclubs and bars speak of my familiarity, a knowing. This knowing evokes feelings of anger, shame, embarrassment, humiliation and togetherness, camaraderie, love, understanding and 'getting it'. In 'being there' you get it. In fact, only by being there can you get it (Chadwick et al 2017). The families' stories were therefore a mirror within which I saw my own reflection. I was a part of their family and they were an integral part of my family. For Plummer (2001) the story is contagious, a reciprocal interaction secured by the familiarity of having been there.

Alongside this and in accordance with the convention of qualitative research approaches, I kept a diary. The diary served the purpose of introspection and reflection encouraging me to delve deeper into our/my story through reflection of the stories I had heard. My research diary then was co-produced, an object encountered and demanding to capture my emotions, my reactions to the complexities and ambiguities of the stories told. It became a place where I could record the 'myths' that are constructed to make sense of our selves.

Diary entry (25th June 2014). Headed: 'democratising the research process'.

From interviews to conversations. It is in light of the above that I pronounce a departure from the constraints of the formalised approach to fieldwork and data gathering. The experience of previously undertaking interviews is somewhat alien to the fieldwork I am currently undertaking. Within the context of power, a linear or structured strategy for capturing stories/narratives, the awe with which I enter that [research] space is more akin to a conversation than interview. This acknowledgement/departure is more than semantics, and more the 'democratisation of the research space'. This is not simply about giving voice to the first gen, but an acknowledgment that the space is not mine and cannot be owned by myself. That I am not the author of these stories, responses, outpourings. That this is a two-way process, a 'conversation' between two people who share similar values and coincidental and eventual history. A learning of me, a discovery of who I am and how I came to be here in Manchester speaking to those who lived where my grandparents [who I never met] and their parents lived. A history somehow now conjoined – yet clearly disconnected. I have left the conversations, seeing the world through my conversationist eyes, yet with a familiarity (a déjà vu) that has not been undone by time. That WL had an experience almost symmetrical to my own was somehow reassuringly painful, his drive to resist, challenge and overturn his otherisation – struck accord with my drive to resist, challenge and overturn processes of otherisation.

The conversation then is driven through an acknowledgement that any 'interview schedule' is [redundant] until my conversant has utilised the space as their own, until they have been able to tell me what they want me to hear. [MF] once informed me that I must allow them to say what they want before they say what I want [to hear]. Initially I took this to mean that I would have to listen to lots of 'nothingness' as a means to my research ends. I now know this was preparation for instilling within me an acknowledgement and understanding that the conversation commences not from my questions but from our shared respect and knowing of

one another. Furthermore, this 'nothingness' as similarly acknowledged by Baumeister (1994) is precisely the basis [narrative] that informs my research question.'

Critically, 'knowing one another', arises from that understanding and appreciation of cultures, ethnicities and histories. Evidently, I now realise that the recruitment of families to this study commenced long before the PhD study began - as a resident of Old Trafford, the community within which I was raised, it is the familiarity of the geographical confines of Old Trafford that binds me to the research families. Beyond the stories which inform this study, I have always known the families and they have always known me. Yet, geographical location alone is not indicative of familiarity. Simultaneously, the familiar converges with an *authenticity* in order to initiate meaningful conversations.

You see, I know that 'back home' refers to Jamaica. I know that Mr Lee's is the name of the best fish and chip shop in Old Trafford, which is on Henrietta Street (despite what some people may say about the Stamford Street chippy). Being from Old Trafford means that family funerals take place at St. John's Church, with the wake (or "after") taking place at St. Alphonsus. That is where BR of the first-borns went to a school. St. Alphonsus was one of a number of Catholic Schools in Old Trafford, where many of the white kids from Old Trafford went. The majority of black children went to either Seymour Park Primary School or my primary school - Old Trafford Junior School, which was on Stretford Road.   In Old Trafford, Mrs Reid's Bun shop was on Shrewsbury Street, where they used to sell the best (hot) buns and Lamb Patties. The 260 or the 261 bus would take my brother and I to school in Sale via Firswood, Stretford, Ashton-on-Mersey, which at the age of 11 years felt like the 'edge of the world'. To know Old Trafford is to know that our walks to and from primary school were accompanied by the sweetest smell (ever), which drifted across Old Trafford from the Duerr's Jam factory (honestly there was nothing like that smell!) In Old Trafford, Uncle Joe cut your hair – consequently, we all knew what your parent's 'attempt' at a haircut looked like. In all our homes, the 'front room' was hallowed ground, where only very special guests were permitted to enter. With this in mind, it was evident from the same pictures and artefacts in our homes that 'Christ was the Unseen Guest'.

I know this because it is a critical part of my being. It is intrinsic to my understanding of Old Trafford. To not know, would raise questions as to my authenticity, to my sense of belonging. Furthermore, 'authenticity checks' arise as a facilitator or initiator of conversation. Equally, authenticity checks serve to demarcate the parameters of disclosure and 'trust'! I recall a conversation with Irish friends in Old Trafford who informed me that when meeting Irish people on holiday abroad, that the first question asked would be 'Which part of Ireland are you from?' This question would be followed up by, 'which school did you go to?' Such questions to those unfamiliar with Northern Irish socio-politics are a search for familiarity a simple method to elucidate affiliations as a definitional or identity marker of your upbringing and to ascertain which side you are on. Likewise, in Old Trafford, the questions relating to your family name or which part of Jamaica is your family from serve to set the (trust and disclosure) parameters of the conversations, ascertaining the authenticity of the 'researcher' who wants to know 'your business'.

The First Generation

The first cohort were those Jamaican migrants who came to England between 1948 and 1961/62 - that is, prior to the enactment of the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962. The emergence of the Black immigrant is oft presented as a critical moment in the establishment of Britain's contemporary Black population and hence the formulation of constructs in relation to the Black population. Through the work of Patterson (1968), there is some evidence that following the enactment of the 1962 Act, Black immigration to Britain was significantly (although temporarily) curtailed. In addition, the parameters of the cohort recognises that migration was undertaken during a time of 'free movement' of British citizens and therefore the decision to migrate and experiences of arrival and settlement may be qualitatively different to those who migrated where exclusionary immigration controls were effective.

The First-borns

The second cohort is made up of those children who were first born (in England) to the Jamaican first generation. Anecdotally, it is suggested that the lived experiences

for the second cohort, hitherto referred to as the second generation, was qualitatively different to those of the first generation (James 1993). One significant factor to differentiate the first from the second generation was that first-borns were required to attend full time education and therefore social interaction within British society was mandatory. In addition, the emergence of the second generation occurs simultaneously with structural and economic changes within a Britain moving toward the breakdown of the post war consensus (Hall et al 1978). As such, their presence is marked and considered within the significant changes of late 1960s-1970s Britain.

The 3rd Generation

The third cohort is made up of the children and dependents of the second cohort (first-borns), and who will hitherto be referred to as the 3rd Generation. Significantly, developing narratives of this group will facilitate an understanding of the perceptions and understandings of a more contemporary view of the grandchildren of the first generation cohort.

Conceptually there was a view that the intergenerational nature of this study would illuminate continuities in the narratives attributed to the families under investigation. Still further, there exist an assumption that perceptions of and reactions to otherisation are discussed, storied and transmitted from one generation to the next and as such, the narratives given will illuminate how each family detects and recognises their construction as different within British society.

Toward theory

Critically, this study was inspired by the principles located within Grounded Theory (GTM), advanced by Cathy Urquhart and originated by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. Grounded theory facilitates the in depth, rigorous analysis of qualitative data for the purpose of theory generation. At its core, is the proposition of generating theory from the data, for my purposes gathered through the conversations adopted for this study. The key characteristics then of this approach reside within the *theory building* basis of GTM where the researcher should avoid utilising or incorporating *preconceived theoretical ideas* prior to commencing the research. The crucial analytical processes are *'constant comparison'*, 'where every slice of data is compared with all existing

concepts and constructs' (Urquhart 2013:16), and *theoretical sampling*, where further and future sampling is driven by the data analysis (Urquhart 2013). In acknowledging GTM, the research approach serves to inductively develop theory through the reoccurring features of the stories and conversations given. Controversially, the approach here is not that of incorporating or utilising computer-aided technologies to assist the analysis phase of this study, but to listen, to hear and to listen again to the stories presented and to detect, the particular features of lived realities that illuminate their experiences of *being* in British society. GTM offers the researcher the opportunity to move away from those *structural* and *commonsense* research approaches that facilitate the development of knowledge outside of the concealment of voices and in turn, the abstraction of the 'ordinary' people. The theoretical appreciation of the families within this study is therefore contingent upon the stories, narratives and emergent discourses of the families.

Sadly, conversations with the first cohort required exploring the stories of a now older group. With this in mind, it is essential to ensure full information was granted to inform consent. As someone with almost twenty years of research experience gaining access to the first generation cohort felt strange. For example, one of the first generation participants has cut my hair since I was a toddler. As a result, he was an awe-inducing, respected and loved member of the Old Trafford Jamaican community. However, my formal approach to UJ for a research conversation went as follows.

> "**UJ, I'm doing a study into those people who came to England from Jamaica so I can get an understanding of their experience**[7]. Wha dat mean? **Can I come and speak to you about what it is like living in Old Trafford?** Yes, come round anytime wen yuh ready. Just push de door an cum in. **I will also want to tape-record our conversation.** Jus cum when yuh ready."

Whilst previous strategies for gaining access to research participants can at times be difficult, there was a simplicity in gaining access to the first generation as contact was precipitated by my life-long relationship. The research relationship then was guided

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[7] Throughout this study, bold text will denote when the researcher is speaking.

by a respect for my 'elders', and a sense of awe at those men and women who nurtured and raised me. However, the above is rehearsed to illustrate the tension in undertaking a formalised research study with a cohort who I would undoubtedly regard as my wider and extended 'family'. What was apparent is that whilst a 'strange' research moment, there was still an institutional requirement to present this research as a scholarly academic study, whilst the research participants would welcome me with white rum or a Guinness and always the offer of food!

Still, the research study was informed by a clear ethical basis to prioritise the well-being of all research participants, at all times. No individual was coerced into this study (nor could they be!) with full information and anonymity offered to all research participants. On numerous occasions, and particularly for the first generation, adhering to the research convention of signing ethics forms was a little futile. The ethical exercise of signing consent forms again for individuals as 'family' was often met with "it's alright". Personally, I was not overly concerned at the convention of checking the sensitivity of the research matter and its potential effect on participants' wellbeing. Nonetheless, the research was approached with a cognisance that the (re)telling of what may at times be difficult and/or painful recollections did not unduly impact upon the wellbeing of research participants.

Further, it is unlikely that many of the family members sought out 'helping agencies' where they encountered negative experiences and as such this may be the first time that some have discussed their experiences – outside of their support/individual family networks. Therefore, strategies were considered to ensure that services were in place to which participants could be referred or signposted in the event that respondents were affected by research conversation.

The following chapters will present the findings to emerge from the research conversations undertaken with those families and individuals from the Old Trafford area of Manchester, who agreed to conversation, as a means to explore and ascertain their perceptions of becoming (an)other.

Chapter Five: The First Generation

Introduction

'Out of Many, One People.' [Jamaican motto]

This chapter presents the findings from conversations with the 'first generation' those Jamaican family members who migrated to England prior to 1962. Conversations took place in the homes and other mutually convenient sites located within the proximity of the Old Trafford area of Greater Manchester. Interviewed conversations varied in length ranging from 90 through to 250 minutes, with three of the conversations requiring multiple visits due to time constraints or where clarification was needed. The majority of the cohort were born during the 1930s, with the age ranging from 74 to 93 years of age at the time of interview, with the average being 81 years of age. Four respondents were female and seven were male. All were born in Jamaica, having grown up in different parishes, yet eventually 'settling' into the Old Trafford area of Greater Manchester.

The principle aim of this chapter is to begin the process of excavating the narratives and stories of the families who agreed to contribute to this study as a means through which explore and detect processes of otherisation as experienced throughout their encounters and interactions with others in England. Whilst the voices of the first generation were introduced in Chapter One with reference to their migration stories, the following presents their reflections and recollections of early experiences of residing in Manchester, England.

"Shocked"

> "[I arrive on the SS Solako], it was a banana boat, so it only had space for ten people on it. I was the only black person. We arrived at Southampton, me and my Trilby and my blue suit, and then I got on the train from Southampton to Waterloo all by myself. I am astonished now just to think about it. Anyway, arrived at Waterloo, bleak, very wet day, I remember it was July, but it was raining. I remember driving through London past the Houses of Parliament and thinking, my God, I'm here, I'm here. To Ealing, a very white, middle class place. I arrived in July and discovered there was a theatre call The Questers which ran a training course for actors. So I joined it in September

and met my wife on the same day. She was 16, I was 20 and three months after I arrived here, I was acting. It was an amateur set up, but they ran a first year course and a second year course and you learned voice and movement and acting. I was in heaven."

"I moved from my cousin's house when I first came to England, I lived in a lodging house with immigrants like myself and we lived in a place where the landlady we discovered by accident, rented out our room to people when we were on day work and rented the same room to people when they were on night-shift. One guy came home early one day from his shift and found somebody in his bed. She was getting two lots of rent, by renting out the room [laughs]…this is what I've come all this way from the Caribbean, with my father's snobbery and my/his sense of grand and great speaker of the English language and I live in a house where the guys are living in the same bed [laughs]. It was a salutary lesson."

[WL]

"I came on a plane. My godmother's niece was here and I came to her, so I had somewhere to live. It was during the summer, June. And I remember they had all gone to work and I was at home alone. The first day I came out, I saw this woman in front of her door scrubbing the step and that was a shock, because we were given the impression that all white people had servants. Oh yeah, that was the impression that we were given at school. Not just English, but white people had people to do their dirty work for them. But I saw this woman on her hands and knees scrubbing the coal holes and they used to have a cover and they used to scrub it when the coal man had been. Another thing that shocked me was I saw another lady walking down the street, she had a short sleeve dress on, and an unwrapped loaf under her arm and I thought what! And another thing [getting animated] the milkman would leave an unwrapped loaf on the doorstep and a bottle of milk to be picked up by the owner. That was a culture shock. That really was. Those things I will never forget. I was really really shocked. You know the difference in culture. You go into the shop and they wrap up whatever it is you're buying in [newspaper], now that sort of thing did not happen at home. So it was a real eye opener you know. And they really stick in my mind, I'll never forget those things."

[MsB]

"I think it was the Europeana. [W]hen I reach Southampton after many many days (laughs) I was shock and when I say shock, I mean shock, cause when we dock at Southampton and I look on the ship that was docked, you couldn't do that [looks up] and see the top of it. So anyway, my mate and I, we both travel together as boys and when we came to Southampton we got the underground and we come to Euston and from Euston we get a train to Manchester. **What was that like when you first arrived?** So Central Station was where we landed. Likkle did we know, wen we land, thought well, we going to get a taxi. So, when the taxi stop, we wait with amazement because the (taxi) guy came out and he went and knock this door. Which is not something we are accustomed to you know. And somebody came and open the door. By this time, when you look there was about five different family in the same house…[I] was amazed to go in and see so many of my people, into this one likkle house."

[MB]

"[W]hen I come here, my first job an dis is true, I work Monday til Friday, 8 hours a day and you know 'ow much me get fe do it? Six pouns. Six poun I get and when I get it a seh, Lawd Jeesus, dis is wha me come 'ere fah? Some people come a dis country, all £4 a week dem get. Is true. Like I tell my braddah, deese people I nevah know these people live these kinda life, til wen I come here. A dawg [dog] was living a better life, more dan dem. **When you say these people, who do you mean?** De Inglish dem. The life dem was livin. De woman dem, now dem look posh everyday. Back then, for two weeks, one dress…All de man, dem, dem pants mash up, like dem go pub and go home an sleep in dem. An a tell yu someting, it was one of the narstiest place. I nevah know seh English people did live these kinda life. Wen we come here, a lot of house neva 'ave toilet. You use to go outside deh. What dem did do was the pail and tek and trow it in the kitchen sink. De little baby in nappy, all in the kitchen sink. This is true, I tell yu."

[MG]

In contrast to the countryside, the greenery, "all types of fruit", the sun, the "good life", England presents as a series of 'shocks' for the first generation. Sheila Patterson's (1963, 1968) disclosure of a 'culture shock' at seeing people the colour of café noir or café au lait marks the genesis of a consciousness, marking an irreversible change in

the racial and ethnic composition of Britain (James 1993, Harris 2009). For Amos et al (1982), Hall et al (1978) and Gilroy (1987), the emergence of the first generation becomes a critical point of reference for a 'crisis' in the conceptualisation of British identity, indicative of a loss of empire and the erosion of British identity (Hall 1978, Gilroy 1987). However, for the first generation the 'shock' is aroused firstly in the physical appearance of England. The houses that look like "factories" with smoke rising out of the chimneys promising an abundance of work opportunities. The "cold weather", the "snow", a "bleak" country. Also seeing "my people" sharing a house was strange for MB who came from a background of not wanting for anything. WL's "snobbery" and "salutary lesson" of lodgers sharing a bed! However, the cultural shocks are more profound when considering the cultural idiosyncrasies of the English. Such shocks arise where there is a profound incongruence with trait and character expectancy (Baumeister and Newman 1994:678). That MsB believed the "English" had servants arouses within her a profound sense of shock when confronted by a white woman doing a menial task. The inculcated beliefs of the English as respectful, clean, with higher status, 'royal' are significantly undermined by what the first generation regard as culturally and educationally retarded traits connoted through the "unwrapped loaves" left on doorsteps and an ignorance of rudimentary geographic and historical 'facts'. Brutally, MG discloses a disbelief at the way in which the English were living, noting that a "dog was living better". The shock or disruption arises from the experiential differences between the colonially informed construct of the English often positively recounted through their colonial education and the reality of seeing England for the first time [Kincaid 1991, Levy 2004]. However, within such epiphanies we can detect a tension. As we will see below, WL is unequivocal that he is British. Similarly, MG alludes to the "welcome to the motherland" afforded to the Jamaicans as British colonial citizens (James 1993). There emerges then a strain between the representation of 'what it is to be British' and the cultural idiosyncrasies encountered by the first generation, which offended their Jamaican sensibilities. It is from here throughout a series of what I define as disruptive encounters that processes of differentiation and otherisation occur.

The central aim of this study involved excavating the story of the post war Jamaican migrant to appreciate any perception of becoming Othered. That is, to consider the

extent to which there was a cognisance of an emerging construction of the newly arrived Jamaicans as different, problematic outsiders. Alongside the shock related to the condition of the English and of England, the newly arrived Jamaicans become conscious of (social) distancing, of a commonly held view of them as different, as subjects to be avoided [Anderson 2013]. Within the race relations literature, whilst contested, such interactions are often conceptualised as racist, and as a product of racism. However, whilst many first generation respondents acknowledge notions of 'becoming' different, the majority of respondents dismissed racism. Arguably, the extent to which the first generation are themselves exposed to individual racism is a critical point of inquiry. Through conversations, there was an ambiguous utilisation of 'racism' as a device to explain the more negative experiences of early interactions in England. For MsB,

> "people who had been [to England] before didn't real say anything much about that. They had found work and were settling in quite nicely. They never complained about racism."

The above quote does not suggest there was no racism, but that people did not really "say anything much" about it or "never complained" about it. It is incumbent upon this study then to consider the mechanism through which racism was evoked by the first generation as a feature of early interactions and the extent to which this harnesses a sense of exclusion, difference and otherisation.

> "I didn't really experience racism until I started working and it was erm, I don't know, I used to call it ignorance. I worked in the hospitals and it would be 'why's the middle [holds up palms] of your hands so white? That's because she washes her hands all the time'. You know. 'How come you speak such good English?' [B]ecause they didn't expect us to speak good English. 'Which part of Africa is Jamaica?' Your colleagues when you worked with them, you'd find when you're out of the hospital, they would sort of walk past you in the streets, without acknowledging you. You know and I found that really strange. But as I got older I realised what it was…racism."

> "I mean people used to say things to us, but we sort of laugh it off. As you got more used to being in the country you realised what's going on. And we just have to stand up for ourselves. But it wasn't all bad, it was fun at times. And [in the hospital] of

course you were being trained, so as time goes on you could begin to do your own thing, choose where you go to [for work]. I did my psychiatric training in Macclesfield, then I came to Manchester and I worked at Springfield and then I want to Prestwich and then I decided to do General Nursing, which I did for two years. So as the years goes on, I was giving myself a better chance of employment and a choice, choose where I want to go. It was good, but I think I experienced more racism or discrimination in this area than I did when I was working out of the area. People used to say silly things but I realised that it's ignorance. They asking 'how long have you been here and you can read a paper already?' This sort of thing and you just look [aghast].

It does sound more like ignorance. It was, it was, so you just deal with it. I used to say 'I went to school'. They had no idea, you know, they had no idea about the outside world. I was amazed really about the type of education. Well I suppose Jamaica wasn't on their curriculum. Big countries like America, Africa and places like those. Not a little Caribbean island, they didn't know much about them at all. **When you say you probably experienced more discrimination around here, what do you mean?** Like, you might go somewhere and you sit next door to somebody and they probably move to somewhere else and you think 'ahhh, well, please yourself'. The next-door neighbour not talking to you or always complaining about your kids. You know, that sort of thing. But I suppose by that time I was more settled and I didn't really bother about things like that. But then, you start to read about racism in the papers and what was going on outside. London, Liverpool and places like that. I've had people say to me in the hospital, not to touch them. I say 'OK'. But then that wasn't only from the whites, I had that from the Indians as well. You just accept these things as part of life. You know I'm here, I've not got enough money to go home, so I'll have to deal with it. So I just carry on with my life and I have to live next door to them and if they speak, I spoke and if not, I just carry on like that.

"I'll tell you a story. There's a friend of ours, he was in the army here and, I don't know which part of England they were. But anyway, he went into this paper shop to get cigarettes and a paper and whatever. And he went into the shop and this little girl came down the stairs and she came down and saw him and said 'Mummy, mummy mummy, it talks, it talks.' And when the mother came down and pushed her off upstairs and more or less apologised…[T]hey [white people] were told that Black people have tails. They were! **Really?** [T]hings like those, they have that perception. I put that down to ignorance. Or things like, one young lady, she came from Liverpool. She was

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a Sister and we worked together on nights and we were sat having a conversation and it was at the time when they had just completed the first heart transplant operation in South Africa [8] and everyone was excited about this. And she said, 'I didn't know they could use a white man's heart for a Black man.' And I remember we looked at her as if to say, where have you been? Just ignorance.

Because if I cut my hand it bleeds red, and if she cut her hand it bleeds red. So you know, this was the way they were brought up. To believe that we were different.

And I think she felt so stupid. I thought, how could she be a nurse and say something so idiotic, so stupid you know. Those were the kind of things and it just shows you how they were brought up. What they were taught. As far as they were concerned we were not human. It's very sad, but I'm glad that things have changed for the better.

"There were lots of things in the newspapers, things like what I'm telling you about, things in the workplace experiencing racism. [F]or me, it was the way they were brought up. I can't blame people totally, it's the way they were brought up. As they only know Black people as slaves. For you to be a senior nurse on the ward, [it was] a big problem for some people because as far as they are concerned you can't understanding English. And they were shocked to see that we spoke better English than they did. Because we were taught English at school, we were taught grammar which they don't do here. But it was a big thing to them, they couldn't understand you know. For me, as far as they concerned I been to university, because of the way I talk. That was a big problem as well. A big talking point. You see you wouldn't experience that because you were born here."

[MsB]

"[In the hospital] one woman was there, there was two really that I have encounter with. She didn't really treat us right. But those days we didn't even baddah. One ting, I nevah fall out with nobody, regardless of what it is, you just carry on wid your work. We nevah fall out. One was the Sister on the ward and the least little ting, she would pick and would want you to work like a slave. Just carry on, carry on and watching

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[8] The first successful heart transplant operation was done on the 3rd December 1967.

you. She used to make some sarcastic remarks like 'I wouldn't employ them and I wouldn't want them to work with me'. Just like that."

And

"[t]here was this one patient, she was there and maybe you have to think she not righted [mental health problems] but she was like "niggers, niggers, niggers, black bastards, black bastards [laughs]. She was a patient so we nevah take much notice. And if you were passing her, "niggers, niggers, niggers, niggers, niggers [quickly] black, black, black black." [laughs again heartily] But it was good. **That couldn't have been good! How did it make you feel when that happened?** Not a way. Remember what I tell you fe tell the teacher in school, when the teacher said it's better you nevah shower, there's no need for you to go under the shower, it won't come off. **I'd forgotten about that [laughs]** I told you to tell him, the next time he says that, 'you're only jealous.' [both laugh] It never bother me at all. Again a lady did live there [points in direction], on that corner there and the kids them used to go and play over there and she used to come out. The kids were just outside there playing ball you know and she said. "Don't come back around here, don't come round here. So I asked her, 'what have they done to you?' And she said, 'they haven't done nothing, but I don't want to see them around here'. And I said, "you know what's the matter with you? You're just selfish."

[MW]

"When I was in Ealing first, the racism was kind of not overt. So it would take the form of, and I think this would happen in a lot of predominantly white areas, the form of a slight, sort of. People would cross to the other side of the road. Or they would stare at you. But there in the mid (19)80s in Leeds I went to Armley, people looked at me in the street, people stopped in the street in the mid-80s, people stopped and looked at me. In Pudsey [pause] it's a shocking thought now.

But in Ealing it was subtle. I was on the bus once and a woman sat next to me, saw me sitting next to her and moved. I could only draw one conclusion from that. The bus was in motion, she was not getting off."

"But when my wife and I started going out, because she's white and I was Black we had a lot of staring, a lot of staring. We had no verbal abuse and nothing to our face.

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We got engaged in (19)64, so I'd known her four years before we went out, but we were part of that same group. We were a group of students we went everywhere together and in the end she and I sort of paired off. But when we were engaged we were contacted by a couple, one white woman and a Black man who wanted to see us. And they told us, this really horrendous story about – he was a man older than me and she also – about how hard their life had been as a mixed race couple. How much prejudice they had met and they were just warning us that it was not going to be any bed of roses. It was depressing to be honest. My wife's mother, who I was very fond of, a very nice woman and her father both accepted me wonderfully well when I was just a friend and then were a little concerned when we became a couple. My mother-in-law in particular made every effort to stop my wife and I from getting married. My wife had an aunt who to my face refused to speak to me, because I was Black and would not be in the same place as me. And she never changed. I discovered later on that my mother in law was really concerned about the children. And about what mixed-race children would have to suffer. My mother in law just didn't know any Black people. She just didn't know them. I was a very nice person, she loved having me in her house. But as a son-in-law, she was not sure. I think she came round eventually but she made a dam good try to stop us. **In retrospect, what did you think was going on there?** I think it was ignorance. My mother-in-law and my father-in-law…my wife is born in Hereford, they came from a small place in Hereford. It was ignorance really, unfamiliarity. I also think we had a kind of…there was a kind of consciousness. You could see it in the press or you could see it in the cinema, these hordes of Black people coming to this country. Already there was that thing, less so when I was here. But we'd had those riots, we'd had previous ones, but recently we had Notting Hill had a riot you know…There was a consciousness that we were causing trouble. That we were coming here…we get it now with East Europeans taking over people's jobs, doing the jobs no one else wanted to do, but still taking people's jobs. We were the guys who were sweeping the streets or working on the underground. And I think it was unfamiliarity. In those kind of places where you'd never seen a black person…I was conscious of the fact I always found myself in the situation where I was either the sole Black or there was very few of us around. But it didn't bother me to be honest. I didn't go looking for racism and I consequently probably didn't find it."

[WL]

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"[W]e went to Ancoats, Bradford Street to a Jewish company where they mek clothes. And we went to Silver in the morning and when we went there, about three or four blokes was ahead of us. My mate and I was about the 5th or 6th and then after us another ten person was there for job. So we all fill out forms and then we all waiting. So the first four blokes who we went there and seen, the man call them in and tek dem on. Some of them was working, but he still offer them jobs you know. Then, he called my mate and I and when we went in he tek our name and then seh we should go back out there and wait. We went back in the waiting room and all the other rest of blokes, dem that come after us, the bloke call dem in and tek on each and every one of dem. And then he said to my mate an I that he would write us and tell us if we get the job. Up til now, we nuh hear from that bloke. And that was a real experience you know."

"And then we went to another place, and it was a training place and he says to me, 'how old are you' and that time I was about 23. 'The jobs we have here are for trainees, if you're over 18, we can't take you on'. But he phone his staff and tell dem to bring us a cup of tea and biscuit and there was about three of us and he gave us some money. Old time people seh, 'is not every bush hate rabbit'.

Writing in 1968, Patterson acknowledged a series of historical preconceptions associated with dark skin and 'negroid' features against which the first generation were measured (Patterson 1968). The stories, narratives and reflections presented above are painfully inconceivable.   Yet, such "encounters" serve to disrupt pretentions that the first generation may have held about their British 'sameness', appropriated prior to their migration.   Racialized preconceptions are detected within openly disclosed curiosity incredulously verbalised as the Jamaican being incapable of reading and writing, to undertake meaningful work or to be competent employees. They were ridiculed which necessitated them to emphasise their proficiency in Englishness, including demonstrating their ability to read, and to "talk English". Yet resiliently, the first generation conceptualise such absurdities as "ignorance", attributing this ignorance to an inferiority found within the educational non-attainment of the "English" they encountered. Such ignorance was also noted as a consequence of them having "never left Manchester" and therefore they have not benefitted from the educationally affirming merits of travel. Furthermore, affirming this ignorance was a consciousness,

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communicated through the "newspapers", the "cinema", television and other media, which presented the Jamaicans as a "problem". WL references the 1958 "disturbances" in Notting Hill, whilst MB remembers the newspaper stories reporting incidents of racism in the workplace. MJJ however was the only respondent to declare ever seeing the infamous "no Irish no blacks, no dogs" sign, whilst JJ notes the regularity that the room-letting sign in shop window fronts would invariably be unavailable on their enquiry.

The perception of becoming (an)other is sensed through an incomprehensibility of people who "cross the street" when approaching or those who "move seats" although they are not getting off the bus. As we will see, WL articulates the feeling that such moments present, as a "sensation". A dissonance, where there is something, but you can't quite put your finger on it. Further, it is within such moments, they are also rendered invisible (Jarenski 2010, Wasserman 1976) such as when a work colleague would walk pass you in the street without acknowledging you. Or in that moment when "like a great big slap across my face" they "don't think about you as black". Similarly, conversations facilitated the first generation mothers frustrations at 'complaints' from neighbours regarding their children playing in the streets, despite them not doing "anything wrong". That sensation of being othered is discerned through people "staring" at them in the streets, work colleagues not speaking to them in the streets. The outsider status afforded the first generation is affirmed through the absurd questions from the Sister and nurses in the hospital on the undignified subject of "penis size", the (in)compatibility of the Black heart for a "heart transplant" for a white patient, and the resistance of white colleagues to the managerial status of Black workers. The awareness of another status is crystallised through such interactions, within those moments.

Towards overt racism, the disclosures of the more direct experiences of name-calling recalled by MW. The process of becoming the other develops as JJ and his friend watch as young white men who arrive at the employment exchange after them are offered jobs and they are eventually told to go home, as there was 'no work' available for them. Such experiences facilitate and affirm the construct of the Jamaican as something different and in turn, the hosts' reactions were frequently conceptualised as

ignorance. Still, for others, such experiences were interpreted as racism. Yet, and of particular significance to the second generation, the offer of "tea and biscuits" introduces ambiguity. While JJ's encounter within the employment exchange was retold to connote his sensed experience of differential treatment, his storied recollection is concluded with the statement, 'is not all bush hate rabbit'. The simple gesture of tea and biscuits seemingly disarms JJ from accusations of "ignorance" or "racism".

In conversation, there developed a view that such experiences disclosed above, were particular to the first generation. In this regard, conversations were punctuated by hopeful declarations of "you wouldn't know about that" or "things are different now" The first generation's reflections upon negative interactions are presented as 'events' now past, safely retold in the light that things are "better now". Such statements demonstrate the first generation respondents' (hopeful) belief of positive changes and progression in the attitudes of (white) English people towards their black children and grandchildren. Their negative experiences of racialized "ignorance" and/or "racism" are recollected as an artefact of 1950s and '60s England, with racism, ignorance and otherisation a relic, consigned to their past. One respondent told me, "you were born here" in part explanation for the (assumed) difference in my experiences and interactions as when compared to their experiences.

> "Yeah, we've come a long way. I mean you know this was in the (19)50s. As time goes on, we started to have children, they went to school with white children and they began to speak with each other and to realise that what their parents were telling them about black people was not true, hence we come this far."
>
> [MB]

How far we have come then, is a further line of inquiry informing research conversations with the second generation. That is what are the experiences of racialized ignorance, discrimination and racism(s) for the second and then third generations? How far have we come?

Otherness: "'making your way here."

"[T]he otherness I think comes from the fact that, you know you come from the Caribbean where there are every colour in the world represented in the one little island on which I lived. I grew up with people who were from the Middle East whose parents were Syrian, I grew up with Indians, I grew up with Black people – we were that type of society. Yes, we looked down on Coolies, yes we looked down on people who were Blacker than we were. Of course we did. But we were also conscious of the fact that we grew up in a really mixed society. When I came here, it was clear that I was a Black person. But I believed that I should be here. I believed that I was British. I was Jamaican in my roots, but British in my consciousness, in my upbringing and in my values. I believed that I absorbed all that I was taught in school. I believed I was British. When I came here, I believed I had every right to be here. And then you had to make your way here. You had to keep on making your way."

[WL]

Related to the above then is a view that the experience of 'racism' or 'racialized ignorance' for the second and now third generation may qualitatively differ to that of the first generation. Such ideas are suggestive of a profound shift in the attitudes and perception of the English toward their first-born children. Despite contested experiences of racism, discrimination and racialized ignorance, in 1965, there was the enactment of the first Race Relations Act introduced to outlaw racial discrimination. The introduction of this act insinuates an acknowledgement of race relations problems and signifies a positive change in social and political attitudes to racialized groups living in Britain. However, there are a number of criticisms concerning the overall effectiveness of the legislation for the lives of the first generation (Bourne 2015). Outside of legislative interventions to counter the problems experienced and endured by the first generation, it is possible to detect within the narratives of the first generation a series of reactions enacted by the first generation to such experiences.

"[W]hen we arrived, we came just after the riot in Notting Hill, your parents would have had the same sensation. I was living with my cousin who was very fair skinned and married a fair skinned guy and was passing for white, she worked as a nurse. They had nothing Jamaican about them at all. I mean it just felt odd to me I was living in this house with this cousin, my first cousin, my father's niece and I thought, you people are

white. I didn't like how they had sort of just accepted that. I still wanted to be Jamaican, I still wanted to play my reggae, I still wanted to wear, what I wanted to wear – all of that. And to tark like dat, if I wanted to. But my cousin was very nicely (spoken)…anyway we parted company."

"So when you went into a shop and you asked for something in a slightly different accent (slips into patois) and they look, "may I have" instead (middle class English accent). Did I need to do that? Why didn't I just say "Gi me dat nuh?" But you know that difference everyday of your life and sometimes you tark jus lik dat, jus to mek dem feel bad. You are conscious of this, but I don't go around saying I am different to everybody else, but I am conscious about being different to everybody else. But I am also conscious of the fact that you have to make your way in the place where you are. We came from an integrated society. I grew up in an integrated society and I believe it still. I wouldn't choose to live in a totally Black area. I don't function like that. I want to be in an area with lots of different people.   But you are conscious while you are doing that, which is the reason why you are not doing. It's kind of the inverse of that. I have symbols of Jamaicanism that I keep, but I have not been to that country since 1990 something. I haven't been back but I keep. I make sure that my children…there was a map of Jamaica in our house, I made sure my children knew where I came from. We went back as a family in 1990 so my children could see where I was born. The house where I was born in Stirling is still there, the bed I was born in is still there, my children knew where I came from. I used to read them Anansi stories when they were growing up, I read my grandchildren Anansi stories. I have not lost that link, but I don't live there. I have a little plot of land there which is my own which my grandmother left me, but I will never go and live on it. But I don't go on insisting that I am a Jamaican. I come from a Jamaican root, but then I think that my parents came from somewhere else anyway. You know."

[WL]

Located within the narrative of WL are a number of potential reactions to that consciousness, that sensation of being different, of being Jamaican and being British. Such tensions are compounded by the negative experiences discussed above. Moreover, otherisation was detected in an 'invisibility' where work colleagues or people would simply stare at or through you. However, there is a tension, where WL's cousin had become the white British other. Her Jamaicaness had become concealed

within a white Englishness. Drawing upon the work of Jarenski (2010), such reactions are suggestive of 'embraced invisibility' where the individual accentuates those characteristically British features behind which their Jamaicaness becomes concealed. To embrace invisibility is to project an impression of (an)other self to conceal Jamaicaness. For WL, this emerges as problematic where his upbringing within an "integrated" Jamaican society meant he did not and would not want to live in a "totally black" area. Yet, while being aware of the sensation of otherisation, he still wanted to speak Patois, still wanted to acknowledge the Jamaican of his "roots". WL had become adept at 'acting', an accomplished dexterity noted in his ability to migrate between his Jamaicaness and his self-claimed Britishness, between talking Patois and when necessary, talking English.

Related to this, responses to the explicit racist language that some of the first respondents disclosed is worthy of further comment. At times, the recollection of such moments were "laughed" away, with MW remarking that she personally "feel no way" at being called "nigger" and "black bastard" whilst on duty in the hospital. The repetitive refrain of "you just ignored it" becomes suggestive of an 'acceptance', potentially serving as a strategy to ameliorate a dissonance sensed. In reflecting upon such moments and in "making your way", first generation respondents themselves acknowledge that "sensation", as communicated impressions of an outsider status, posed as "we were immigrants here". This disclosure recognises that 'mild antipathy' from the 'host', which at times, manifests itself in negative comments, slights, non-verbalised (inter)actions and encounters, becomes conceptualised as a reaction to their 'immigrant' status.

For other respondents, early life in England revolved around going to work and returning home from work, to look after their children. For MA this lifestyle limited the opportunities for negative encounters with the English. As such, this speaks to becoming invisible, strategically placing oneself outside of those 'contact zones' where negative encounters may occur. For WL then, "I didn't go looking for racism and I consequently probably didn't find it". Yet, the converse of this is that those who found 'racism' had looked for it! Therefore, to distance oneself reduces the likelihood of encountering 'racisms touch', that 'sensation' that you can't quite 'put your finger on'

(Tate 2016). To "ignore it" becomes avoidance. Strategies of 'avoidance' emerge implicitly through conversation responses to the question, how did you deal with it? However, WL's disclosures are suggestive of a more profound contemplation. Although he acknowledges his sense of being British, there was an impulse to maintain his 'Jamaican-ness' (Pryce 1979), described as "Jamaicanism", the "root" of his identity reflecting the cultural traits, characteristics or products associated with being Jamaican. His Jamaicanism then is performed through the reading of Anansi stories to his children and grandchildren, symbolically represented through the Jamaican map displayed in his home. WL's Jamaicaness is signified through the family trip to Jamaica to show his children "the bed where I was born". However, maintaining Jamaicaness at times is at odds with and conflicts with the "integrated" upbringing where there were different cultures, ethnicity and backgrounds. The Jamaican motto of 'Out of Many, one People' captures this sentiment, a motto that reveals his multiple selves, that of the "Jamaican of his roots" and the Britishness of his conscience" (Stone 2015, McAdams 1993).

However, WL is reticent in the manner through which his Jamaican identity is maintained on a day-to-day basis. For him, speaking patois is presented as at times problematic, particularly when interacting with the white English. MsB was similarly critical of those Jamaicans who spoke patois, rather than "English". If you come to this country then you should be able to speak English. It is difficult to avoid comparisons within contemporary British political discourses where similar right-wing sentiments and narratives are oft-times prevalent. The way we speak gives an impression. It reveals who we are, and where we belong. That the first generation themselves subscribe to such views in relation to the speaking of patois, their dress, etc. is a potentially revealing aspect of migration and will therefore be incorporated for further investigation in conversation with the second generation. In particular, it will be worthwhile to consider the extent to which the concealment of Jamaicaness is a feature of social interactions for the first-born cohort. Importantly and with reference to the central ideas for the next chapter, processes of becoming othered are located within the daily (social) interactions between the first generation and the English 'host'. Yet, while only inferred within the above extracts, it is unclear of the effects that television and newspaper paraphernalia had upon their perceptions of otherisation.

However, through such disruptions experienced by the first generation, there is detected an antipathy to the white English, driven by the incongruence between the imagined white British other and those white people encountered in Old Trafford and Manchester. Related to this, conversations suggest that the first generation themselves begin to elucidate particular aspects of Jamaicaness and Englishness as problematic (e.g. the speaking of patois, the hygiene standards and educational levels of the English). Through this, there emerged the identification of particular traits that were to be avoided, refrained from and/or concealed. In relation to the children of the first generation then, there develop definers of identity to be resisted, evaded, identifiers that are not to be transmitted or imposed upon the-self or their children – necessitating the avoidance or concealment of particular features of Jamaicaness and Englishness that may negatively spoil and misconstrue true representations of their self-identity (Goffman 1956).

Chapter Six: The First-borns

Introduction

> "Yeah, we've come a long way. I mean you know this was in the (19)50s. As time goes on, we started to have children, they went to school with white children and they began to speak with each other and to realise that what their parents were telling them about black people was not true, hence we come this far." MsB (first generation).

A critical finding to emerge from the first generation was a belief that otherisation, as detected through their personal interactions within British society, was experienced less by their children. The suggestion that "you wouldn't know about that" presented to me in conversation suggests there had been changes in the attitudes of "white" people to black people. However, I also detect a tentative hope, amidst a sense of relief when contemplating the social interactions of their children within British society. Yet, whilst there has been a research acknowledgement of the children and dependents of Jamaican migrants who remained in Jamaica whilst their parents sought to build a "better life", few studies consider the early experiences of those children who were born in England to Jamaican migrants. Intuitively, questions arise as to the antecedents, encounters and contemplations of otherisation for a cohort who, as we will find, conceive of themselves as British (Ratcliffe 1981, James 1993).

In building upon the findings from the preceding chapter, Jamaican migration is not simply an economically driven act, nor simply conceptualised as transcending the physical distance between Jamaica and England. Instead, research conversations reveal shifts in self-definition evoked by significant moments which drove the first generation to 'migrate' as a means to distance themselves from a "particular line", to "be somebody" and or realise personal (non-economic) aspirations, deemed as unattainable in Jamaica. Within this context, narrated shifts in identity emerge as a deliberate subjective process undertaken prior to migration to England (McAdams 1993, Maruna 2001). Within this chapter, migration is conceptualised as a metaphor for shifts in the first-borns' cognitions and constructs of self. The central line of inquiry then involves developing an appreciation of how the first-born's in England self-define throughout their varied encounters with Britishness and British society. Again, it is of utmost importance to excavate the storied experiences of the first-born as a resource

through which to understanding their experience as the British-born children of the first generation, from the late 1950s onwards. The first generation understood their difference because of an imposed "immigrant" Jamaican status, which contrast for the British first-borns. This chapter sets out to examine differences and to capture the significance and impact of social and emotional encounters for the first-born cohort. The following draws upon data to emerge from conversations with eight children of the first generation who participated in the first phase of this study.[9] Four of the respondents were female and four male. Their ages range from 35 through to 58 years of age, with the average age being 50.[10] Whilst one respondent was living in Luton, four of the first-born cohort still reside within the Old Trafford area of Manchester. At the time of our conversation, all other respondents were living within close proximity to Old Trafford, namely within the neighbouring areas of Chorlton and Stretford. Conversations varied in length from approximately 90 minutes through to 146 minutes and took place in the homes of respondents, with one conversation taking place at Manchester Metropolitan University.

On Identity and encountering 'strangers'

An organic feature of the conversations with the first-born cohort involved an exploration of identity as self-defined through nationality – that is "are you British or Jamaican?" The question signals a critical point of reflection and the responses quoted below highlight the complexity and challenge of self-defining identity. Whilst all respondents said they were British, the rationale for their identity claiming and self-definition as British emerges as a subjectively complex and seemingly ambiguous process.

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[9] Within the eligibility criteria for inclusion within the 'first-born' cohort, there are a number of ambiguities which are worthy of mention. Firstly, one participant was the second-born who was bereaved by his older brother who was the first born and died at the age of 16 years of age. For another of the families, the first-born did not respond to my approach to be involved with this study.

[10] One of the respondents was 35 years of age which had the effect of pulling down the average age of the cohort. All other respondents were 50 years of age or over.

"I don't really fit anywhere. I'm not Jamaican, because if I tell them I'm Jamaican they'll say where's your passport. I say I'm English, they say you're not the colour of an Englishman. So usually when someone ask, I say I'm born here, but my parents are Jamaican. That's how I usually deal with it. The reason why I say that is because people of my colour are not treated the same way educationally. Health service wise, we get the worse again. Treatment by the police and judiciary, we get the worse of that. Higher percentage of us going to jail, suffering from mental health, even when there's nothing wrong with us, we are judged by a Eurocentric health system. You shout, you raise your voice, as we do in the Caribbean and African culture, they think that's a sign of madness. When they treat me as they treat anybody else, when they treat other black people and particularly black men, like they treat their own, then I can say yes, I'm British. Until then, I'm born here to Jamaican parents. [PJ, male]

"I do see myself as British. I do see myself as a migrant's child also. Yeah definitely both. I'm born British, not bred. But I do say I have, although it might be only fleeting, I do have an allegiance to the West Indies, even if it's I want the cricket team to do well. And the team that I look for. From a West Indian point of view, there wouldn't be a lot of difference. Assimilation would be the thing of how people would look at them I suppose. It's how well that they assimilated to the culture that they've come into. From the West Indies, it wouldn't be such a great step to assimilate, I don't think." [EA, male]

"I'm British. British Jamaican.   I'm British because I was born here. I'm Jamaican heritage, because my parents are Jamaican. The ones that came, they're proper Jamaicans aren't they. Because they were born there and they have different kinda ways and tings, just the way they do tings. If you think about now, I can sit here I'll be walking and I can tell a Yardie straight away without even seeing their face. The way they wear their clothes, the way they talk, they're so loud, know what I mean. And the raw raw Patois. All the weave and the make-up and the nails. So you can tell. They sort of stand out. Maybe not in the time when my mum and dad came or when I was younger. But they're so much more prominent in England now. That's what I think. A lot more of them are coming over here staying and living in the community. One thing with them though is that they will work. All they want to do is work and send money back home to their families. I don't have nothing against them. If somebody want to come to this country and make a life for themselves…I mean when I used to go over to Jamaica I used to think "Why the hell did my parents want to come over to England." But if you go over [to Jamaica]. Where she lives, you go out in the morning and them

boys they just sit, they do nothing all day. They don't go to work and at night, they might play one likkle soun system and then off to bed and the next morning back doing the same thing. There's nothing for them to do. So the devil make work for idle hands, you know what I'm saying. And that's why some of them get into trouble. So if they come over here and make a life, it's all good. As long as dem don't come over here and trouble people." (SB, female)

"I'm British. I've never seen myself as Jamaican. I say I was born in Britain, so I'm British. I wasn't born in Jamaica, I was born in Britain. I'm of Jamaican descent, but I'm British. In fact, I remember one time I was in Ashton under Lyne and I was at the bus station. Some guy rolled up to me, I think he'd been drinking and he said "Are you British or foreign?" And I said I'm British and he said "Don't be daft, how can a black man be British?" And he just walked off. And it did make me start thinking about that stuff. **Was that just a random guy?** "Yeah! He seen me in the street. I was waiting at the bus stop. Just walked up to me. "Are you British or are you foreign?" Number one I thought, this guy's just berated me in the street! But, it makes you think. It's like, how people perceive you. It just depends how many people are in the country like that. And how many just see a person. No matter what people say, you see colour. I know I see colour. I see colour first. Now it might not affect, well it might affect, I don't know. But you see colour. So it's how people perceive things. When he said that, in fact I think I went through a stage of saying 'right, I'm not British then'. So I'm Jamaican or foreign then. But to me, where you're born, that's your nationality. I'm born in Britain and I've grown up in Britain. I've never been anywhere near Jamaica. My parents are Jamaican, my brothers are Jamaican. If I went to Jamaica and tried to be…they'd laugh at me and say "English man, guh bout yuh bisniss." (GW, male).

Firstly, within the above disclosures of self-definition, Britishness is claimed by all but one of the second generation respondents, with being Jamaican acknowledged as an important feature of their identity. Yet, there exists a tension in the appropriation of Britishness. That is, the construct and acceptance of Britishness is informed by a series of understandings which are derived, not simply from 'place of birth', but involves an appreciation of what it means to be British informed by the extent to which the first-born cohort can claim and attribute (as yet undefined) characteristics of Britishness. A notable difference from the first generation, the majority of respondents state skin colour and/or assimilation/culture as relevant in interpreting their nationality

and cultural identity. There emerges then a variety of identity markers through which to connote and construct self-definition, along with a sense of resistance to the imposition of a given nationality and identity by others.

For PJ, inequality of outcomes as empirically understood through official reports and documents accentuates his difference as non-British. An understanding of differential treatment, not being afforded the same treatment and/or socio-economic outcomes as 'British' citizens, becomes a sign that he is an outsider, as not belonging. The extent to which the material outputs of academic, official and media reports, evokes a sense of difference is a worthy point of inquiry for the 3rd generation. Critically, PJ's blackness negates his Englishness, yet his eventual response does not address his rhetorical question, but is offered more as a statement of his 'non-citizen' status (Anderson 2013).

> "I'm born here of Jamaican parents. When they go back to Jamaica, they're from foreign. They tell me that I'm an English man. [T]his is the country of my birth, but I've never been accepted. I tell them I'm a nowhere man." [PJ]

To be "nowhere" reflects an appreciation of what it is to be somewhere. Somewhere you belong. For GW, the encounter with the 'stranger' starkly disrupts his sense of where he belongs. Seemingly random, fleeting 'moments' (Wilson 2016) awaken his sense of difference, disrupting a hitherto clear and straightforward understanding of his Britishness. GW discloses an episodic moment within which he resists Britishness, temporarily attempting to embrace the non-British status imposed by the stranger. The encounter illustrates a superficiality and fragility to his identity claims. That his "parents are Jamaican, my brothers are Jamaican" affirms that his appropriation of Britishness is informed by what he cannot be, by what he is not – Jamaican. The interaction facilitates a self (re)assessment of his fragile, malleable and embryonic black British identity. Yet, it paradoxically serves to affirm his outsider status to the Jamaican and to the British. In that moment, there is an imposed incompatibility between the emerging identity markers of blackness and Britishness. The stranger pinpoints this incompatibility, detected in his difference from his parents and older siblings who were born in Jamaica. The complexity of the encounter becomes complete, processed through a compelling logic where blackness equals foreignness,

similar to the constructed logic of colour with immigration (Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Steinberg 2001). In this regard, foreignness is not British, and in turn Britishness cannot be black, because black is foreign. The encounter marks otherisation, disrupting in that 'moment' GW's imagined Britishness. It is such encounters that give rise to the "nowhere man", who migrates in between where he can neither claim nor be conceived as Jamaican or British.

The story highlights the implications of social encounters between the first-born and the 'host' society. The linear assumptions contained within the hopeful claims of MrsB within the introduction to this chapter appear oblivious to such moments. Moreover, ongoing academic and political debates as to the pertinence, relevance and validity of 'race' relations are insignificant here (Carter 1987, Steinberg 2001). Daily encounters as a feature of social interactions, within which such moments arise, disrupt previously settled concepts of self-definition.

> "I tell my kids that I'm British and of Jamaican heritage. This one [daughter] will say, 'How can you say that, you're Jamaican.' Her Dad's Jamaican, he was born in Jamaica. I'm British."

However,

> "The first time I went to Jamaica and I went there saying 'Motherland, where our parents come from' and you just want to embrace it and they're looking on you like you're a foreigner. You're not one of us. And that was a kick in the teeth. Their attitude. They were so rude, so awful and I'm saying I can't believe my mum and dad come from here." [BD, female]

Yet, it is not only within encounters with the stranger where disruption occurs. For BD, she is 'kicked in the teeth' by the supposedly familiar. It was encountering those "back home", those living in the "Motherland" of Jamaica, where "mum and dad come" from, that her difference is primarily connoted. From the Jamaicans she encounters, she detects an "attitude" which communicates, "you're not one of us". Consequently, she is signified as one of 'them'. BD becomes foreign, (an)other, not Jamaican but the British other. HerSelf is made, awakened through encounters with 'others' [Goffman 1957, Maruna 2001].

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Self-definition is negotiated throughout such interactions with significant family members and 'other' Jamaicans. These accounts attest that such defining moments are a significant facilitator to processes of becoming and unbecoming (Weedon 2004). The storied retelling of such moments highlights the process wherein a deconstruction takes place prior to a reconceptualization and framing of identity. Significantly, such moments are contingent upon the individuals understanding of fragmented constructs of Jamaicaness and Britishness, requiring a negotiation of 'multiple selves into a cohesive whole' [Stone 2015:4]. So for JL (female),

> "I see my identity as a relatively fluid thing and my identity sort of changes depending on the situation I'm in. So I would see myself as British and I would see myself as English. I see myself as black and I see myself as mixed race. I think it's something that I thought about more in the past, especially when I was at Art school. Whereas now I accept the fact that it's a fluid thing and I get annoyed when I hear people talk about the Black experience. My experience is different to my partner's experience, is different to my friends' experience. I do identify with being English, particularly when I've been abroad. You know, I think there are national traits that come through, but then obviously I don't identify with every aspect of being English. Yeah, but I see myself as British. I don't see myself as being Jamaican. It's not that I don't see myself as being totally isolated from that history. I feel that that's my background and it's very important to me. I do feel connected to that history, but not very directly. I think identity's a really personal thing and I don't want somebody telling me, how I should be feeling or how I should be describing myself."

For JL identity is fluid, shifting and variant, contingent upon place and context. Critically, her narrative shifts towards an articulation of who she is not, as a way of articulating who she is. In contrast to the first generation, "I would describe myself as black" again signals the centrality of skin colour for the first-born, where nationality, being (born) Jamaican, was central to first generation identification. Moreover, as with GW it is skin colour as stigma that initiates such interactions and encounters [Goffman 1958, Howarth 2006]. Yet, there is a defiance to the imposition of a singular Black identity. JL therefore notes and acknowledges the multiplicity of 'black' experience, which serves to resist the simplistic attribution of a homogenous whole. She is "an individual voice within that" black experience. Her black British identity emerges subjectively out of her particular and specific experiences, related to and informed by

her comprehension, proximity to and apprehension of particularised British (and English) traits and characteristics.

As such, despite an assumed significance of Jamaica and its relevance to black British self-identity, first-born respondents resist the appropriation of Jamaicaness. Because "they look at you like a foreigner, [like] you're not one of us". This realisation emerges as a shock, a "kick in the teeth" analogous to the experiences and 'shocks' encountered by the first generation (discussed in the previous chapter). To elaborate a little further, each of the first-born respondents cite reasons for why they 'cannot' claim Jamaicaness. "I've never been anywhere near Jamaica…if I tried, they'd laugh at me and say "English man, guh bout yuh bisnis." There then emerges an acknowledgement of the first-born's (social and cultural) distance away from Jamaicaness. Jamaicaness is different to them. Jamaicaness is not them. They would be detected as outsiders, as not really belonging. BD above is explicit in articulating how her conceptualisation of Jamaicaness is disrupted during her visit to Jamaica. Similarly for JL,

> "That Jamaicaness wasn't very present as we were growing up. And so we only experienced it in such small snapshots that it wasn't embedded, I don't think it's embedded in our identity. But I wouldn't say it's totally closed off to me, but I don't feel…I certainly wouldn't attempt to speak Patois, I wouldn't have the first clue. Not being brought up around it enough…[I] don't think I could say "oh, I'm Jamaican" without looking like a fraud basically because I don't think I have enough of that culture to claim it as my own."

Being British ambiguously emerges to claims of not being Jamaican. Disclosures illuminate an apprehension of being an imposter, a "fraud", or of being "laughed" at or of 'them' being "rude". For Maruna (2001) such apprehension emerges to protect the 'naked self', a sort of liminal state. The narratives then attest to the duplicitous nature of identity consideration and formation. In this regard, the appropriation of being and becoming British is attained through the plausibleness of not being and unbecoming Jamaican. Their (black) British consciousness emerges as reaction to the inability to claim Jamaicaness. The decision is not one of choice, but of how such social encounters inform the first-born's notions of acceptability and being non-acceptable

traits and characteristics, episodically altering their sense of belonging. The above then presents an additional line of inquiry where 'disruptions' to identity and processes of otherisation occur within different spaces and are encountered and perceptible on a number of cognitive levels. For PJ, he begins to detect 'structural disruptions' articulated through an encounter with empirical information consumed as common sense. Whereas GW endures a 'personal disruption' in his meeting with the 'stranger' at the bus stop. Yet, within the following, we can further detect 'disruptive otherisation moments' encountered with those most familiar – namely families and friends.

Otherisation: "Black man down dere like a trouble".

Whilst the above points towards the significance of encounters and interactions with both 'strangers' and Jamaicans, a reminder of first generation narratives attests to the presence and longevity of the processes and mechanisms which (unconsciously) facilitate otherisation. By way of illustration, earlier first generation narratives within the context of first-borns' constructs of identity highlight a series of problematic discourses, which inadvertently serve to pathologise particular features of Jamaicaness.

> "[T]he otherness I think comes from the fact that, you know you come from the Caribbean where there are every colour in the world represented in the one little island on which I lived. I grew up with people who were from the Middle East whose parents were Syrian. I grew up with Indians, I grew up with Black people – we were that type of society. Yes, we looked down on Coolies. Yes we looked down on people who were Blacker than we were. Of course we did. But we were also conscious of the fact that we grew up in a really mixed society. When I came here, it was clear that I was a Black person. But I believed that I should be here." [WL, first generation]

Crucially, language and the use of Patios was frequently presented as indicative of difference.

> "Yes there is. Those who didn't speak very good, I mean proper English, were sort of like, looked down on by the ones who spoke English. Yeah, yeah, Jamaicans are very prejudice you know. Even amongst our own people. Believe it or not, they are. If you

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go into a shop and you speak English, they take more notice of you than if you speak Patois."

"Yeah, those people who spoke Patois, we looked down on them. Us! You'd think, 'How long has he been here?' You know. And, some people just don't make the effort. Dem speak Patois and dats it, dem nah speak nutin 'else. Yes, they are looked down on. You know they're not one of us, they're not educated, which is…(an uncomfortable facial expression) that's the way it is. I mean, I try to communicate with everybody whether they speak Patois, but I think some of the time that people look at people who speak Patois as villains and rogues, you know. Yeah! You stand in the shop or somewhere and you hear somebody speaking and you tend to move away (chuckles) or whatever." [MsB, first generation]

The above unearths a tension in the hitherto assumed process of otherisation for the first generation. Whilst otherisation is often viewed as disturbing the normative boundaries of the dominant society [Spalek 2008, Anderson 2013], associated with the emergence of 'dark strangers' in the midst of the 'host' white British society, the first generation present a dialogue which serves to other and problematise particular characteristics and traits attributed to the Jamaican. Whilst narratives are situated within biographical histories of a multicultural Jamaica, there is a need to consider the extent to which such constructs are transmitted, potentially disrupting and informing definitions of identity for the first-born.

"Me seh, 'nah man, man carn't lef Jamaica and come and work here for £7'. So when me left ova there, me come over Turners [company name] and me get a job. Me work down a Turners, might be about two or three monts. But me nevah like it at all. Me come a Turners a pure Black man [emphasis]. Black man down dere like a trouble." [UJ, first generation]

For UJ, 'too many' black men working in the same place was somehow indicative of "trouble", necessitating his move away to find employment elsewhere. Similarly, for MrsB and other first generation respondents, speaking Patois was "looked down" on. First generation disclosures highlight Patois as a signifier for being "uneducated", attributed to "villains" and "rogues". Significantly, within the above, hearing Patois becomes a cue to "move away" from those who are uneducated, villains and rogues.

To move (away) distances "us" from them – offering a way, away from those who are less than "we" are or looked down upon. For the first generation, to move is a familiar strategy for "getting away" (Anderson 2013). To move from 'Turners' creates a (social) distance for UJ facilitating a disassociation from those black others whose mere presence is conflated with trouble. The values that result in "we looked down on coolies, we looked down on people who were Blacker than we were, of course we did", along with an attribution of negative characteristics to those who spoke Patois, attest to an overtly negative construction of blackness. "Of course we did" finally highlights the simple taken-for-granted logic of looking down at dark skin and 'coolies'. "Of course we did".

As we will see below, the first-borns were not insulated from these constructs. Within certain moments, they "heard it" in the conversations of the first generation. By reading between the lines, they made sense of what was unsaid. It is through intergenerational interactions that the first-borns sense a consciousness of negative characteristics, traits and attributes upon the Jamaican.

Transmitting Otherisation

"[O]ne day my mum said to me. "[PJ], you're probably the blackest person they've ever seen. But you're Black, you're handsome and you're intelligent". So you've got to go there [school] and show them that you're no less of a person than them. And erm, I must admit. I didn't want to go there and have to deal with all that kind of nonsense. I was gonna go to a place where people could single you out, simply on the basis of your skin colour. And I thought, because I was darker than everybody else, I'd get more of it. As I said, my mum spoke to me about it. She talked to me about being Black and power and all that kind of stuff. I just knew about being Black." [PJ]

"My mum had a friend, I say friend, but she used to chat us [gossip] and say all sorts about us. I did a Jamaican marriage thing at 21. The guy was Jamaican Chinese and she said. 'How can he', this is my mum's friend, someone who's known me all my life and she says, "how can he even think of going out with her." Because Jamaican Chinese is light. The mentality. **Where did those views come from?** The Caribbean,

the Caribbean. To this day, they have the darker ones advertising ghetto stuff and the red skin ones for the Banks. So definitely. And when you hear older Jamaicans talking about "we had to sleep on the floor, cos we were the darker ones and the lighter ones slept on the bed. So I heard those stories."

"I remember my Dad telling me that he was somewhere and a redskin Jamaican man that he knows had the nerve to say to my Dad. "Don't forget, back home I would be your boss." So maybe they [first generation Jamaicans] were getting away from that as well. (BD, female)

"I've never been to Jamaica, my mum actually said don't go. She hasn't got a lot of family there now. Her family, her sisters are mostly passed on or live in the UK and America. So she's got very little family in Jamaica and from what she knows [from] her friends there, there's a lot of crime. And that's why she says don't go. [EA, male]

For PJ, the reference to his dark skin simply served to affirm his difference, signalling what his parents perceive as a potential point of conflict. Delivered within a parenting context of preparation for his imminent encounter with secondary school, he solemnly states, "I just knew about being black." Similarly, BD becomes aware of a negated status through the 'gossip' of family friends and the stories of her father. Of interest, she ponders whether her father's negative experiences may have been a factor in his eventual decision to migrate from Jamaica. However, and to be developed later in this chapter, BD discloses similar views as representative of and informative of her encounters with family.

"At St. Alphonsus [primary school]. I enjoyed it. Did get racist stuff going on. I felt I got it more cause I'm dark and hair nappy. Cause even the fair-skinned black [girls] would have something to say to you. And you're going 'mum, they called me golly-wog today, they called me this, they call me that'. She'd say, 'just ignore them'. Nig Nog, Golly Wog, those were the names at the time [laughs]. Some of the black ones would say, "you favour mud." And all this. Just stupidness. It hurt, it hurt and you come home and complain to your Mum and Dad. My mum and dad weren't the sort of people to say, go and knock them out or whatever, just ignore them. They don't know any better."

Negative views of Jamaica are also located within the messages transmitted to EA where his mother says "don't go" to Jamaica due to high crime rates.

Intuitively, the Jamaican as other is perpetually reaffirmed for the first-borns. Again, reminding them of who they are not to be. Of who they should not become. But BD recalls the name calling, "nig nog, golly wog, yuh favour mud" which her parents guided her to ignore. She does not ignore it. She conjures meaning from the stories she has heard previously to make sense of her own personal encounters. These are latent scripts learnt and recalled to make sense of her experiences (Huessman and Eron 1989). It was black girls, those who looked like her, who lived in Old Trafford, who arouse a sense of 'difference' located in her dark skin colour. Those intergenerational stories remind her that dark skin is associated with "ghetto stuff", with sleeping "on the floor", with subservience. Dark skin is equated with being less than. "It hurt, it hurt". Moreover, it is further in what was unsaid by their parents that the first-born begin to sense that "feeling" For EA,

> "I would just say it's things that they say, although you never really hear anything nasty or really disparaging and although my mum's view was slightly different to my Dad. She would say things like "the English people change with the weather." My dad used to generally talk of going back home, although my mum didn't. And just the way in bringing us up, would warn us about who to trust and who not to trust. It would never be anything direct, but you would read in between the lines and not necessarily getting it right. But it's just a feeling. It's just a feeling that you got."

Chronologically, conversations on the topic of self-definition, identity and nationality developed from discussions of growing up in Old Trafford. The process of "reading between the lines", of warnings as to "who to trust" and that sense of "it's just a feeling" come to the fore where the firstborn consider their understanding of the negative constructions of being and living in Old Trafford through their parents' narratives. In conversation, EA noted his father's reference to going "home". Within the phrase "going home" EA detects that there must be something untoward, yet on reflection, he is unsure as to why the reference to "home" made him think that his father experienced problems. "But you would read between the lines." 'Home' is where we go to feel secure, where we belong, where we long to return. For the first-born, they are home. That their parents, their significant others, want to go home alerts them to the impermanence of their 'home' and disrupts their conceptions of home, of where they belong.

Significantly and by way of structuring the following, processes of otherisation are those moments through which the first-born detect and sense difference, an unsettled status. However, early detection of otherisation emerges through encounters and interactions with those who are familiar to the first-borns: parents, family friends, people from Old Trafford. However, the following will consider those encounters which occur externally. These interactions, as we will find, take place in (secondary) schools, with the media, in the workplace and with their peers.

On difference: an underlying thing.

Secondary School

"For me yes, for me a secondary school thing. At Gorse Hill [school] I never really felt like I was different in any way. I did at secondary school. It was not like overnight, it was gradual that there were like these other opinions. The thought that somebody could dislike you just by looking at you, it was just kind of like an unusual thing. It was an unusual thing to me I could never really [pause] quantify. But you just came to accept that that's how it is. The truth is that I probably do it myself without realising it. I try not to." [EA, male]

"But I was conscious of it. I think the schools I went to were, I didn't have very much negative instances. I do remember being singled out or totally ignored. And sort of left out of situations. Or being sent out of the room or isolated for no good reason. And I remember at the time thinking that I must have done something wrong and not understanding what it was all about and then sort of like ten years later telling my mum and her being outraged because obviously she understood why they may well have been doing that. But at that time I wasn't aware of it. But looking back I could see it was me being isolated and not my white blond friends. I remember when I was in High School and every now and then I would get called out of the class room to attend some additional language sessions and being really outraged by that because I knew that I was in the top set for every subject basically. And the only reason they could have been singling me out was because at some point I would have had a box ticked next to my name that I wasn't white. I remember that used to frustrate me."   [JL, female]

"So we went to Sale Moor and the three of us knew nobody there. I think when we landed there we were the only three black kids in the school. So yeah, that was a turbulent time. Especially that first year. There were scuffles, there was a lot of

fighting. Obviously we were a group and there was a bit of friction between us and some of the teachers. Of course you were never really sure if the teacher didn't like you for a reason or sometimes that would come into your head. But you didn't have no proof. They maybe just didn't like you because you weren't behaving properly. But sometimes, it would get into your head that a certain teacher didn't like you because of your colour. But I do remember that being a kind of a turbulent time. It's possibly not right to say that you was in trouble more because you was Black kids. But it kinda felt like that. There was an underlying thing. [EA, male]

"What was interesting, you would meet people six miles down the road who had never come into contact with Black people. And this was in 1980s. I'd have big people touch my hair when the rain fell on it…[I]t was like a different world at times. And them getting to know that these people were just people, these kids are just kids. Some of them had to learn. [H]aving to deal with, you know, some of the things wasn't too… [Y]ou'd walk in and people would want to touch your hair. People would be. 'I wish I had skin like you, I wish I had hair like you, I wish I had this like you.' Ok, so that was OK, you deal with people's inquisitiveness. But there was the outright racism as well." [PJ]

"Again, I enjoyed secondary school. Found that, didn't like some of the Black girls that were there. Cos a lot of us came from primary and some of these black girls just came. They had attitude. That Black attitude [emphasis] was there, you know with some of them. I just thought um um. Did not like them at all. And they weren't nice to me and I was a bod [school swot]. You know, people don't like bods. So they tried their best to try and upset me and call me stuff.   They're just. I think these girls were just a bit more worldly. You see I was like a little angel, coming from St. Alphonsus and whatever. And it's either they have more knowledge of street stuff and what have ya. Whereas I've gone to school with my Clark's shoes on, briefcase and, that kind of girl, you know. And they're more…they smoked behind bike sheds, all dem kind of things. I don't even know if they already had boyfriends outside and stuff like that. But their attitude. Didn't like, didn't like. One time, they actually assaulted me. I was playing, you know American skipping? What do you call that one, with the elastic around your ankles. And I was one of them stood with the elastic around my ankle. And one of them came up and she kicked me right between the legs. For no reason. And I'm telling you. HATE. And I think that put me off even going round with Black girls when I finished school anyway. Cos, I don't have friends you know. I'm a loner. So I'm not really into people to that. Tried it. Don't like it. It's like, my experiences at school with them, is

what I experienced as an adult. They don't need to do much and that's me gone, know what I mean.   I didn't get it from the white girls. All when I'd be going home and them same Black ones calling me nigger and all this and shouting down the street. Unbelievable."

Secondary school was highlighted as the point at which the first-born begin to detect their difference through external encounters.   Throughout conversations, there develops a marked difference between the otherising experiences of respondents who attended 'black' schools and those who attended 'white' schools. On the one hand, difference was assessed numerically, through the number of black children in the school or the geographical location of the school racialized as in a black area or a white area. On migrating to school, many of the first-born's approximate into what may be articulated as an alternative interactional order (Goffman 1983, Tyler 2018) within which race as stigma comes to the fore. They are exposed to different norms, rules and conventions, which govern their interactions. Yet, there is a dissonance in understanding the interaction frame and the strategies for engagement. Consequently, othering is marked within their initial interactions within predominantly white schools. Whilst for some, the difference is simply a "feeling" aroused through encounters which they had not experienced previously, it was also recognised in an inquisitiveness, at other children's reaction to their 'difference'. So touching hair, the reference to skin, all signify back to them that sensation of their 'strangeness'. Those early excursions from home to school mark the first-borns' migration to a place where people had never met black people before. A migration towards the other. Such early school encounters were described by EA as "turbulent". Some of the first born's become unsettled at the incredulity that 'someone could dislike you simply by looking at you'.

JL only becomes aware of her strange encounters later in life, such as being "singled out", "isolated", "ignored" for no good reason. In the absence of an explanatory framework, she looks to herself, her own behaviour as a way to explain her exclusion. Yet she notes that it was not her "white blond friends" who were singled out, isolated and ignored. It was her.   Despite being in the top sets for her subjects, she is again 'singled out', and isolated for "additional language lessons". Her otherisation and exclusion are never made explicit. Again, 'you just can't put your finger on it' (Tate

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2016). In retrospection, "at some point I would have had a box ticked next to my name that I wasn't white". Like GW's encounter with the stranger where being black cannot be British, we detect the institutionalisation of MrsB's declaration of Patois being associated with being uneducated. Despite JL being the daughter of a privately educated teacher and a pupil who is in the "top sets" for everything, she becomes isolated and singled-out for additional language lessons. A bizarre educational strategy through which she can be educated to become like the white other.

Yet the conversations also give voice to the infinitely complex features of otherisation where BD, "the bod", is physically abused by black girls in the school playground. Throughout her story, school interactions signal a reaction from which she embarks upon distanciation away from the black girls. Her difference from 'them', attributing "wordly" or delinquent behaviours (smoking, boyfriends, the attitude, "dem kind a tings") to black girls, is contrasted with her "Clark's", "briefcase" and angelic status. Her difference connoted by what she is not. The story concludes at her "hate" for the black girls and how such experiences "put her off", hanging about with 'them'. Paradoxically, within BDs storied reflections are similar negative attributes found within first generation narratives of the "rogue" which necessitate social distancing. Significantly, such negated constructs appear to be retained and/or transmitted from the first generation to the first-borns. Transmitted through overheard stories, what is not said, through their awareness of a consciousness of the problems posed and attributed to black people.

Loving Thy Neighbour?

Yet, beyond interactions with strangers and family, the first-born further detect the predominance of antagonistic or unfavourable views of black people through mainstream television programmes. As will be shown below, recurrent reference was made to the sitcom 'Love Thy Neighbour' which was broadcast between April 1972 and January 1976. The sitcom chronicles the antagonistic racialized relationship
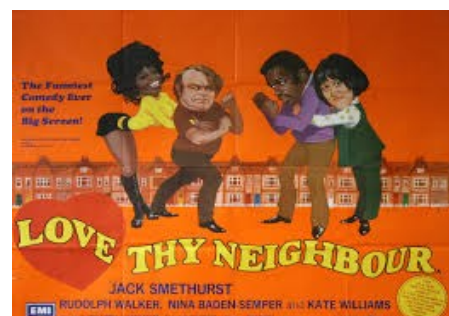
between two next-door neighbours through the characters Eddie and Joan Booth and Bill and Barbie Reynolds.[11]

Of its time, the programme is now noted for its frequent use of overtly offensive and racialized language exchanged between the two main protagonists Eddie and Bill. The context within which their strained interactions exists rests upon the Windrush 'story' and the assumed problems attributed with the emergence of black Jamaican immigrants. Yet, the canned laughter at the unrelenting denigration of the assumed traits and characteristics of Bill simplistically serves to represent "an acceptable veneer" to everyday racisms. Rather than being offensive, racism is consumed as fun, as "banter", as something to laugh at. So for the first born's,

> "When we went to secondary school it was all reversed. There's 90 pupils in my year, there was just three black people and about four Asian guys. And all the rest white. Now that's not to say you're going to get racial things. But even on the TV you had like, 'Till Death Us Do Part', 'Love Thy Neighbour'. They probably started when I was at Junior School, we used to watch them all the time. As far as I can recall, we enjoyed watching them. Even though they were using racist language on there."

> "So we had that going on in the background. So when we went to school, we always had kids who were, whether they were mimicking that or whether they were coming from a different standpoint, you don't know. But there were always kids who were calling you wogs and coons, which was the language that was on the telly. It's weird to think that that kind of language was on the telly in the (19)70s. And there was always kids who would call you that and I would always chase them and tump dem, and aww, then it's gone [laughs]. So again, is it racist or it's on the telly I can call him that? You can see there's a difference there. [GW, male]

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[11] This episode of 'Love Thy Neighbour is entitled 'Voodoo' in which Eddie is disappointed at not being able to buy a ticket to watch Manchester United. This episode encapsulates a range of negative racist constructs and perceptions of Black and Brown people, cementing a series of stereotypical constructs of "Nig Nogs" and "Pakis". Dangerously, the episode speaks to a "they're not content enough coming over here taking our jobs, our homes our women. Now they want our football tickets as well [canned laughter]". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3sOLgadNVoc (date accessed 18th May 2016).

"It almost was 'Love Thy Neighbour' in the classroom. They'd be saying their racist things, we'd be saying our racist things towards them. You know it was, I suppose at that time, school banter. You know what I'm saying. It's not what I experienced in Old Trafford. I'm not saying that you didn't hear that. What I'm saying is you didn't hear it as often. [PJ, male]

"When we were growing up, I've watched them since. There was 'Love Thy Neighbour', Alf Garnett the comedian. London comedian, Jim Davidson and they [family] in the house would just roar laughing at these programmes. But some of the things they said, if you were out on the street and you didn't know, you'd think well this guy is trying to offend me, you know. This guy's trying to annoy me or this guy's looking for trouble. Sometimes they were just saying it because they thought it was funny. I don't know if you're familiar with 'Love They Neighbour'. I don't know if they would even show them now." [EA]

"I actually thought. I remember watching it. We used to sit down and watch it with mum and dad and hear all those kind of things. The power of TV, the ability of TV is to take things which you consider ugly, derogatory and negative, put it there in front of you and kind of give it a more acceptable veneer. And I think that's what it tried to do. The problem being though, when you're out on the street and you're being called those kind of things, there's nothing acceptable about that. And there's no veneer about that, it's just ugly. It's ugly at the front, it's ugly in the middle, it's ugly at the back. So it was a case that when you sat and watched it you laughed at what you'd see as the stupidity and inaneness of it. When you actually go out there and people are calling it you, now that was a totally different ball game. One of the things like when we got into class. You felt like you got to know those people, those people who I knew from class [names names] these were people who you believed were your friends, you know what I mean." [PJ]

That 'Love Thy Neighbour' and other sitcoms and comedic television shows were recalled as relevant to understandings of difference and otherness marks a significant encounter for the first-borns. Firstly, through this encounter the first-borns are brought face-to-face with what appears as widely held discourses and constructs of black people. The language carries an offensiveness consumed by black families. For PJ, such television sitcoms presented a veneer of respectability through which everyday racism was presented as both acceptable and respectable. Moreover, that again

significant others, such as family members laughed at the 'everyday racism', further complicates such encounters. Yet such encounters as funny were not funny for the first-borns. Such encounters painfully served to affirm a mediated difference, making sense of the encounters experienced and endured at school. However, of more concern, the first-born then had to elucidate the acceptability and the unacceptability of every encounter and incident of racism. The above is therefore illustrative of complex internalised dialogues to ascertain the (un)acceptability of external interactions. When can/should they be offended and when can/should they not be offended?

> "That's like a constant assessment and sometimes you would put it down to who said it. You'd put it on top of something that was said before. Then you're in a strange situation where this guy can say it, but this guy can't. This guy meant something, but that guy didn't. But they said the same thing. Done the same thing. That's always going on, that was always going on. Sometimes you knew, or you got the feeling that some of these kids, a lot of the time, they viewed it as banter. They don't think they're saying anything wrong or disparaging but the way it's received is quite different." [EA]

Differentiating "banter" from "racism" requires a "constant assessment" for the 11 and 12-year-old first-borns. It required the first-borns to decipher when laughter was appropriate, or when to laugh along with the banter. To know when to chase and significantly, to know when to fight. GW astutely likens such encounters to mimicry. The first-borns learn the art of mimicry, of when to be 'Bill' and when to be themselves. Disconcertingly, to not play 'Love Thy Neighbour' means you are not a part of the humour, that you cannot take a joke. To not laugh or play along becomes illustrative of the 'chip on the shoulder'. The advice of parents to "just ignore them", or to "tell them they're jealous", are inappropriate responses to "banter" and do not accord with the rules of 'the game'. Encountering racism everyday emerges as a crucial ambidextrous exercise in social interactions. To be a part means to play along, to be "pally". It requires the first born to appropriate the "ugly, derogatory and negative".

> "So after the first few weeks of class, it was just a bit of banter, but once you got out of class you had to be on your guard. There was this fourth year guy, used the N word

on me one time and I knew I couldn't beat him up. I started to cry [laughs]. I started to cry because I knew I couldn't do nothing about it. Tears came down and I was so frustrated. And I said nah, nah nah, this is not what I want. And erm, one day, this guy John Beresford, he was the class joker and I was running him down and put some licks on him and this tall skinny boy said "leave him alone" and used the N word on me again. And I stopped in my tracks Patrick and I thought, this is happening too often. So I went to talk with Col Lambert [older pupil], because I couldn't find my brother at the time. And I asked Col, what do you know about this guy? Because he was in the year above Colin. And he said the guy's an idiot and he said, go an lick [hit] him. So I went looking for him and I found him and I beat him up. And I give him some licks and I beat him up. And I tell you what Pat, every time I saw him I beat him up. Every time I saw him, I give him some licks. If he come around the corner and he met me, I'd punch him down or give him a kicking and I sent him around the other way. If he saw me first, he would walk the other way. I said you guys can't be calling me that, you can't be calling me that." [PJ]

"There was a guy there called Mike Langley and he was a big guy and like, 'I'm the cock of the year' kind of thing and we'd always get into loggerheads. I'd always say to him, when you're ready [to fight] let's go. And he would always say, well I hate niggers. But he used to be really pally with Dean [older brother]. So did he hate niggers, I don't understand that. I know he was friends with Dean, but with me he always wanted to come and fight and call me nigger and all that kind of stuff. To me, nigger was a different category of word. You weren't hearing nigger on the telly. You were hearing wogs and coons. One guy said to me at one time, "Wogs means Western Oriental Gentleman, so what's wrong with saying it?" But nigger is a different word and he would say I hate niggers. So I would say what you gonna do about us. I'd say over the five years, we were never best friends, but we'd be pally type of stuff. [GW]

A further finding was the distinction between what GW, PJ and EA define as 'banter' and language construed as more sinister. Whilst the media projection of a racist respectability was consumed ambiguously, television also accompanied the first-borns' deciphering of what was acceptable and unacceptable language. For GW then, "nigger was a different category of word. You weren't hearing nigger on the telly." Whilst PJ refused to utter the word 'nigger' during our conversation, using "N-word" in its place, as painfully, "I can't even use the word." Where possible, those encounters construed as racist, those including for example, the word "nigger" were met with

confrontation and where possible violent encounters. Yet despite nigger being regarded as a more serious term, there was still ambiguity where the first-born still interacted with those who used such terms. For GW, although he would not describe the 'user' as a best friend, he still paradoxically conceived of him as a 'pal'.

Whilst the stories from the first-born regarding their encounters and interactions with racializing discourses and language are profound, they were retold as episodic and fleeting. Therefore, for all respondents who told of their experiences at school, they were clear that such moments were not their predominant experience, but occurred at the start of school, and lasted only until things "were cemented". Yet, what does emerge as perhaps more enduring were troublesome encounters and interactions with those in a position of authority, such as teachers and eventually the police. The following then builds upon the previous stories which highlighted moments within which the first-born detect and perceive a negated view of their difference. Of note, the difference is understood in relation to previous experiences.

"It's different" encounters with figures in authority

"No teacher in junior school ever said anything about colour or stuff, not as far as I can remember. But I remember one of the teachers at secondary school, because he was annoyed or something because I didn't have a pen. 'Whose got a pen for [GW] and someone said "I got one Sir" and he took it and said "Aww black, that's appropriate." Now to me, that's a sign of some kind of racist thing, know what I mean. And I remember him saying that. And thinking, what's that about. But you couldn't challenge teachers. I never took it any further. I didn't say anything to him. I recall that, because kids will do one thing, but the teachers are meant to be different." [GW]

"Common sense tells you, you can't always be right, but if it felt right, you go off your feelings. Just, and everybody did the same, you would just decide who's good or bad. Teachers again, the same sort of thing. I would say, erm, if there was a teacher that was like that, that would nark me more, because I felt he was in a position where he should be better than that and was letting himself down and letting the side [profession] down. I felt more anger towards the teacher than I did to a kid in the playground. I felt the teacher should be above that." [EA]

Unlike the encounters relayed above, problematic moments with schoolteachers were less perceptible, less obvious, nuanced, confusing, and often left open to interpretation. Again, those moments where you 'just can't put your finger on it' (Tate 2016) were informed by and complicated by maturity which would not be realised and understood until adulthood. Yet, despite the fact that they were young, there was a 'sense'. A common sense perceptible, derived from a "feeling". EA concedes that "you can't always be right" but through such moments you decide who's "good" and who's "bad". So,

> "The teacher come into the classroom and everyone's running about like kids are. The teacher had to leave, came back in and the classroom's a mess. And he looked at us, three Black lads and said 'look at them, see no evil, hear no evil speak no evil'. But that meant nothing to us at the time, we thought he was trying to say we were trying to act innocent. Obviously, you realise now he was talking about monkeys, the three wise monkeys. Again, although from him you'd get a feeling that he didn't really like you but you had nothing to actually say. Nothing concrete. You'd be a bit more careful around him." [EA]

> "So, she was teaching us about France and China and had negative comments to make about other races. Saying things like, 'oh, do you know any Chinese people, they're alright, they don't cause any problems unlike other ethnic minorities'. And things like that which were very casual. But the other [Asian] boy in my class we both glanced shocked looks at each other, but neither of us did anything about it. Because we didn't know what to do. [I] don't believe she would have said that without noticing that we were there. We would have been very obvious. But I took that as meaning Black people and Asian people. Yes, that's basically who I felt that she was referring to." [JL, female]

Whilst unsaid, it is clear what is said. The encounter is reliant upon a common(sense) and collective understanding, a shared understanding of those who "cause problems". To understand what is not said requires an appreciation of the other, those outsiders, those who are unlike the "alright" Chinese other. The "shocked looks" affirm the move to denote the Other, JL and her Asian counterpart. Whilst unsaid, there is a clear statement made which refers to JL. It affirms her difference from the 'them' within the classroom.

"I think it was those moments. It wasn't just one thing. I think going to college in Cheadle and also because I was from Manchester you know, cause there's that feeling of otherness. Oh, she's from Manchester so she lives in poverty. There was that sort of implication. And it wasn't just that she's not white, it was multiple issues. It's very difficult to know what impact it's had, I think there's those subtle things that happened growing up. [I]t's my feelings of otherness, but maybe other people would not notice those because they were quite subtle and quiet things. [JL]

At other times, however, the moment is explicit.

"We were what, second year, no third year and I remember I was running down the corridor, a teacher told me to stop running and I stopped running and she walked over to me and said "why are you running" and I just ignored her. She was talking to me and I wasn't even looking at her and it's was like bhup [slap], in my face. Bam, in my face like that. The shame of it for one. And knowing that I couldn't do nothing about it for two. My form teacher Miss Bailey was near and she could see I was angry and I was just looking at her and Miss Bailey said "Come [PJ], come into the class." So I walked into the class. And I tell you what, if I could have done anything that day, hit her, kicked her, whatever. If I wasn't concerned about what my Dad would say or what my mom would say or what anyone else would say, I would have knocked her out. I would have hit her. I would have done something, because it was so unnecessary. And it just seemed things like that just got my back up and made you angry. [Y]ou get teachers, who are supposed to be setting some kind of standard, who were showing their bias, who were showing their prejudice, who were showing their outward disregard to you as a human being. Because she wouldn't have done that to a white boy. And even if they tell me she would have, I wouldn't believe it. Cos I never seen that kind of behaviour. That stayed with me because I felt unjustly treated and I felt I didn't have no kind of redress. And when you don't get justice and you don't get redress, it builds up and it bottles up and you want to do something about it. I could not. It was just like the time when that guy called me the N word and I couldn't fight him. This time I didn't want to fight. I wanted to kick the woman down. But I had to remember, one who I am, two who my parents are [laughs]. Three, that I'm there and there's got to be an element of respect for those who are in authority. But, it wasn't reciprocated and I felt violated." [PJ]

For PJ the moment is deep. The encounter on the corridor endures in his consciousness, etched into his memory. The pain of being unable to do anything to the teacher precedes his anger. His anger at the violation of his "humanity". The school ground strategy of responding to such encounters with tempered violence is for this encounter inconceivable and unacceptable. The encounter with the teacher, the 'authority figure', renders him non-human. Within school, there was a script to follow – the mimicry of 'Eddie' and 'Bill', whilst painful, would move towards a logical and known outcome of playground violence. Violently, the first-borns' encounters with institutional power personified through the authority of the teacher bring them into direct contact with a sense of their powerlessness. Moreover, "the frustration", "anger" and "shame" emerge as emotions and feelings that have to be endured and constrained. Emerging references to 'respect for authority' are painfully apparent for GW, JL, EA and PJ. So that through their encounters with power, their subservience and becoming another is complete. They cannot or will not do anything to challenge the teacher's authority. To do so would make 'us' like MsB's 'them' requiring others to 'move away'. To challenge would serve to affirm the negative stereotypes of young black people as violent, as anti-authority and as problems to be managed. Moreover, to challenge this authority would also reflect negatively upon their parents, opening the potential of a further encounter at home! Significantly, for PJ, interpreting and understanding the encounter requires a centring of his blackness. The frustration, anger and pain he feels can only be processed as the teacher's reaction to his blackness. Because "she would not have done that to a white boy". Therefore, the interaction occurred because he is not white, the encounter reminds him that he is not white, being unjustly treated is because he is not white. He is treated "as less than human" because he is not white. Subjectively, there can be no other explanation despite what "they" say, because he had never seen this happen to a "white boy".

The durability of the sense of otherness arises due to the differential treatment of PJ by the teacher showing "her bias". Unjust treatment with "no redress" facilitates the longevity of feeling unjustly treated. Again, banter was presented as fleeting moments whilst passing through the early stages of schooling at the white school - simply addressed through the arbitrary justice of a punch or returning the name-calling or administering a 'Chinese burn'. But against authority, PJ felt "unjustly treated" with

"no kind of redress. [W]hen you don't get justice and you don't get redress, it builds up and it bottles up and you want to do something about it. I could not."

Whilst the above has focussed upon the teacher as authority figure, research conversations also referenced encounters with the authority figure of the police. In detecting otherisation in encounters with figures of authority, and being unable to respond facilitates for the first-borns a sense of injustice. In turn, this evokes a sense of being against or anti their authority. To develop this point further, conversations invariably moved towards the first-borns experienced encounters with the Police. The experience of stop and search and in EA's view, the 1980s reaction against the police in Moss Side was "necessary". It is noteworthy that for EA the wider effects of the Moss Side 'riots', involving "smashing up your own area", were a futile and nonsensical reaction, as was the view that "British society discriminated against black people". However, he is unequivocal in his belief that to go "toe-to-toe" with the police was a "good thing".

> "The idea of conflict with the police, I felt that that was necessary. I actually felt at that time that the police did single out West Indian lads as opposed to girls or Chinese or Asians. I thought they singled us for special treatment. They never missed an opportunity to search your bag. By letting you know that you are different. By standing next to you and saying 'it won't come off you know [name]', that's one thing. But being stopped in the street and 'take your coat off, take your pockets out, right you can carry on now'. That's always going to build resentment and er I did feel that conflict [the 1981 Moss Side riot] with the police, at that time, standing toe to toe, hitting back at the police, I thought that was a good thing, at that time. Police, were amongst the people that I felt like, teachers, who, you've got a lead position in society and that's how my mum told me, from Jamaica she kind of looked up to authority. Authority here, to me it didn't seem to be what it should be. And some of the police that I'd met and some of the police I had dealings with, although they were supposed to be, as I'd been told, the best of the society, they seemed to be the worst.

Again, the distinction between banter ("it won't come off you know") and the violation of the individual's personal space is profoundly relayed here. His views were informed by his personal experience of stop and search, being required to "empty his pockets" and to "empty his bag".

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"I didn't like it, didn't like it. Compliant at first and then less so. It happens once, it happens twice and then you hear about it happening to other people and you feel like, why me? And so when sometimes I was asked 'Can I look in your bag?' I'd say 'no'. And you know there'd be nothing even in the bag, but I'd just say no you can't until I was in trouble basically. And obviously they couldn't understand why I was so resistant to it. I've got nothing in my pockets and nothing in my bag and I couldn't explain it myself to be honest. But it was just that I felt that they singled us out for special treatment."

"After school, around Gorse Hill. Sometimes, I guess you could say it was justified or they felt it was justified, but it never felt right to me. For one reason or another, either there'd be a group of us and he'd search three. It's a group of 6, and he'd search 3, but one of them was me. I'm the only Black guy in that group or there's two Black guys in the group and they search two Black guys and one other. And I'm clocking this thinking, no I'm not happy about that."

"There's this one time, there's an alarm going and there's people walking up and down on the streets, but this [Police] guy stops me…'excuse me sir there's an alarm ringing and we've had this report, can I just have a look in your bag.' NO! Cos, there's people walking past and so I ended up with a caution. Just, as I seen it at that time, for nothing. So I probably was suspicious of them, didn't really like them, didn't believe in them."

The question is simple. "Why me?" The story evolves to the point where EA answers his own question. "I'm the only black guy in that group". Again, that sense of being different occurs as a marker to distinguish EA from the group. Although he is a part of the group, he is not of the group. He is marked out, searched, because he is black. His blackness triggers the alarm. The others "walking up and down" have not triggered the alarm. His story is also marked as a signifier towards an eventual defiance. The defiance has not always been there. EA is compliant at first. But, "it happens once, it happens twice…" his defiance and anti-authority is learned. Learned gradually through the consolidation of multiple encounters that disrupt, their authority becomes delegitimised, authority figures become (re)constructed as illegitimate. A defiance learned on the corridors of school, learnt in 'authority's' response to asking for a pen. It is learned through what is not said, learned through encounters on the streets. Learnt through the newspapers. It is being singled out from the crowd, from the group,

for 'special treatment', a special mention, for special language sessions. Such encounters confirm and construct the first-borns' "suspicion" of 'them'. You have to be "a bit more careful" around 'them'. Interactions with authority facilitate the construction of the 'them', as different, distinctive to the first-born 'us'. The otherisation of 'them' by authority builds defiance to insulate against being shamed. It facilitates an understanding of the "why me", by making sense of the humiliating experience of having to "empty your bag".

For PJ,

> "on the TV screens, what I was seeing in the media and what I was experiencing in school. You can't ignore it cos it's there in your face."

> "whilst growing up, I remember seeing one thing that still to this day, I can't get it out of my head. I remember a guy in the papers called Clinton McCurbin, he was a black guy from Wolverhampton. I remember he was one of the first young black people who I seen get killed by the police. And I remember the picture in the Daily Mirror, the policeman had his truncheon under his neck. His knee at the back of him and he was pulling [pause]. And I remember that picture. And then I remember that I read that Clinton McCurbin died. That was the trigger for me. Stuck in my head. Said, we are different, we're always treated different.[12]

So,

> "Can I just have a look in your bag?" "No!" [EA].

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[12] Clinton McCurbin died on the 20th February 1987, while being arrested for alleged shoplifting and use of a stolen credit card, in Wolverhampton, West Midlands. He died of asphyxia only minutes after two officers were called to the shop. Clinton died in a struggle with police after being held in a neck-hold for several minutes. It was said that onlookers were shocked at the level of force and brutality used by the arresting officers. At the inquest, his death was recorded as 'death by misadventure' (Athwal 2002, 4WardEver.UK 2010)

Becoming the Other, becoming British

To this point, the chapter has focussed upon the impact of encounters and critical moments in the formation of first-born identities. Yet whilst the majority of the first-born sense their Jamaicaness, they are British. Yet, there is a tension. Approximation to Britishness requires an adjustment, at times, a concealment of their Jamaicaness. It appears then that the first generation compartmentalised being black, from being foreign, being Jamaican, and consequently elements of Britishness were appropriated as evidence of assimilation, an inculcation of "values", behaviours, an acceptance of the normative values of the 'host' society. As already quoted in Chapter 5 and of relevance here, WL epitomises the migratory shift where he contemplates an encounter in a shop. He illustrates within that moment the contradictions of his approximation towards Britishness. The shopkeeper's "look" compels WL to move from his Jamaicaness to Britishness. The "look" signals clarification, it resist ambiguity, the look necessitates a move from "Gi me dat nuh?" to "may I have?" The look serves to reposition WL from the Jamaicaness of his "roots" towards the Britishness of his "consciousness". Within that moment, WL linguistically illustrates what it means to "keep making your way" in Britain. 'Making your way' means concealing your "roots", and to erase from such encounters your Jamaicaness, transposing to Britishness. For WL, this illustrates one strategy for 'making it', for minimising dissonance and enduring those moments of otherisation. Significantly, he ask the question, "did I need to do that?"

Reverting to the (imagined) norm is a consequence of otherisation. Otherisation, as an encountered within the first-borns' homes, on the school playground, in the school classroom and detected in their workplace, fundamentally affects their presentation of self in everyday (British) life (Goffman 1958, Howarth 2002, 2006). Further, their difference is affirmed through their representations within and consumption of television and newspaper print media. This chapter highlights that such encounters, whilst fleeting, were often painful, becoming enduring moments. The management of multiple identities, multiple selves has a consequence for the understanding of "roots". Attempts to mitigate popularised negated traits, values and characteristics as constructed and imagined within British society, of Jamaicaness, gives way to the

adoption and appropriation of ambiguous, contradictory and (re)constructed - traits, values and characteristics of Britishness.

So, what is it to be different? Particularly where that difference is viewed negatively? Whilst not a central point of conversation, the following reflects the impact of becoming different.

"I never felt like I was an outsider. [T]here is a sense of otherness and I'm not really sure where that comes from because it's not like I had anything explicit directed towards me. But I would say I grew up feeling different. I suppose that's more associated with being mixed race and not having people in your family who look like you. Even though I had mixed race friends, my sister doesn't really look like me and my parents don't look like me, so that had an impact on my childhood. But not majorly. You know, I'm not describing this as a traumatic event in my childhood."

However, in acknowledging her encounter with the teacher in Cheadle, JL discloses.

"The impact it's had on my life is that if I'm confronted with that sort of, those sort of comments, then I won't let them lie, I will confront them. Cos of how terrible I felt, for not confronting it when it when I was 18." [JL, female]

On reflection, becoming (an)other has had profound effects on the first-borns which resulted in reflections on how the harmful and painful effects of those difficult encounters could have been alleviated. For PJ, there is a moment where he considers the experiences of his parents and the strategies they adopted as a means of managing their own personal encounters. Yet, the narrative quickly shifts to highlight the specific and particular circumstance and context for the first-borns.

"The powerlessness of being in a society that doesn't accept you. The powerlessness of coming here and not being viewed on the same level. I think they [first generation] came here expecting not to be treated well. But just took it, absorbed it and dealt with it. And that's why, you'd have times, they'd say to you. If you're doing anything wrong in school, it's because you're the problem, you're doing wrong. To me, I don't know if it was a coping mechanism for them, or just a sense of avoidance. I'm not sure, but there was obviously something that they needed to do to deal with it on a day to day basis."

"But we [first-borns] didn't, we had to engage, we had to interact, we had to learn the main populist norms. Also find a way of knowing you're different, dealing with your difference and dealing with that view of showing to be different, perceived as different and treated as different. Then you had to deal with all of that."

For PJ, there was a choice for his parents to come to England. However, there was no choice for the first-born generation. They had to engage and interact and learn to deal with being perceived as different and looking ["showing"] different. Becoming different required learning and appropriating the populist norms of the white British society. The first-borns had to become different and deal with that difference. However,

"What that did, [it] caused a little bit of confusion in people I reckon. Caused, in the aspect that, you wanna be yourself at all times. You wanna be you. But because you're sometimes in a place that's alien to you, you have to act a bit different, just to fit in. And I do think it, it causes trauma. Whether you call it big trauma, light trauma, it causes trauma. Because you're not allowed to be who you wanna be. And I think that in itself is one of the tragedies of racism. It makes you want to fit into a structure, what doesn't really want you to fit into it". [PJ]

A concealed finding to emerge in this chapter is a view that to "deal with all of that", being in a society that does not accept you, the first-borns appropriate the constructed norms of the dominant society. In contrast to the first generation, the first-borns become the British other. PJ concedes that the "trauma" of those otherising encounters, of encounters with racism, is that "you have to act a bit different, just to fit in", because you cannot be who you want to be. So for EA,

"People usually go off what they can see first of all. If somebody was to dress like them, they would say that that would tick a box. I suppose they would say that's a good thing. If somebody ate the same food, erm I suppose, it's that sort of thing. Again, I would say, the love of sport, similar I suppose [pause] the way you socialise I suppose is what people would look at. I know a lot, some of my Dad's friends have kids my age who spoke in Patois, it's like a corrupted English, a lot of Jamaican kids spoke like that. And to the people here, that would be like they're refusing to speak [English]. [They would] see that as somebody who was trying to be different. They would take that [not

speaking English in their company] as impolite, as if they're been pushed away or pushed out. I think those are the things that would first jump out I suppose."

The disclosure points towards signifiers that EA deems indicative of assimilation, that is of outsiders who are becoming British. That they are accepting and appropriating Britishness. So to dress the same, socialise in the same way, eat similar foods, enjoy similar sports, "that would tick a box". The 'assimilated box'. Remarkably, he returns us again to the notion of "corrupted English" or speaking Patois. 'They', the white British, would consider speaking Patois as being 'impolite' as 'pushing them away', as a refusal to be British and as trying to be something different. There is a clear distancing in EA's account where he is both perpetuating the (negated) differences attributed to the Jamaican migrants yet also legitimising 'their' [the British] potential displeasure and discomfort at outsiders who do not attempt to assimilate and are "trying to be different". The question emerges then as to whether the first-borns' presentation of 'assimilation' (Howarth 2002, 2006) is undertaken as a way of appreciably reducing the likelihood and experience of otherisation?

"That may be there, subconsciously. Because you're young, you're possibly not that aware. I don't think I was aware of it at all, I felt that what I was doing was just natural to me. And I was just growing up. I have no doubt that my parents would have seen it and whether they wanted to assimilate or not, I don't really think they did. They probably wanted us to. So whether the guys of my generation were conscious of assimilating, I doubt it. I think they just thought they were living…I think it's just something that happened, like a gradual process. I would imagine, I don't know, but I would imagine it's the other way around. It would be harder, it would be a conscious decision to reject [Britishness] or to hold onto [pause]"

"Jamaicaness?"

"Yeah yeah, culture. I notice that other cultures, you see some Asian cultures they come over and they've kept their parents' identity I would call it. And er, they've still managed to get educated and they've carried on living a similar way (to their parents). I would say there that the pressure is more on the British born. I think so yeah. I mean pressure all round. So they don't seem to see that you have to assimilate to achieve what you're trying to achieve. They seem to be doing it their way."

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Chapter Seven: The 3rd Generation

Introduction

Within this, the final findings chapter, conversations with the 3rd generation will be analysed as a means to excavate their experiences of encounters that may serve to evoke a sense of difference. The 3rd generation are the children of the firstborn and the grandchildren of the first generation. In total, seven conversations were conducted with members of the 3rd generation who were aged between 20 and 32 years[13]. Conversations lasted between 70 and 130+ mins and three of the respondents were female and four male. It is of significance that three respondents were "mixed race", having one parent of a black ethnicity and one of 'white' ethnicity. The ethnic heterogeneity of the 3rd generation is not confined to simplistic demarcations of 'black' and 'white' ethnic identifiers. For one 3rd generation respondent (SJ), her father was "black British" whilst her mother was born on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent. Similarly, AO's mother is "black British" whilst his father was born in Jamaica, coming to England at the age of 16 years. Emerging alongside the continuities of changes in definition from the first generation and hence pursued as a critical line of inquiry within this chapter is the evolving complexity of identity signifiers for the 3rd generation within contemporary British society (Alexander 2001). Further, the 3rd generation are more geographically dispersed, with family members having 'migrated' beyond the Old Trafford borders, resulting in conversations taking place in Moss Side, Luton in Bedfordshire and in east London. One of the conversations discussed below took place in Stretford, one week prior to the participant's temporary 'emigration' to Australia. Whilst migration away from Old Trafford is evident in the 3rd generation, the central focus of this chapter is upon the experiences of otherisation, as detected through 3rd generation encounters and how such encounters facilitate identity formation. By way of structure, the chapter will firstly consider definitions of identity as developed by the 3rd generation, moving towards a consideration of the relationship between their accounts of otherisation and effects on identity formation. Finally, the

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[13] Whilst conversations were had with eight first born's it is worth reminding the reader that one of the first-born group did not have children old enough to be considered for interview. Hence the lower number of third generation respondents.

chapter reflects upon the motives of identity claim-making and management for the 3rd generation, amidst shifting representations of black families in Britain.

On identity

"British, yeah for sure. Jamaican influence for sure, but British because when I go to Jamaica I don't feel like 'oh I'm home' kind of thing (laughs) it's more I'm visiting and there is obviously a difference between me and my family there. **Really?** Well yeah, I don't really identify with them, they will be talking to me like, 'oh you're British' or foreign kids or that type of thing. **What do you mean you don't identify with them?** It's just a completely different upbringing and I mean the culture, some parts are the same, but I find it really different in most aspects in terms of their upbringing and mine." [LB, female]

"British, ethnicity mixed, white black Caribbean. That's what I put down, well every time you get the employment thing, equal rights, equal opportunities forms, that's what I put down, yeah. Well that's what I am innit. **What does that mean these days?** Well fifty fifty, exactly what it says. You're white and you're black Caribbean…[L]ike when you say you're mixed race people always ask, they never ask where your white side's from. They never ever ask you that at all, they always ask you where your black side's from. One hundred percent of the time. My white side, stems from, well my mum's dad side stems back from Ireland, goes back to Northern Ireland and my dad's side stems back to Jamaica. It's not like I don't care about where the white side is from sort of thing." [MW, male]

"Yeah English…I'm British. **You know when you get those boxes, which box do you tick?** Erm, British Afro-Caribbean or whatever because yeah….(laughing) I'm British but…Yes English… but well not English, like I'm born in England, so that means I'm an English. Okay so I'm English, but my dad was born in England and then everyone else is Caribbean. So yes I'm English, but I have, my descendants are Caribbean. I know in those type of questionnaires, if I put in English and then come to the interview and they see me they'll think she is not just British, she is something else and that's what they are looking for." [SJ, female]

"Erm, if someone was to ask me to define myself, normally I would say I'm mixed race. My dad is of Jamaican heritage and my mum is white. If I was in a situation and this is something my Dad has always taught me, my dad has always said you're a black girl and that's it. There is no question about it. [H]e used to give me this kind of analogy and he said if you was in the shop and a little Polish girl was in the shop and someone random walked into the shop and was asked 'which one is the English one' they'd point to the Polish girl before me because of the colour of her skin. So it was always like me being a black girl and that's just how I see myself. **Okay, so if I was to ask you how do you define yourself?** I would say I'm black. [LG, female]

"**Are you British?** Yeah British, fully British, yeah British. Strange. Why I say strange, because now I have friends that I know who have come here and they're in my generation, but they're not so British. They're Bengali or they're this or they're that. They don't feel as British as I do. I know I shouldn't speak for them and should speak for myself, but like I mentioned, I only realised, I've not been here since the beginning of time, two years ago.   Know what I mean, it only came to my mind two years ago. So I would say, fully British or UK English, whatever you say, I don't mind. Although British and English is not the same thing, or connotations, but same thing. British yeah yeah. **So fully British?** Yeah, I'm British. If somebody says where are you from? I say Manchester, if somebody says where are your parents from, my parents are from here, well three different places basically. They were born here, my parents are from here, my grandparents came here relatively young. They pretty much had a British upbringing. And my parents must have had something like that. If there is such a thing as a British upbringing, my parents must have had it, you know. **So what does it mean to be British?** For whatever reason I feel that British history is my history. So, the history of the Kings and Queens, the Monarchy and all of that stuff I feel it is part of my [history]. And when, if my Nana, not the one you interviewed, the Irish nana of mine, had something to say, I'm OK with it, she's my Nana as well and I'm Irish as well as British, but I don't think I'm Irish." [RA, male]

"I'm English yeah. I was having this conversation with the young people. I'm a British English citizen. Fact. With Jamaican heritage. No one ain't deporting me and no one ain't sending me anywhere, this is my home.   [I] see myself as English. People say, you can't say that. I know I'm Black, I know my heritage. I'm Jamaican, African whatever you, how far back you want to take it to. But, fact of the fact is, where I was born was here. I grew up here. People I know here, these are my fam[ily], this is my

people innit. So I just keep it real, I'm English. All day, three lions on the chest and all that." [AO, male]

Within the above process of defining self-identity, respondents navigate towards Britishness and in some instances, "Englishness" as the primary definer of their identity. British claim making by the 3rd generation emerges as a recognition of where they were born and where they are from. Belonging also resides in the "fact" of being born 'here', alongside the "fact" that their parent(s) were born here. Yet whilst British claim making is primary to 3rd generation conceptualisation of (self) identity, such assertions are at times tentatively made and approached with caution, endowed with a consciousness of complexity. This is marked in SJ's narrative with hesitant pauses. She is both cautious and contradictory. SJ is "English" and "British", but "they" see her as something else. Alongside her Britishness, she is compelled to foreground "Afro-Caribbean" because she is "something else". To support her claim, SJ poses an example of a job interview where "they" would not expect to see blackness enter the room as Britishness. Similarly, LG firstly self-defines as "mixed-raced". Her mum is white and her dad is of Jamaican heritage. But during the moment of this disclosure, her mixed-raceness is deftly moved towards the background, becomes concealed and subsumed within an imposed blackness. Significantly, she recounts an example given by her father RG, concerning the "Polish girl". The analogy is an encounter positioning LG alongside the Polish girl, who is not British, but she is white. RG simplistically, yet profoundly, disrupts his daughter's mixed-raceness, by imposing the racialized identifier of blackness. Her father's intervention serves to account for the "something else". The "something else" evokes a consciousness of a blackness imposed, about which there can be "no question". In that moment, Britishness is obscure by her mixed-raceness. Her mixed-raceness is from that moment concealed by her blackness. Therefore, "I would say I am black".

However, nobody ever asks about the "white side", the observer is "one hundred percent of the time bothered about the black side". For MW, the "black" side obscures his "white side". Enquiries of his identity he believes is initiated by his 'non-white' difference. His narrative serves then to illustrate how we negotiate our identity, verbalised as "British, ethnicity mixed, white black Caribbean". To ignore the "black side" would mean that "they" would not deem his definition as complete, because "they

always ask you where your black side's from". 'Something' would be missing. For the 3rd generation, there is a multiplicity of identity signifiers to be managed, from place of birth through to proximities between Englishness and Britishness. In addition, 'race', blackness, mixed raceness and whiteness coalesce and compete, with their parent(s)' and/or grandparent(s)' ethnicities and places of birth, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Northern Ireland and England, accompanying an alluring sense of "heritage". Critically, awareness and management of such complexity dictates a need to consider the processes through which the multiple selves coalesce and are configured toward a cohesive whole (Stones 2015).

For RA Britishness along with an accompanying sense of belonging is more than 'place of birth'. To claim Britishness is suggestive of an acculturation, an acceptance and appreciation of British history as his own (Alexander 2001, Howarth 2006). He notes that others, like his "Bengali" friend, identify less with Britishness, even though, like him, they were born in England. Concerning this, he reflects, "maybe it's the language". Understanding the mechanisms and processes that facilitate his belonging is again a central area of investigation here. For RA, there is a consciousness that his parents' and grandparents' upbringing was British. Embracing British culture, however defined, develops as significant in facilitating his British claim-making. Conversely, there is also some recognition that he has "not always been here". In acknowledging the significance of his educational accomplishments, his mother informed him of the short history of "the timeline of the family".

> "We only recently came here [England]. And it had never really been part of my thought before. [Be]cause once you have your immediate family, your grandparents and that, it's hard to think beyond that. But yeah, this is only a small part of the whole [family] tree."

In recollecting the encounter.

> "I think at that time it was said with that intention like 'don't worry where you want to be, you're not doing too bad', kind of thing. It was intended like that and I took it like that. But it was a bit more than that. I guess the question is how does it benefit? How does that knowledge [of family history] benefit. I guess it's perspective and context and it gives you where you are in truth, rather than how you perceive things to be."

When placed within the context of "family" history, RA is able to contextualise his position, where he is, who he is. Whilst on the one hand his history is particularised to himself and his immediate family, the reflection affords him a space within which to actualise where he is, rather than relying on a perception of how "things are". Recollections of his family's migrations from Jamaica, Barbados and Northern Ireland are enveloped by their (assumed) and his "British upbringing". The appropriation of Britishness marks a profound shift towards a 'generalised other' connoted within the primary aims of race relations research (discussed in chapter two) and serving to conceal other more obvious identity signifiers (Mead 1934, Howarth 2002). Moreover, British claim-making also serves to conceal the history of migration of his "immediate family", its context and trajectory. Foregrounding Britishness therefore serves to conceal visible aspects of identity.

Related to this, cultural idiosyncrasies are connoted as difference affirming. For LB, culture differences mark her Britishness away from the Jamaican of her other family members as "they have a different upbringing". Whilst she acknowledges that some things are the same, the Jamaican culture is different in many respects. Therefore, encounters on visits "home" to Jamaica have served to mark out and affirm a difference where she is "British", a "foreign kid". However, she shows no aversion to the particularities of Jamaicaness, but an acknowledgement of a 'distance' between her upbringing and that of her Jamaican family, which serves to emphasise her difference.

> "[I]n part, I am Jamaican, but it's not really a big thing. Maybe because my mum is the way she is and my dad hasn't really been a big part of my life like that. It's just me and my mum and she is British. She can count the amount of times she has been to Jamaica on one hand. Maybe if we had been more, but when you…this is mostly what you know, it's what you can identify more with." [LB]

So for the majority of 3rd generation respondents, Britishness is foregrounded as their primary identifier, due to their proximity to the (dominant) culture within which they were born. British claiming emerges then not from a rejection of Jamaicaness, but is more simply related to the 'distance travelled' from Jamaicaness. Jamaicaness is subsumed under Britishness. Whilst for LB there is a consciousness of a "heritage",

Britishness is "mostly what you know" and what "you can identify more with". The primacy of significant others is critical in inculcating British cultural norms because "it's just me and my mum and she is British". Again for AO, his cultural identity is (in)formed by where he is born, acculturation occurs through his upbringing, primarily derived through his mother. It is relevant then that whilst narrating the differences between his firstborn mother and her sister, who came to England from Jamaica, AO articulates a series of differences between his English mother and his Jamaican Aunty.

> "My aunty is more grounded. She's more peppercorn, Soursop juice. My mum's more Macdonald's you get what I'm saying, like that's the difference. Aunty is more ethics and that, more homely and more grounded. My mum's grounded as well, but my mum's just more English like she's already got the English roots, [the] [television] soaps, you get what I mean, the fairy tale world. She sees things very dreamy like. [Aunty] keeps it old school. [H]er traditions don't change, nothing like that, she don't go with the times it's just what it was, is what it is, do you get what I'm saying. You go in Aunty [name] gaff [house], it's more gangster, more Grimey, like a real black household. I'm not saying my mum's household ain't black and to be fair my dad makes it more black than anything, like my mum doesn't. Aunty [name] will have ancient tings, antique yard [Jamaican] tings in her yard [house]. You know them sayings and all the little pictures and all that to make you feel like you're at your Grandma's yard. Aunty [name] has got that Grandma feel, you get me…[T]ru seh, she [Aunty] was a Rasta[farian] as well. Aunty [name] [is] a Rasta and they [Mum and her English sister] ain't Rastas, you get me. So she was coming with that, a code you could relate to. It felt more black. It won't have been more black, but it felt more black if you get what I mean, if you get what I'm saying."

Within the above disclosure, AO speaks of the virtues of a Jamaicaness as personified through his Aunty, juxtaposed with the Englishness of his mother. The fruit of "soursop", peppercorn, artefacts, "pictures", Rastafarianism are all conjured as "homely", as authentic compared to the Englishness of his firstborn mother's home. Importantly, such recollections of his Aunt's home also conjure memories of "traditions" and of his "Grandma's" home. Conversely, his mother has "English roots", she watches television soaps, eats MacDonald's and pursues a "fairy tale world". However, and problematically, authentic Jamaicaness is presented as "more gangster", "grimey", more "old school", alongside his Aunt's adherence to

Rastafarianism. Such language potentially serves to problematise representations of Jamaica and Jamaicans. In addition, the narrative is suggestive of Jamaicaness as a fixed, unchanging attribute. So while AO's mother "moves with the times", for his Aunt, "traditions don't change, nothing like that, she don't go with the times, it's just what it was, is what it is." Yet again, there is something 'else'. The Jamaicaness of his Aunt's home represented a "real black household", as feeling "more black". Although he acknowledges his mother's home is "black", this is more a consequence of his Jamaican dad, rather than his "more English" mother "who doesn't" [make it black]. Englishness as black here is connoted as authentically less black.

Within the previous chapter, firstborn experiences of otherisation were precipitated by encounters and critical moments with significant others. For AO and LB, noted above, otherisation similarly occurs through such encounters with family members. Such experiences serve to accentuate difference between mixed raceness and blackness, between Jamaicaness and Englishness/Britishness. However, and of importance here self-definition is further comprised with being black. Whilst blackness is incorporated as an index of Britishness for the firstborn cohort, its significance is initially restrained for the 3rd generation. So whilst there is an acknowledgement of blackness, for AO, Jamaican blackness is more authentic than English or British.

Whilst Britishness is predominant for the 3rd generation, there was also a consciousness of encounters with mainstream political and media representations of black and brown people. Above, LG primarily self-defines as black. While her father imposes her blackness, subsequent encounters further serve to disrupt their British claim making.

> "I am British, but if someone was to say to me are you proud to be British, I don't really think proud comes into it. I'm more proud to be black, than proud to be British. Because that's what I think I'm seen as being more. I think I'm more seen as black than I am British. You can classify me as a black British yeah, but in terms of being more British, I think we've got governments, this that and the other, who accept the racism, you know what I mean. You've got MPs and it's deemed OK for them to be like UKIP and this that and the other. I think, how can you be proud to be British when you're allowing this. Like immigration in terms of stuff. Obviously, you've got to have

some border force, but you got saying you've got proper British people, British bull dog and all that. No blacks, this that and the other. I think you are classed as British. I don't really want to be classed as being British because my proud to be British and your proud to be British is completely different. It's like the Olympics have been on. Well I'd root for Jamaica before I'd root for Great Britain." [LG]

So whilst Britishness is present as the primary identifier, blackness emerges and remains as contentious in facilitating constructs of identity. LG is clear in detecting an incompatibility between present representations of Britishness with her blackness. The disclosure is cognisant again of that sensation of a populist, anti-immigrant patriotism embraced by MPs, political parties and wider political movements, discussed within the introduction to this thesis. Her disclosure highlights a tension in contemporary British claim-making for some of the 3rd generation respondents. Howarth (2006:1) conceptualises 'race as stigma' where raced bodies 'symbolise the threat or danger of the so stigmatised person'. Further, to construct persons as the 'racial other', those whose skin is black and brown, reduces the 'identity' from 'a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one' (Howarth 2006:442). Their identities then are represented as 'spoiled and blemished' by a racist gaze. Of importance here and discussed in chapter two, 'race exists as stigma in the eye of the beholder', imposed on others' disrupting identity claims and their 'sense of self'. For Howarth, this misrecognition creates a tension and emerges as a potential 'space of struggle and negotiation' where raced bodies seek to challenge stigmatising representations and to disrupt negative constructs of their identity. With this in mind, the chapter will consider how becoming black is negotiated in the conceptualisation of self-identity for the 3rd generation.

Encountering difference

"I got a funny story about this, you're gonna like it. The first time I ever had to fill out one of those boxes, was in, I can't remember the age, but it was at the local leisure centre and it was for free swimming tickets and you had to fill out the form basically to say you were a resident of the area. This was Stretford Leisure Centre and erm you had to tick your ethnicity box. And at this time, I'd never been faced with the question

and I ticked black. Just because, I had no problem with that, they had no problem with it. Then it got mentioned to my parents and my mum asked, why did you tick this box? That was the first time I was ever confronted with the whole situation. And I really didn't, I don't remember if I said it or not, but now that I think about it, I knew it wasn't white [laughs]. That's all I knew at the time. I knew it wasn't white. I didn't know anything else. I know Asian, I knew everything else. [I]t's the one I most identified with. Obviously, otherwise I wouldn't have ticked it. **So you ticked the 'black' box because you knew you weren't white?** Yeah, exactly. Out of all the things you recognise. I had no idea about multiple heritage at that time, mixed race identity or anything like that. [S]o it's almost like a process of elimination. Also, bear in mind that I knew, it wasn't a big deal anyway, it was for a free swimming pass. If it was to do with passports or anything, I would have asked my parents. So you have to take it that I wanted to go swimming.   I remember figuring it out, but don't remember how my mum came to know about it. Yeah, yeah yeah, but I must have been younger than eleven." [RA]

"I went to Trinity (High School) and I had cousins that went there and my sister's childminder's kids went there, you know there was a good mix of culture. There was people from all different backgrounds, different religions and it was where I felt like I fit in. **That's interesting.** Yeah, because I did go to Urmston Grammar and we just walked in and my first reaction was it was a beautiful place...but you walked in and it was kind of more middle class…like whale music playing, leather sofas, grand staircase. [W]hen we were walking round on the open days…it was like, 'oh there's one black girl that I know' and then that was it and I don't really feel comfortable going to a school like that. **Did you think that at the time?** Yeah, honestly at that time…[I] grew up around Old Trafford with my cousins and this that and the other, you could tell the difference. I obviously have big curly hair and the white girls have straight hair and they are like 'oh let me touch your hair' and there was a noticeable difference. You know even when I was young and I think when I had gone to visit my Aunty [name] in Liverpool I had a comment made to me one day and honestly I must have been so young and I have never ever forgot about it. She said 'oh where have you been on holiday?' and I said 'nowhere why?' and she said 'oh well, why are you so brown' and I said 'it's the colour of my skin' and she said 'but how are you so brown' and I said 'because my dad has brown skin' and she said 'well where has he been on holiday'. That was honest to God the conversation I had with her." [LG]

"Oh my God, I hated St.Bedes [Private school] towards the end. I just hated it, I don't even remember why I hated it so much I just remember walking to school every day and just thinking why am I here. So when I went to Loreto [College] I was so happy. Like freedom. Loads of different people, black people. What was weird to me was religion in St. Bedes was just Catholic, then I went to college and it was Hindu and all these different types of religion and I was like whoa, that was more of a shock to me than anything else. I think that was the main thing and then it was pretty clicky, Loreto to be honest. Like you had a white canteen and a black canteen, and an Asian canteen. **How many canteens have they got?** They had three. We had (name of canteen) which was white and I forgot which one was Asian. So that was a bit like, 'why am I being forced to just hang out with black people'. It was odd." [LB]

On arrival in Luton,

"I feel like erm…you notice you're different now kind of thing. They're not really the same as me, yeah it was a big shock to me. I was in a bubble kind of thing [in London], even in school even in the predominantly white school I was in a bubble until you really get to uni. [C]oming from a black family, going to a black school, going to a black church like, that's all I see, that's all I know. So yeah it's a big shock, a shock to the system and I think maybe that's why I rebelled because I wasn't like that in my other school, I was a good girl actually, but I was a lot younger I guess too. I dunno I guess I knew I was different in that school, I didn't fit in like I thought I would. No one would really say anything, but I dunno I think erm…I watch people a lot. I'm quite observant, so I wouldn't say I wasn't welcomed, I mean it wasn't like erm… it wasn't… it didn't feel comfortable at first. Yeah, it didn't. And I didn't think [pause], people didn't say, they weren't racist, they didn't make me feel uncomfortable with their words. But erm, I knew I was different from the way they were around me. [L]ike they would ask me questions about my hair, because I had very Afro hair and stuff like that and I wouldn't get asked that in my other school and they would be like 'can I touch it' and I knew it wasn't, it was just a bit you know not [pause]. Yeah, I knew they thought I was different and it made me feel different kind of thing. So yeah, that's what I think. **Is there anything else where you begin to think, 'hold on'?** There was a few things that would be like 'okay this is what they think type of thing', like okay I'm gonna have to adapt because sometimes I think you'd want to say things and then they just wouldn't

get it, they wouldn't understand, they wouldn't get it. So, it's like after a while I think I kind of like became aware and knew how to deal with it and then sometimes I would just ignore it and just get used to and just leave it how it is, kind of thing." [SJ]

For the 3rd generation, difference was evoked within seemingly trivial everyday encounters and interactions. The encounters described above are unexpected, and occur while the third generation are still only children. For LG, the encounter is a "shock", something she did not, nor could have anticipated. Her shock is in response to the ignorance of the "girls", their lack of understanding of people who are not white. Her comments echo the 'shocks' described by the first generation on encountering Britain and "English" people for the 'first time'. For LG, Old Trafford is "home", a place where such comments or remarks did not arise - it is "multicultural", "different", a place where she belongs. PJ of the firstborn disclosed, "you didn't hear those things in Old Trafford". To be 'home' therefore insulates LG against the "shocks" of ignorant remarks and silly questions. Also,

> "[W]hen I'm around Old Trafford, when I'm in Hulme [a]round the areas I have grown up, it's just like a day to day thing. There, I'm no different from the Asian woman or the white woman or no different to anyone walking on the street because I feel like that's how the community was on a whole growing up. And I still feel that now, like we all fit in together and work together and I'm expecting when I walk down the street, I'm expecting to see the white man with his dog and the Asian lady with the buggy, do you know what I mean?"

It is in Liverpool, beyond the symbolic borders of Old Trafford, that LG had her disruptive encounter. The girls she is playing with signify she is not white. The simple exchange creates a distance, differentiating her from the two white girls. LG understands difference, she is from Old Trafford where being different is normal, 'the white man with the dog, the Asian woman with the buggy', is a part of her everyday life. The encounter with the girls leaves a mark, her brown skin as stigma signifies her as raced [Howarth 2006]. She has remembered this event "word for word" because they did not understand why she is "black". There is clearly 'something' significant in the quality of this event as it is now permanently retained, memorised "word for word".

"[S]o kind of like from then on…from a young age I started to notice that there was obviously like a difference between me and the white girls. **How old would you have been when that happened?** Probably primary school age, so kind of like nine, ten, elevenish… and that's why I think when I went to the Grammar school and I started dancing and everything else, I think I was so conscious of not fitting in with everybody else. It was a young age for something like that to stick, but I think they were the words and I think the words haven't changed, that's what literally has been stuck in my head. **Why have you held onto it?** I don't know, I think I was just so shocked by the comment and I think obviously growing up in Manchester and around Old Trafford it was very multicultural. I went to a school that was multicultural. I have got a white mum and a black dad and it was just the norm to me, so when you go into an area that was predominantly white and you don't really see many black people walking round you think 'well why am I any different now'." [LG]

RA recounts his encounter as a funny story. His disruption occurs on a simple visit to the swimming baths. It is not his first visit to the baths, but he has never "encountered anything like this is his life". He is a resident of the area, but the box does not fit. He deduces he is "not white, not Asian". Through this process of elimination, he finds it is "safe" to tick the "black" box. Not because he is black, but because he is not white, not Asian. There is already a consciousness in his difference, which then became marked in the box. Still, "it wasn't that important, it was for a free swimming pass."

The theme of not fitting in arises again and again in conversation with the 3rd generation. SJ's family had moved from her London home to Luton when she was a young girl. On reflection she recalls how insulated she was in her "black school", going to a "black church" along with her "black family" in London. In 'migrating' away from her London "home", she detects her difference. Describing the experience as a "shock", she senses that she did not "fit in". Whilst school friends never said anything "racist", her difference is evoked through the white others' curiosity, their wanting to ask questions about her "Afro hair". Difference is detected through the questions she is asked, questions that would not be asked back "home". She is observant. SJ knew they thought she was different and that made her feel different. It was not just her hair. Difference was connoted through the way they acted around her, making her conscious of their difference. Difference becomes 'something' that you have to "adapt

to". It was SJ's firstborn dad who spoke of the trauma of having to "fit into a system which does not want you." (Alexander 2012). In migrating, she hadn't changed, hadn't become different; it was the context, the environment, the space to which she had now moved that was different. There is therefore a need to consider 3rd generation reactions to the stigmatising effects of racialized otherisation in the process of self-definition and identity formation. The process of fitting the 'box' at times conflicts with prior constructions of identity. There develops then a tension between self and social identity construction, setting how 3rd generation respondents see themselves against representations of their identity to a 'generalised other'. This is notable in RA's story. To go swimming he simply 'fits into' the box of least resistance, through a process of elimination. He is "mixed-race", so he ticks the "black" box. Whilst he does not have a problem with that, more importantly for him "they [staff at the leisure centre] would have no problem with that" either.

LB had attended a private school. Her migration towards the racialized canteen presents her with the profound question – "why am I being forced to hang about with black people?" Conversely, LB does not fit in the "black canteen". Her childhood experiences have led her to defy such categorisation that defines her as belonging in a black canteen. She is therefore in the "middle", having classes with her white friends and "chilling" with black friends at lunch. Within the course of our conversation, she notes that she mainly had white friends in school, with these friendships maintained outside of school. Like her dark-skinned firstborn mother, LB had experienced disruptive encounters with black school "friends".

> "'Oh [LB] you think your white'. **Were these boys from Old Trafford or boys from school?** Boys from school. **Why did they think that?** I dunno exactly and they would say 'oh because you hang around with white girls…okay (laughs). It didn't make any sense and when we left they apologised to me…[T]hey were like '[W]e're sorry. It was really dumb and immature' and I was like 'yeah'. And now we're friends. **How did it make you feel at the time…on a level?** At first I was like you're [the boys] dumb and then you start to feel self-conscious because you're like, 'why are they calling me this'. But I wasn't really bothered, it didn't hit too deep. That's the kind of person I am, if I was a really sensitive person then it could affect you for sure. **But you're cool with that?** Yeah I'm fine. How could I hate my skin tone when my mum is dark and my

grandad is dark. It's just weird. I was like you're not just offending me, you are offending my whole family."

"I remember white folks being like what does coconut mean? And why you getting called it… [S]o I would have to explain it to my friends…like it means black on the outside, white on the inside and she would be like whhaat! [M]aybe it's just teenagers you know, you don't think about these things when you are nine years old yeah. Coconut, Oreo, but it's okay it wasn't just me that was getting called Coconut...it was me and my friend. [T]here was only three of us…we all stuck together (laughing), they would call my friend coconut too, but she was way posher than I was…"

Within the school, it is not black or brown skin that initiates the highly offensive slur of "coconut" or "Oreo" but LB's presence in the 'white' private school. It is because she "hangs around" with "white girls" that the boys claim she "thinks she's white". Her mother also spoke of such encounters whilst at school, again having predominantly white friends. In response to the physical and verbal abuse she received from the "black girls" in Old Trafford, BD enrols LB at the private school while she was still just a baby. It is her mother (BD) then who has negative constructs and representations of black people arising from her own personal experiences, which results in sending LB to the private school. For Howarth such reactions are suggestive of a strategy of coping with negated encounters through 'social mobility' (Howarth 2002), in this instance by creating a distance between LB and the imagined 'black girls' to provide a 'better life' for her daughter. BD therefore seeks to circumvent race as stigma (Eijberts and Roggeband 2015) by placing her daughter in the "white' school. However, her proximity to the generalised white other inadvertently serves to other LB, along with her "posh" black school friends.

For RA, such terms as 'coconut' or 'Oreo' are "inherently malicious. I don't think there's any way to get around. I guess that's my line, something like that." Because the terms suggest that

"somebody is professing, someone is pretending to be something they are not. By calling somebody like this, you are saying you present yourself, as you're not inside. Or you know, you're supposed to be like this, but pretending you're something else. [V]ery quickly, bigotry, prejudice all comes in." [RA]

AO earlier introduced the notion of 'real blackness' as a feature of Jamaicaness. Conversely, his mother's home was delineated as less black due to her appropriation of Britishness. Similarly, LB's presence in the white school, having white friends, positions her as less black, she is deemed by the black boys to have become something she is not. It is against this backdrop then that there is a shock in her (re)encounter with difference, going to college with people who shared different religions and with different people. There is a disruption in what she perceives as a coerced obligation to enter the black canteen. Yet, to defy this obligation may again arouse the slurs of 'Oreo' or 'Coconut'. She is compelled to go into the black canteen where she is not comfortable. "Why am I being forced to hang about with black people?" LB enters, whilst resisting the box.

'Racism's touch: I can't quite put my finger on it'.

There emerges 'something' particular to the 3rd generation. Whilst Britishness emerges in the main as a primary identifier, they, similar to the previous generations, have endured both internal and external othering encounters. Further, there is a sense of "something" else, something they 'can't quite put their finger on', a "sensation" [WL] conceptualised by Tate (2016) as 'racism touch'. Within the context of this intergenerational study, the 3rd generation's migration towards a Britishness occurs irrespective of the pertinent experiences of otherisation disclosed above. Whilst respondents acknowledge the episodic disruptions that emerge within social interaction, the ways in which they make sense of these experiences, whilst 'belonging as British', necessitate a conceptual reframing of self-definition. So while situating and negotiating 'race as stigma', the 3rd generation also have to navigate impressions of blackness as authentic, as "real", to resist the imposition of undesired, blemished identities or prejudice from other black people (Beech 2011). The actor WL of the first generation disclosed that.

> "To me, if an audience, its expectation is that if a Black person is in a play that is not a Black character, automatically they are looking for conflict. They are looking for trouble, what's going to happen. Because their prejudices or what they are used to is that. If

a Black person is present then that must mean there is going to be some kind of confrontation."

For WL, along with the numerous narratives and encounters for the first generation and the firstborns, there is a consciousness of the potentiality for "conflict" as an underlying and enduring feature of their black presence in England. Our presence here is persistently disruptive to the audience, the white British other. Blackness in England historically and contemporaneously has become indelibly marked as a signifier for social and cultural problems, melodramatically (re)presented through a wide range of media (Williams and Clarke 2017). For WL, such conflict arises because of the audience's prejudice. Racial "prejudice" and discrimination then are an intrinsic feature of the normative boundaries of British society or as Tyler (2018) remarks race as stigma is embodied within the structures of British society. Whilst imagined, such boundaries are maintained to exclude, to demarcate the 'non-citizen' and the 'failed' citizen from the good citizen (Aliverti 2015, Alexander 2013). So those British people racialized as black and brown, irrespective of the vociferousness of their (British) claims remain the disruptive Other. They are "automatically" associated with "conflict", with "trouble" because that is what "they [white British] are used to". However, during conversations with the 3rd generation, the experience of encounters, defined as racist by the first-borns was (again) defined-away.

> "I can't really ever say I have experienced racism in terms of it being, like intentional racism, I feel like I experience being a black woman in terms of what part of Manchester I am in, does that make sense?" [LG]

> "Because our experience is so easy and effortless, like I do know a few people who have experienced racism, but I didn't, not once. Not in any way, not in any way that affected…not in any way that I noticed. But I didn't experience it, not growing up. And I believe it was more prevalent before my time." [RA]

> **"Have you ever experienced racism?** Yeah, but not like in Manchester. Like I've experienced it when I have come out [of Manchester], but because Manchester is so multicultural I don't feel like I'm experiencing that now. But probably when my grandad came it was all white. [I]'ve experienced it when I lived in Spain, when I lived in Korea,

but I get that because they haven't experienced black people often. I can't imagine Manchester being like it was like 60 years ago or whatever." [LB]

"Racism, stuff like that, never really had a problem. From what I can remember, I've never really had a proper problem with it. So it's not the first thing that jumps in my mind. And I think that's the same with a lot of people in this generation…[Y]eah, I think that's the difference between my dad's generation and my generation is that I've not had any of it, so it's not the first thing that pops in my mind." [MW]

"[A]nd it's just I think people use it as an excuse, do you get me. Cause nowadays …no one's brought up with hatred unless your parents are very old fashioned yeah. Your parents ain't bringing you up with hatred cause they've not been brought up with…they've learnt to grow out of the hatred that they've been brought up with. So I don't see people nowadays getting brought up racist, they just know, like at school and all that they teach you that that is a racist term, this is the racist way to be, do you get what I'm saying." [AO]

For 3rd generation respondents, racism, whilst at times conceptually accepted, did not feature as significant in their lives or encounters. So whilst there were incidents of otherisation, such moments were rarely construed racist. This finding echoes the sentiments of the first generation who whilst having particular negative encounters with the 'host' society, were reluctant to attribute such events to racism. Of significance, 3rd generation respondents' consciously deconstructed encounters as unracist, with racism being 'defined out', resituated as belonging and existing elsewhere. So for MW, racism is memorised as 'something' encountered by his firstborn dad's generation and not by his generation. "That's the difference" between his dad and the 3rd generation, "it's not the first thing that pops into my head". Because he has not experienced it, consequently and again similar to WL of the first generation, MW does not expect to find it. Whilst LB again acknowledges 'racism's touch' for her however, this only ever occurred abroad in other countries and places. So racism was something encountered in "South Korea", "Spain", and "America". Not in England. Still further, respondents frequently referenced Manchester as being "multicultural" presented to evidence that racism would not be found in Old Trafford. For the 3rd generation, there was an incompatibility between multiculturalism as experienced and racism. Such disclosures then, served to explain the historical context and nature of

racism(s) as endured by the first generation yet now seemingly extinct, a relic of history. So LB explains "when grandad came it was all white", RA "believes it [racism] was more prevalent before my time" enabling AO to describe racism as "old-fashioned" because nobody is "brought up" like that anymore. Evidently, for the 3rd generation, racism happens in areas racialized as "white", in other foreign, less multicultural and "old-fashioned" places. Even where AO notes that his dad may have experienced "racism, had to overcome it, meet your friends, make white friends and stick together as a band", that has now changed, "slavery's gone…we've gone past it". Pointedly, racism is confined to a history, a period now gone. A painful yet now erased chapter of those who disembarked the Windrush. That story is now history, concealed beneath multicultural Manchester. Along with AO, we are "past all that now", so racism(s) "don't affect me".

For Howarth, social change as a strategy serves to 'challenge' how the 3rd generation are perceived and more importantly how such perceptions facilitate a redefinition of self-identity. Such strategies are evoked to rekindle a positive self-regard through re-evaluating the group, whilst contesting outsiders' representations, and in turn reconstructing stigma, challenging those negative representations of their communities and of themselves (Howarth 2006). However, in relation to the 3rd generation, there is evidence of a social change and re-evaluation in claims to a non-inclusive Britishness. This as we will see below included the 'deracialisation' of encounters as a means through which to retain self-definitions. Howarth (2002:145) acknowledges the pressures to (re)examine our identities against the 'flux' of 'unstable' and negative representations around us. This is particularly the case where othered representations dominate normative discourses. As examples, Howarth refers to the 'events' of riots and negative police-community relations, which have served to perpetuate a criminalised construct of black people and black communities. However, for the 3rd generation further examples are presented in conversation.

"Yeah it's not good. I don't know. It's always, that's who you hear about black boys in situations. You know gangs. It's always gang related and it's quite hard, you know for the black boys. It's hard for the black boys who try, and they might really try and they might not get anywhere and they might not get anywhere then they are going to be the

stereotype that the media talk about. Because what are they gonna do if they aren't getting anywhere?   So you know it's hard" [SJ]

"I guess in secondary school you know as they get older and they start getting more ignorant and stuff. So like my school, it's in Whalley Range, but it's right next to Moss Side…[S]o they'd be like 'I'm so scared to get the bus to go through Moss Side, I'm gonna get shot'. You know, it would be that kind of foolishness. **Where would they be getting those idea from?** TV. I don't know, different things that they hear and maybe their parents say 'don't walk outside the school it's dangerous' kind of thing. **So there is that notion of Moss Side being a problematic area?** Yeah, just the idea of the ghetto kind of thing. Oh yeah, it's scary and they say 'oh your dad lives in Moss Side, that's so scary' (laughs). It's funny. **It's interesting that you laugh about that**. Yeah because I knew it was so daft. I was just like come on, 'every area has its problems and the way they exaggerated and dramatised it was just over the top…kind of thing, so I just kind of ignored that. **So within that arena then, you would say, racism, discrimination, difference.** Ignorance. Ignorance I pick up on, I wouldn't say racism, but they would just come out with ignorant comments all the time and I'm just like okay." [LB]

"Because it's people's ignorance and misinformation about stuff. Like recently with the whole Black Lives Matter and people are like, 'no, all lives matter'. Things like that really, really annoy me because it's just so ignorant and they don't even look at it. They are just like, 'maybe he was like a bad guy', 'maybe he did need to be to be shot', but it's happened to so many other people and they are like 'oh police lives matter as well' and they just dismiss everything that happens and I hate it when people have that dismissive outlook on everything" [LB]

"But it was kind of like called 'Gangland' and it was literally just a case of like, just amazed that all this was going on. [A]gain, it was just put on the black kids. And they're the kids that are gonna say they got no education, they'd seen people like grow up on the streets and they themselves have come over from places in Africa or the Caribbean, when they was younger. And there was the older group of black boys, who were into it [gangs] and so they were saying they were in the minority, because they came over from the Caribbean or Africa…[S]o the black person took them under their wings. They'd have their fresh Jordan's [Nike Trainers] on, Louis Vuitton belts and they'd say 'arrr, this is the lifestyle, from coming from over there to here'. This is what they wanted, they wanted that better life and this is how they're gonna get it. But, to

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me, it was kind of upsetting and disturbing because I was like thinking again it's bad media for black people. I know myself that it's not just black people that do this and it's called Gangland. It wasn't focusing on black boys in gangs, it was about gangs. So why is it only the black gangs on here? Why is nothing else?" [LG]

On Brexit.

"Yeah, yeah, no doubt about it. Yeah, that identity politics you have to have the outsider, for sure. So maybe this is it, the Europeans and everyone that's not in the UK, [are] the outsider. I don't have any conflict with them, but I wouldn't say I'm European, not in that sense. In the same way I wouldn't say I'm American or something like that. Even though we have this thing [Brexit] I would say the UK is out of this. [We are] kind of detached from the [European] land mass. That physical distance has something in my mind." [RA]

"I feel like there's only so much capacity that a certain land can take. I feel like it's a case of, not saying we shouldn't be allowing immigrants in at all, because I think, if there was no immigrants so to speak, I wouldn't be here. You might not be here…I would never expect someone to say you can't come in. In terms of thinking realistically, you can't let too many people come in because, where is everyone gonna go? But there's got to be a kind of stand. You can't have people saying, no they can't come, no they're from Poland, cause they're from Pakistan, because they're from Africa or the Congo or wherever else. What I'm saying is there's got to be rules and regulations about how you can get into the country. It should be a border cut off, but I don't know."

Yet, there is a complexity here. Returning to Howarth (2006) 'race as stigma' affords a conceptual space within which those stigmatised as raced can 'collaborate' ways to challenge stigmatising representations. Yet for Goffman (1968), acceptance of the stigma imposed is critical for orderly social interactions (Tyler 2018). Within the above extracts, there is an understanding, a recognition of race as stigma, alongside an awareness and (at times) acceptance of mainstream and stigmatising representations of raced bodies. Contrary to Howarth, this acceptance is not self-stereotyping, nor a re-evaluation, but a move toward the de-stigmatisation of race, which in turn facilitates the deracialisation of disruptive encounters and otherisation. For the 3rd generation then, the stigma of race becomes obscured from their selves, and yet paradoxically is acknowledged in the stigmatisation of Othered raced bodies. Racism(s) are resituated

away within 'the operation and contestation of [structural] racism'. Its embodiment and concealment within the structures of the society render it superfluous to subjective conceptualisations of self-definitions. Significantly, that sense of difference located within disruptive encounters, the sensation of otherisation is located within the interaction order of British society. It is race as stigma as embodied within the interactional norms, customs and conventions of the society thereby facilitating the enduring and yet pervasive stigmatisation of black and brown people. For the 3rd generation, explanations for disruptive encounters appear vague and at times are indecipherable. It's that "sensation" that you cannot quite put your finger on.

In defiance of many of the strategies enacted to respond to stigmatised representations of blackness as highlighted by Howarth (2006) and Eijberts and Roggeband (2015), the 3rd generation consciously promote a Britishness that defies acknowledgments of race as stigma and unwittingly serves to resists racisms.

> "I know there's such a thing as institutionalised racism and stuff like that and it's more in America than in the UK. Some of these you know, institutions, some of these forces are like inherently racist, the system you could say. I know that, such a thing, people say such a thing exist, but that doesn't experience the individual. It doesn't affect you in your personal life. You couldn't say this [incident] was that [racist]. **Is that a challenge or a problem for your generation?** Understanding racism. Yes, because people who believe in this, I'm not saying I disbelieve it, I don't, I don't. But I'd say that, people who are advocates for this thing and try to fix it, rectify the problem. Because people like me haven't felt it, you can't get me on board. You know what I mean. Because it's not something tangible, it's not in your face, or something, it's not easy to fix. If it exists [small laugh]. I don't think there's a question about it, certainly in America, I don't think there's a question about it. Erm but, I'm quite political about the whole thing. I mean I don't like to hold views about that thing. I don't want to say this is a problem, because I don't know how much that solves anything. I do think it's there, but if someone wants to debate me I won't allow that conversation. It wouldn't solve anything, I wouldn't convince them and they wouldn't convince me. [RA].

For the 3rd generation, racism(s) are confined to history, being regarded as contemporaneously irrelevant. RA questions the validity of "racism" alongside the controversial point of the extent to which racism exists in Britain. Consequently,

racism *becomes* situated elsewhere, as "something" intangible, yet "certainly" present in America, not in Britain. Of interest, "I don't like to hold views about that thing", illustrates the reluctance to "allow that conversation". For many of the 3rd generation, they "won't go there", it is "not worth it" or "they wouldn't understand" herein resides a strategy of concealment requiring further consideration. Whilst, as above, they recognise the pathologising representations of black people mediated through the television and newspapers, there are significant encounters with (social) media, which preserve a pervading consciousness of Otherness for the 3rd generation.

This marks a significant point of departure away from the narratives and discourses of the firstborns. As suggested earlier in this chapter, British claim-making serves to conceal a myriad of identity signifiers, including mix-raceness, blackness, whiteness, gender, sexuality, nationality, etc. British claiming-making further serves to conceal 'race' and its stigmatising effects for the claimer. However, this appears to render race as 'invisible' to the claim maker. To conceptualise racism as of less relevant enables those racialized as black to 'embrace invisibility' (Wasserman 1976), moving conceptualisations of identity away from racialized signifiers, as a way to facilitate the (re)construction of Britishness by the 3rd generation, thus enabling the deracialisation of disruptive encounters (Howarth 2002).

Deracialisation

"Myself, and I can only speak for myself, you can see it [racism] if you want to. No doubt about it. You can. 'I had this opportunity because of this reason or I got knocked back because of this reason' and you can pick that if you want. You can do something like that if you want. It's certainly a choice. And even sometimes, I think about some of my experiences and you can see. You can be suspicious and say, maybe it's because of that reason, but that doesn't, you know, that person, this guy doesn't like this type of people. And I know those type of people exist. And I know that happens. I know that happens. It doesn't mean that this group doesn't like this group…[I]'m just saying these types of prejudices can happen, but you can see them everywhere, if you choose to. You can feel that every knock back is because of that and everything is

because of that. And I would find it difficult to do that. I would find it difficult to do that."
[RA]

Within the preceding chapter, the firstborns recognised the impact of differentiation and otherisation and the profound impact this had upon their identify formation and construction. Moreover, there was an acknowledgement of how particular encounters and experiences required the firstborns to 'adapt' to "fit into" the society. For EA, RA's father, this process occurred almost unconsciously, cited as the ways in which you 'dress', the 'enjoyment of sport', the 'way you spoke', for him such adaptation was indicative of "assimilation", representative of integration. Again, the "trauma" of living in a society that does not accept you requires 'social change', a re-evaluation, and an adaptation, in order for you to "fit in". For the 3rd generation, such sentiments were less prevalent. There are clear ambiguities in the narratives of self-definition, identity and otherisation when considered in the context of the 3rd generation's parents, the first-borns. For the remainder of this chapter then, there is a concentration upon what emerges as deracialisation reflective of a process of identity management, reliant upon deconstructing racialized encounters. As will emerge, and already detected above, deracialisation may serve to enable the 3rd generation to transcend racialized interpretations, thus maintaining their British claim-making.

The regulation and exclusion of black and brown people within the night-time economy of major cities in England has become a recent subject of media attention following the high-profile exclusion of a group of young Black women in Shoreditch, London (Thomas 2015). The legacy of the 'colour-bar', the act of refusing entry to black and brown people into pubs, nightclubs and bars, was reportedly an everyday feature of life in England for the first generation (Fryer 1984). However, such practices became 'outlawed' through the provisions of the 1965 Race Relations Act. Yet similar to the first-borns, there emerged a complexity in ascertaining if any given encounter was driven by "racism" or "banter"?   Throughout conversations with the 3rd generation, such challenges persist. So whilst LB notes a relation between being "black and male" and the difficulties in gaining access to clubs and pubs, a counter-explanation can also be detected for other respondents.

"I just don't go out anymore (laughs) it's just easier that way, always trouble, my friend who always got rejected from clubs like in Northern Quarter as well…he was just like forget it, it's not worth it. So just stop supporting those clubs and things like that. More than trying to hang with people that you don't want to hang with. I've got a friend who only hangs out with white guys because he is the only black one so he is like yeah…it's a lot easier for me (both laughing). But you're not just going to abandon your friends and be like 'oh I want to go out…so I'm going to go out with these people tonight'. **But that's almost a good strategy isn't it.** Yeah, I know black guys like when me and my friend have gone out and they'll split up and just randomly appear next to you and be like 'oh I'm with these two girls' just to get in. They will attach themselves to different girl groups. **But that suggests it's not being black why they aren't getting in. It's boys in big groups.** I think it's black and male, that combination, it's just game over for you if you want to go out in Manchester (laughing) especially past a certain time, maybe past twelve 'o'clock you're not going to get in. I remember when I used to go out in Birmingham any kind of black event would just get knocked off. Nothing would happen, maybe two guys would have an argument out front and the police would just come in and say everyone go home. It happened in May, we didn't even get in the club, we were in the queue and we just got sent home and we had bought our tickets before. **The police shut it down?** Came in, turned off the music and told people to go home as it was getting out of control, but nothing was even happening (laughing), it was crazy. After that, I didn't go to another one because black events always get shut down. So there is no point…most of the black clubs in Manchester have been shut down." [LB]

"In terms of getting into clubs and those things, erm, I'm not too sure about that. I mean, I've been turned down from a few clubs, because of my shoes. I've been turned down from three clubs in one night actually, because I had the wrong shoes on, or something. They were nice shoes. I never think for a second that it's because I'm mixed race or because of the way they're perceiving me." [MW]

There emerges a consistency in the stories of not getting into clubs and pubs. However, for MW above, deracialising the "knock back" is presented to subvert any racialized (mis)understandings of the "knock back". It should also be noted that my laugh at MW's suggestion of the "wrong shoes" triggers a response wherein he attempts to legitimise his deracialisation. So to continue,

"**You think it's because you've got the wrong shoes on?** Because I've got the wrong shoes on, yeah [PW laughs]. A lot of people say that. You find a lot of people say that it might be because you're black, cause you're this. But if you look through the club window, it's full of black people anyway. So that can't be the issue, can it? But some people are so quick to jump to that sort kind of thing. You got to chill out a bit and think, it's probably because you've got the wrong shoes on. A lot of people jump to it, 'aww they been stereotyping' and all that kind of stuff. And they might do, but you're never going to know about it, if it is that sort of thing…So it was a bit weird, but I never for one moment thought it was racial and all that." [MW]

For AO,

"People say it's a black ting. People say it's a black ting not getting in clubs and ting. But it's not, it's not. It's not just a black ting. Same way people going on with the Black Lives [Matters] ting, you can't do that thing in England, especially in Manchester because the same way you say Black Lives Matter, the [white] mate that you roll with gets the same harassment that you get. But you forget to see that. At that moment in time. You're not even looking at it like that. Alright, [t]hey don't let you in, yeah. Dress code they'll say, the next excuse will be there's too many of yous. Don't want to let all you guys in there, there's too many guys, not enough girls. Now, people take that as racism. But then check out the night. Go and get the pictures from the night that you got turfed [refused entry]. And see how many black people are in the club. They know who to let in. See the youts dem, 25 [years of age and] under, they can get in dem clubs cause they adhere to what the guy who owns the club says. Shoes, shirts, pants, yeah…[T]hey want you to dress a certain way. A demographic. Now that's what it is. If you don't fit in the demographic you're getting turfed. Obviously, the demographic is not what [black] people wear."

For both MW and AO, the presence of black people in the club where they are refused entry serves to support their deracialisation of the "knock back". Such encounters are explained as wearing "shiny shoes", or the "dress code", there are "too many guys, not enough girls". Yet also contained within the above, is the suggestion that "there's too many of you". This statement intuitively speaks to a racialized difference. For them however, such differences are manifest not through skin colour, but in your dress. "If you don't fit the demographic you're getting turfed". The logic is dichotomous. Fit the demographic and you are 'in', if you do not fit the demographic, you are 'out'. You

see, "they know who to let in". Subsequently, there are those who "adapt", dress appropriately, approximating towards the 'demographic', and those who do not. Like identity, the fluidity of the "demographic" is contingent upon context, time, space (James 1993). Like immigration policies, the borders through which we want access shift dependent upon the demographic, the outsider to be excluded, rejected, included and embraced (Anderson 2013). Here then AO appears to re-evaluate the group (Howarth 2006), migrating towards an imagined reconceptualised idea of inclusion towards a "good life". Utilised as way to alleviate the trauma of those critical encounters, those unanticipated moments. To deracialise the 'knock back' alleviates the potentiality of hurt and dissonance of such events. To deracialise means you do not have to "jump to that conclusion", deracialisation enables us to retain our sense of belonging.

With reference to the Black Lives Matter movement, AO is again unequivocal that racism cannot be used within the English context, particularly where the [white] "mate" you are with is also subject to police harassment. To claim racialisation as a feature of such encounters is again "old fashioned", dated, simply ignorant. The statement is significant. However, the process of deconstructing the moment necessitates the articulation of a series of more credible and carefully thought through explanations, outside of racism, particularly where <u>you</u> "fit the demographic".

Within such deconstructions then emerge direct contradictions to previously articulated episodes of otherisation. The individual and subjective nature of deracialized social interactions begins to defy the hitherto collective memories, constructions and negative representations of those perennially presented as outsiders. To develop this, the vexed history of police community relations was also subject to deracialisation.

> "**Did you used to get stopped and searched?** Everyday, everyday without fail. In Old Trafford, everyday especially if we were going from Old Trafford towards Stretford, I'd get stopped. 'What you doing round here, you're not allowed'. This was before all the gangs stuff. 'You Old Trafford kids are not allowed around Stretford'. Because we were known for robbing people in Stretford. So automatically, you got stopped and

searched. Police knew us by face, 'oh, here's the OT lot', calling us by our government [full] names and all that, and that would get us mad. They know, that calling us by our government name like 'what you calling my name out on street like me and you are friends? Don't do that'. Obviously, that was the peer pressure of the streets then. If this [police] man calls your name everyone's gonna think, 'how does he know your name? You must be a snitch.' You get what I mean. They know that, so they would call your name. **Why were they stopping and searching you?** Because we were a high percentage of trouble in our area, not badness, trouble. Like breaking cars, you see, older people in the area would come and say, 'we need a [wheel trim] go and get me one, I'll give you a tenner'. Dem type of things we were doing. It's not, we were doing things, just to do. We was doing it cause they're gonna pay us a tenner. But we're not causing trouble. So when we get stopped, our mouth's loud, got something to say. 'What you stop us for, police brutality, we watched Roots, yo racism, don't touch me.' We're on that type of movements with them. It's a confrontation straight away, because that's how we were, confrontational.

But now,

"These days. You see me personally, I don't think it's a colour thing anymore I don't think the police look at colour yeah I don't think…over in America yeah that's a different story, but over here, it's not a colour thing it's a class thing. It's where you are and where you come from, do you get what I'm saying. Youths that come from Old Trafford, Moss Side, Hulme, Whalley Range, Fallowfield, Longsight. Yous are seen as one class of people regardless of what colour you are. Somalian, Whites, Asians you get me, it don't matter who you are, you're classed as one colour and that's just badness. They think that we're badness over here."

"[P]olice come in Powerhouse [youth centre in Moss Side] and it's not just you they looking for, they're not looking for black kids, they know what they're looking for. Now this particular group that they've pinpointed out as problem kids when I was in the work say there's seven, eight of them (..) three of them are white, two are probably Somalian, two are African and one's English black. I know his mum and that yeah and they get about causing nuff havoc [trouble], robbing they're only about 13, 14 [years old], smoking weed and causing up bare trouble yeah. Now I used to think rah, cause the police will come and grab up the black yute, and I used to think why they grabbing up the black yutes. And they [police] say it's not because it's a race thing. I

used to think it was a race thing cause, they'd always grab them up and I used to come to the yutes and say 'see how you're getting gripped, but none of the white boys are getting gripped. Why are you getting gripped think about what you're doing.' But then I checked it out and said it's not that, it's not because they were black, it's very simple. If there's five coloured yutes and three whites the possibility of them catching a white is less than them catching a black cause when they ran off yeah, it just so happened that the two slowest out of them is black. So the two slowest always get caught and it's always the black one. But before, I used to always think 'oh it's racist, they're just going for the black guy.'"

Remarkably, negative encounters with those in positions of authority, and specifically with the police, are voiced above as a feature of young people's involvement in "trouble" or offending behaviour. Whilst AO acknowledges his previous position, that young black men being "gripped" by the police was "a colour thing", this view had since given way to a more logical explanation. Disproportionate rates of stop and search had become deracialized, "it's not a colour thing anymore". The young black person being stopped was simply a matter of chance! The slowest would get caught. So, "everyday" interactions with the police were representative of the young person's involvement with particularised behaviours necessitating policing intervention. Within our conversation, AO further notes that in Old Trafford "Afghan kids are the ones who are [now] stopped and searched" because "they are up to stuff". For him, the indices of "poverty" and "class" are stronger explanations, predictors of encounters between young (black) people and the police, as opposed to police racism or racialisation. The above quote also serves to displace racialized policing from the present. Such ideas are "old fashioned" and are again historicised away, confined to a past when the police were "racist". In addition, racist policing happens in Other places. In America, "that's a different thing", but not in Old Trafford, Manchester and England. So whilst confrontations with the police were an "everyday" occurrence during AO's youth, such encounters were discussed as a feature of his, "their" conspicuousness (Lea and Young 1984, Mooney and Young 2000) whilst "walking to Stretford", or "hanging about" on the streets. For AO, their conspicuousness is not held within their blackness, but because they are from Old Trafford and are in Stretford. You see, there was this 'reputation'. "[W]e were known for robbing people in Stretford". He concedes, "we were trouble", although "trouble" is not "badness".

Otherisation has a profound effect upon the individual. Again, the above lends support to Howarth's (2006) view where 'self-stereotyping' serves to endorse negative and stigmatising representations and self-image of young black and brown people. To concede to otherisation disrupts such identity constructions, necessitating a (re)conceptualization of the self, of their Britishness. As a strategy of adaptation then, to deracialise negative encounters and those episodic "traumatic" moments disrupts and desensitises the encounter. Yet further, it enables the individual to both distance (a)way from negative representations and to conceal 'race as stigma'. There is an inconsistency in being Black and being British. As discussed earlier, being black disrupts Britishness. The audience anticipates "confrontation", particularly when the actor is black, but is not playing a black character. To resist through deracialising those othering encounters facilitates the continuity of belonging to their imagined "British" or English identities. As such, to deconstruct potentially harmful encounters serves to maintain their (configured) British claim making.

Refused entry, being stopped and searched and institutional racism were all subject to momentary deracialisation by some of the 3rd generation. Within the findings, these are strategies to argue away and subsequently debilitate racialized otherisation. As a result, the motives that drive racialized encounters seemingly evade detection. Otherisation then is misread or concealed within subjective interpretations of daily interaction.   Consequently, the racialized stop and search as discussed by the firstborns *becomes* a policing response to actual and imagined crime and offending behaviour. If there is a black person in the nightclub where you were refused entry, how can there be a racist door policy? So, the 'colour bar' *becomes* the "wrong shoes", the wrong "demographic". If I have never felt 'racism's touch' then how can there be institutional racism?

There are margins for error within which historical and collective memories of racism and discrimination become empirically and conceptually subject to challenge and hence agued away, *becoming* neutralised. To return to the work of Tyler (2018) and discussed in relation to the first generation, the racial order encountered by the grandparents of the 3rd generation at times made race as stigma explicit.   Within contemporary British society overt encounters with racism are arguably reduced. As

highlighted above, racialised events are now located elsewhere, whether in the past or in othered spaces. It is within these margins that deracialisation takes place. For the first-borns, there was difficulty in ascertaining motives for othering encounters. Was an individual racist or not? Was it banter or something more sinister? Why can he say this, but this other person cannot? Also for the first generation JJ, "it's not every bush hate rabbit". However, the theme of deracialisation appears to persist in the discussion with the 3rd generation and in particular for SJ in her encounter with a "racist" school friend.

"The EDL [English Defence League] are always here. [Y]ou always hear that the EDL are marching. And they will march right through the place where it's really like erm, the shops where all Asians shop. That's like where you go if you're Asian to buy your food and your materials. It's a road called Berry Park and it's just known to be for Asian people. Well not just for Asian people, but they own all the shops on that road and the EDL march right through it. I don't really know what EDL are standing for whatever, but I'm getting the gist of it. I understand that basically, they don't like Muslim people, they don't like immigrants or whatever and I'm sure that's not just for them. It's for any other race who they don't think is British. I think they are just for the white British people. And they don't want any other race in England. They wanna make England fully like [pause] erm white British and nothing else. I'm not white British so yeah, I do think that when they're there doing, what they are doing, it's for everyone like them. **How does that make you feel?** Erm, it's sad. This is where I'm from. I was born here, but it doesn't actually affect me that much. I just find it quite ignorant. It's ignorant how…cos I'm actually British and I'm nothing else so. Obviously, I've got Caribbean descendants whatever, but I'm British."

"Actually, there was a boy at my school and we were really good friends and his dad was a skinhead, or something like that and he had very, err he was a very racist guy. And it was very obvious, even though he was nice to me, but his views were clear. So I knew. But I've never actually, like with that boy, I never had a conversation about what his views are, but he did go on a EDL march when it happened in Luton. I don't know (higher pitch) it was something that went over my head kind of thing. I just didn't really get into it with him. But yeah. I know he is racist, but erm, I don't know, it must sound weird, because we didn't really get into it. But, erm, I know he is racist, and I know he has very racist views, especially towards Asian people in Luton. I know cos he would say it around me as well. I don't know, it's something that I didn't really get

into with him. Because sometimes, you're arguing with someone and they're just gonna believe what they're gonna believe so, you just let them believe what they want to believe."

"He would openly talk about Asian people in Luton in a racist way, he would just be open about it. It was normal, you would know him to do that, it was normal. And he'd make it seem like a joke, whatever, I know it's OK in his household to act like that. His Dad is openly racist like that as well. So I could tell, it was fine for him too and then going on the EDL march, if you're going on the march, the EDL in Luton, you're openly saying you agree with what they are doing. **You refer to him as a friend.** It's difficult. [Laughs] I wouldn't say we were friends now. He was my friend in school. If I see him, we would say hello, I wouldn't say he's my actual friend, but in school, we would get along and he was in my class and whatever, but he's not a serious friendship, we just went to school together."

"It's sad". The English Defence League want to make England "fully white British" for the British. But, SJ is British and "black". The EDL is for "them" which serves to reaffirm to SJ that the exclusionary and divisive politics of the EDL is not for "us". That I ask her about the notion of 'him' being a "friend" forces SJ to reflect upon her relationship with the son of the "racist skinhead". Similar to the first generation, her 'friend' is ignorant. But, it's something that "I didn't really get into with him" because "they're just gonna believe what they want to believe". Still, "it doesn't actually affect me" because SJ is not "Asian" or "Muslim", yet she recognises that EDL politics pertain to all "immigrants". Again like the first-born's, SJ has to decipher the "banter" from the racism, because on occasions, "he'd make it seem like a joke", but "it was very obvious, even though he was nice to me, but his views were clear. So I knew". The challenge for SJ the schoolgirl is phenomenal. It was equally conflicting for the first-born GW who was "pally" with his brother's racist mate who "didn't like niggers". The complexity of such social interactions where SJ is in close proximity to the "racist" Other must suffocate herSelf. She doesn't want conflict. Either way, it wouldn't make any difference. She is British, but her 'friends' politics communicates to her that blackness as Britishness is problematic for her 'friend' and his skinhead father. For SJ to (even) briefly describe the racist as "friend" symbolises the way in which she manages her impression.   She represents herself to alleviate conflict.   As she

disclosed earlier, "I knew I was different in that school, I didn't fit in like I thought I would". Further, "I knew I was different from the way they were around me". The white British 'host' as "audience" are awaiting the "confrontation". SJ will not "get into it" with him. Ever so briefly, her friendship encounters with the racist *become* deracialized. It is noteworthy that it was SJ's father, PJ, who declared that a "tragedy of racism" is,

> "you have to act a bit different, just to fit in. And I do think it, it causes trauma. Whether you call it big trauma, light trauma, it causes trauma. Because you're not allowed to be who you wanna be…[I]t makes you want to fit into a structure, what doesn't really want you to fit into it".

For PJ's daughter then.

> "There was a few things that would be like 'okay this is what they think type of thing', like okay I'm gonna have to adapt because sometimes I think you'd want to say things and then they just wouldn't get it, they wouldn't understand, they wouldn't get it." [SJ]

Conclusion: adapting to "tick the box"

> "I think because I was raised here. I was raised here and only here, you know something like that. I know you have some people who were raised about with their parents or something like that, they have, not an identity crisis, but they have a different perspective. They have a different perspective on what home means and things like that and I know to be British is more than the geography and things like that, it's more than the boundaries and more than the legal, birth certificate, passport, things like that. I know it's more than that. But to pin it down, British people, everyone who is a British person, they all have different experiences, so it's not clear-cut what makes this or that. [B]ut if I can say I am British and I feel more British than this person and less British than the next person, then there must be something in that." [RA]

The process of becoming is informed, affected and driven by episodes of otherisation deduced through encounters with Others. The 3rd generation emphatically embrace a Britishness, beyond the simplistic legal attributes of birthplace, birth certificates, passports or even their parents place of birth. Their Britishness seemingly reflects a

significant embracing of imagined traits and characteristics of being British. Similar to their previous generations, they experience both internal and external episodes of otherisation which serve to disrupt and at times radically alter their perception of self. However, comparatively, they more confidently embrace Britishness and at times forsake the collective signifiers that connects them to parents and grandparents. So, they are not Jamaican, and at times their Britishness is refined to English. They resist the imposition of identity markers, whereby their blackness becomes reconceptualised as a different blackness. Moreover, it appears that nationality and class emerge as of equal importance for the 3rd generation. Taken together, it is arguable that the farther that we move away from the 22nd June in 1948, the farther subsequent generations have migrated away from Jamaicaness – towards the British Other.

Chapter Eight: On becoming (an)other.

Introduction

This study commenced at a time of major political and public concern over a reported increase in the number of 'illegal immigrants', 'asylum seekers' and EU migrants who were entering Britain (Ipsos Mori 2013, Sankey 2013, Renaud-Komiya 2013). A moment best illustrated through the government's 'go home' campaign where mobile advertising vans and billboards were utilised to inform (and intimidate) those people who were thought to be living in the UK illegally, warning of their non-citizen status and the process through which they could be repatriated.   The campaign controversially targeted those who were imagined as concealed away, evading detection by residing in communities characterised by the presence of black and brown bodies (Anderson 2013). The 'go home' campaign further served to (re)affirm to British citizens the presence of (an)other in our midst and to alert the public to the government's reaction to the media-amplified problem (Aliverti 2012, Anderson 2013, Ahmed 2000). Contrary to empirical evidence (Bell et al 2010, Dustman and Frattini 2014) there remains a view that unchecked migrations and the presence of immigrants place an irreconcilable 'strain on public resources', that 'immigrants are taking our jobs' and that immigrants are 'coming here for benefits' (Dearden 2016). The contemporary reconstruction of (metaphorical) borders communicates to the electorate that the government is responding to their anxieties, concerns and fears of the deleterious effects (Carter et al 1987) of the outsider.

Arguably, we are now witnessing the intensification of Britain's 'immigration' problematic (Hansen 2000) when on 23rd June 2016, the UK government held a referendum to determine Britain's future relationship with the European Union (EU). Now popularly referenced as the 'Brexit' question (Wilding 2012), a central feature of the media and political debate was the question of British sovereignty and the extent to which Britain had control over its borders.   Such debates were particularly concerned with the numbers of EU migrants reported to have exercised their legitimate right to free movement and settle in Britain. On reflection, the debate suffused with an anti-immigrant rhetoric, focused particularly attention on the effects of unchecked immigration on the social, economic and cultural fabric of British society. Significantly,

the debate consistently conflated the legal status of EU and commonwealth citizens along with the non-citizen status of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. Despite this, or as a consequence, the referendum resulted in 51.9% (n=17,410,742) of the United Kingdom voting to leave the European Union and 48.1% (n=16,141,241) voting to remain (Electoral Commission 2016).

The culmination of the above events could be interpreted as fortuitous for this study, and the researcher concerned with ascertaining the experiences and perceptions of people who migrate to and settle in Britain. However, there is an irony. The Brexit debate occurred on the 68th anniversary of the MV Empire Windrush's arrival into Tilbury docks, London, England on the 22nd June 1948. Whilst on the one hand they were welcomed as 'sons of the empire', Carter (1987:1) notes that two days after their arrival, 11 Labour MPs signed a letter to Clement Attlee calling for immigration controls. When read in this context, immigration as a concern within British political debate is not new. It is stubbornly pervasive, an ever-present with social, media and political constructions of imagined 'immigration and immigrants' fluctuating, but enduring, as a central concern (Gottfried 2017). In this regard then, rather than conceiving of Brexit as a rupture in British socio-political identity, the referendum result is better understood as a continuity in (pre and) post-war debates of how to manage, regulate and exclude the 'stranger' from Britain (Ahmed 2000, Anderson 2013, Gilroy 1987).

Yet, concealed within the above, 'the now-familiar debate about identity and citizenship [in Britain] was sparked off when the first Caribbeans stepped off the Windrush' (Phillips and Phillips 2009). This event as storied is presented as marking the arrival of the first generation of Caribbean immigrants becoming indelibly marked upon British social history and connoting the genesis of Britain's multicultural character (Fryer 1984). However, the now significant evidence that celebrates the presence of black and brown people in Britain for well over five hundred years (Fryer 1984, Olusoga 2016) remains inconsequential to this transcendental myth. The story is stubbornly infallible presenting the 22nd June in 1948 as the encounter from which the borders of British society were irreversibly breached (Sivanandan 2008). Yet, when considered against the narratives of the families interviewed for this study, the story

seemingly falls apart. It is imprecise, incomplete; presented outside of the subject's realities, that is, those of whom the story speaks. The story therefore is efficient in its ability to silence, (re)producing a 'first' generation, along with their children and grandchildren as textual, economically driven, and irrational objects (Harris 2009, James 1993, Sivanandan 2008). As noted by Sivanandan (2008), sustaining this myth is contingent upon the (re)production of stereotypical characters which necessitates, concealing their histories.

Today, we reside in Old Trafford, and in Stretford, Sale, Luton, east London and Moss Side. In defiance of the dominant 'Windrush' story, the families consulted for this study are not new. They have always been here. But rather than reflecting their agency, the subjective decision-making that initiated migration(s) to get a(way), to 'be something different', to evade the 'particular line', the dominant story endures as a 'prism subtly bending and distorting our picture of reality' (Jewkes 2011:270; Denzin and Lincoln 2008). This chapter then represents the culmination of 27 research conversations with the ten families interviewed for this study, producing over 45 hours of recorded conversation. In light of the central research aim, the above process of hearing stories served to deconstruct and in turn reconstruct epistemic narratives of Jamaican post-war migration.   To this end, this chapter will first examine what emerged as a consistency in self-definition and personal identity claims between the three research cohorts. It is notable that each generation claimed they were British, from the colonial pretentions located within 'sons of the empire' through to the uncompromising 3rd generation respondent's declaration of "three lions on the shirt". Being British was central to the families' self-definition. However, conceptualisations of the Britishness claimed varied between the three generations. So whilst identity and definitions appeared as consistent, there was a fluidity which rendered the Britishness claimed as generational rather than familially distinct. Whilst early sociological research dichotomously conceptualised raced relations within a 'them' and 'us' nexus, such theorisation was at odds with the identity claims located within the narrated stories of the families. Second, research respondents Britishness claims were episodically subject to *significant* disruption. Consistently, inter- and intra- generationally, families spoke of encounters, which were subjectively marked as critical moment(s) and served to initiate a "sensation", a cognisance of difference that Othered (Wilson 2016,

Howarth 2014). Otherisation throughout this study then reflects an awareness, where negative values and character traits are imposed upon the 'self' and utilised to connote difference. While academically featured as interactions between the self and the generalised other (Spalek 2008, Hall 1990, Wilson 2014) research conversations spoke to moments of otherisation and difference-producing encounters within the family. Moreover, it was found that encounters with 'significant others' precipitated subsequent encounters with objects, materials (Wilson 2016), with authority (teachers, the police) leading to the anticipation and affirmation of future disruptive encounters. Third, disruptive encounters served to initiate negotiations of self-definition as a means though which to manage the effects of disrupted, disturbed or blemished identities (Goffman 1957, Howarth 2002). Such reactions are particular to narrated identity shifts either toward or away from the imposition of imagined constructions of Britishness and Jamaicaness.   The (re)negotiated self is deeply subjective, arising from an introspective process initiated to resist the imposition of negated collective identities. What was found then is the further families (geographically and temporally) migrate away from Jamaica(ness) the more significant Other identifiers become. Reactions therefore serve to negotiate and resolve the management of the multiple selves, by rendering visible and invisible identity markers in an ongoing process to reorder the self (Howarth 2002, Stone 2015).

First generation narratives were concatenated to the stories of their children and grandchildren. Analyses of family narratives shed light upon processes of becoming (Weedon 2004), serving to facilitate vivid appreciations of the internal and external processes through which the self becomes *produced* and *reproduced* (McAdams 1993, Mirza 1997, Howarth 2002). Depictions of self-definition were intrinsic to the stories told which, in turn, were contingent upon the socio-cultural and political context within which everyday interactions and encounters occurred (Harries 2016, Howarth 2002, Tyler 2018). When considered intergenerationally, there was a consistency in experiences of disruptive encounters amidst disclosures and acknowledgements of a 'hyphenated' self (Wilson 2016, Stone 2015, McAdams 1993). In resisting and/or minimising the "trauma", as described by one first-born respondent, of disruptive encounters, (inter)generational conversations were suggestive of self-determined adaptations through which disruptive encounters become either neutralised,

desensitised, dismissed and/or at times 'deracialized' (Howarth 2006, Harries 2014). Moments of identity claiming particularly relating to Jamaicaness, Britishness, Englishness, blackness, mixed-raceness are context specific, renegotiated and surprisingly, at times, utilised as resources to repair the dissonance of disruptive encounters. Such processes then affirm the acknowledgement that in becoming (an)other 'you don't immigrate once, the main trip, I mean, you're immigrating all the time. From the moment you arrive to the moment you die, you are always immigrating.' (Cottle 1978). 'Becoming (an)other' then is consequential of disruptive encounters which make and unmake the self, particularly connoted in the multiple ways the family and family members conceptualise their 'selves' *away* from a Jamaicaness toward a subjectively constructed Britishness. Critically, becoming another then marks the perpetual negotiation of multiple identifiers and self-definitions toward a 'cohered self'.

Becoming British

The research conversations analysed for this study were concerned with articulating and recounting the experience of living in England. Throughout the dialogical process of (re)presenting experiences, family members situate themselves within the context of historical moments, recollecting and recounting events which they regard as representative of those experiences. Utilising the conversation as a resource serves to organise reflections, events and episodes of times gone by (McAdams 1993, James 1993, Plummer 2001). The stories heard, read and analysed conspired to contradict and (re)affirm other family member's experiences. At other times, the stories elude order, structure and categorisation. On the one hand, the stories give voice to the storyteller, yet they simultaneously defy and resist the ascription of a collective (family) narrative. Parents' stories rarely mapped onto their children's stories. 'Children's' stories at times appeared at odds with the stories of their parents and grandparents. Throughout this study, the migration stories of the first generation did not appear to be transmitted intergenerationally as shared histories (Chamberlain 1998). On three occasions, I was asked by the 3rd generation to explain what "Windrush" was. From here then, any assumption then of a 'collective memory', a shared intra-family history, commonly owned and ready for disclosure, dissolved within the fieldwork moment.

There was a messiness, a complexity, emerging as resistant to the social researchers' endeavour of linear and ordered, knowledge production. From the first and through to the 3rd generation, there was heterogeneity in the narratives of their previous experiences formed and aroused by emotions and feelings unearthed by their recollection of encounters. However, also present was a consistency, distinct to each generation cohort's narratives, from which a similarity of experience emerges.

In particular, within intergenerational narratives was an unformulated sense of being British, initially suggestive of a common definition of British nationality and culture. Britishness arose in conversation as a seemingly fixed inter-generational definer, and identifier, for the families and individuals. However, whilst being "British" was rarely defined, it was narratively fore-grounded and at times uncritically claimed. However, and of importance here, through analysis the Britishness evoked by the first generation was impressionistic, differing to that of the first-borns and again the 3rd generation. Inductively, conceptualisations of Britishness were seemingly contingent and reliant upon mediated representations of what it is to be British, located within the social, economic and cultural context within which storied experiences were framed. Conversations therefore present the respondents' impressions of Britishness, being temporal, always evolving and subjectively conceptualised.

In firstly appreciating the centrality of Britishness claiming, Back et al (2012:141) situates the colonial context within which constructs of Jamaicaness are born, noting the particular relevance of the organising structures of colonialism and the imposed relationship of Britain as 'Mother-country' in making the 'colonial-citizen migrant'. For the first (and subsequent) generations, Britishness was an ever-present, a pervasiveness aroused within a Jamaican consciousness instituted within the historic, legal and political institutions of Commonwealth. From this position, Britishness was inculcated and imposed through the education and schooling of the colonial-citizen child. Kincaid (1991:32-33) offers an unambiguous insight of 'seeing England for the first time'.

> 'I was a child in school sitting at a desk. The England I was looking at was laid out on a map gently, beautifully, delicately, a very special jewel; it lay on a bed of sky blue - the background of the map…[T]he can of cocoa was often left on the table in front of

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me. It had written on it the name of the company, the year the company was established, and the words, "Made in England." Those words, "Made in England," were written on the box the oats came in too. They would also have been written on the box the shoes I was wearing came in; a bolt of grey linen cloth lying on the shelf of a store from which my mother had bought three yards to make the uniform that I was wearing had written along its edge those three words. The shoes I wore were made in England; so were my socks and cotton undergarments and the satin ribbons I wore tied at the end of two plaits of my hair.'

That the consciousness of being 'made' in England was woven into the fabric of pre-independence Jamaican society instilled a cultural attachment and belonging to Britain to which many aspired. The sense of 'Englishness' aroused represents Britain's colonial reach, along with a clear and powerfully seductive cultural imagery, signified through norms and values intrinsic to Britishness. It is noteworthy that first generation respondents invoked a myriad of cues and signs, etched onto pre-independent Jamaican society. Located in their encounters with the 'Union Jack', the singing of the British national anthem in school. That the capital of Jamaica takes its name from Kingston, which lies in the county of Surrey, England and that 'Manchester' lies in the Jamaican county of Middlesex all serves to affirm that sense of familiarity, a sameness, a symbolic cultural connection between Jamaica and England.

There emerges through conversations a clear sense and acknowledgement of Jamaica as (colonially) bound up with Britain. Significantly, British "consciousness" as espoused by many first generation respondents was framed within the socio-cultural and political context within which they were born. When considered within the wider context of the subordinating and exploitative features of British colonialism, that first generation respondents' claim Britishness may appear at odds with wider political and anti-colonial positions and understanding (Gilroy 1987, Lawrence 1982, James 1993). For the first generation then, England was omnipresent, an imposed identity, long before the Windrush set sail for England. Such claims however may inadvertently support the suggestion that the first generation appropriation of Britishness was a feature of acculturation (Pryce 1979, James 1993). However, this would be to mishear and misrepresent the first generation as deterministic, agentless objects. The allure of England culminating in a *push* towards migration was due less to the cultural *pull* of

post-war Britain. Rather, England was evoked as (an)other place where the concealed self could be realised (Stones 2015). "We had British passports" and "we were British" was a frequent refrain in first generation conversations. Such claims enabled the first generation to differentiate themselves from the historical, and now contemporaneously, objectified 'them', those new decontextualised strangers embroiled in EU immigration and asylum seeking concerns (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2013, Ahmed 2000). To migrate to Britain, to immigrate to Britishness, was indicative of their citizenship, their being "known" to Britain. An entitlement connoted in their understanding and knowledge of Britain. Conceptually the first generation were British, long before *becoming* British.

Whilst British claim making permeates conversation with the first-borns, the basis of their Britishness is fundamentally different to that of their parents. Primarily, being British resides in their country of birth. They were not Jamaican, but British. The temporal and geographic distance away from Jamaica serves to ratify their British claims. Couched primarily within a legal status, the first-borns point toward their immersion in everyday British culture. Of significance here, EA discloses his "assimilation" and acceptance of British cultural peculiarities and idiosyncrasies, analogised as "boxes" that only "assimilated" first-borns could tick. His "love of ['British'] sports", "going to the pub", the way we "dress", even the food consumed, were representative of Britishness. Similarly, speaking Patois, engaging in riots, derided as "smashing up your own area", having a "chip on your shoulder" along with a belief in structural racial discrimination was suggestive by some firstborn's as resisting absorption/assimilation.

British claim making, whilst fraught with contradictions, appeared less complicated for the first-borns. To claim Jamaicaness however was. This was related to having never visited Jamaica, and for those who had, experiencing encounters within which they were presented as outsiders, "foreigners", as not belonging. This sensation was furthermore pronounced for those first-borns' who had Jamaican born siblings with difference located in the way they "speak" or "dress". Beyond the arbitrariness of place of birth, respondents articulate characteristics, which further delegitimise their claims

of Jamaicaness arising from an evasive credibility and authenticity, frequently presented as attributes found within their Jamaican born siblings and relatives.

Potentially of more significance, for the first-borns there was a "sensation" aroused by an imposed and yet subjectively claimed blackness. Academically, such moments arise as significant, becoming the foci for Amos et al's (1982) 'White sociology, black struggle'. (British) blackness is centralised in the outstanding 'The Empire Strikes Back' and furthered through Gilroy's 'There ain't no Black in the Union Jack' in 1987. For the first-borns, official narratives relating to the virtues of 'race relations' abound, accompanied by historicised reports and documents highlighting the personal and socio-economic challenges being encountered and endured by the (Caribbean) 'immigrant' toward their racialization as black and brown objects. It is during the 1970s that the Race Relations Act (1976) receives royal assent and Pryce publishes 'Endless Pressure'. In the main, emergent academic and political discourses in the 1970s are at odds with the narratives and stories of the families within this study. The metrics and outputs of a 'race relations' industry served to transmogrify its foci from the 'black immigrant' toward a now British born unassimilable and frustrated 'dark stranger'. The race relations industry along with the "boxes" encountered by the first-born serve to *produce* and mark their difference. British claim making therefore emerges as a device facilitating the first-born respondent to resist the imposition of what they perceive as the negative connotations of Jamaicaness and more controversially 'blackness' in Britain, again as objectified. To become British therefore resists being imbue with the negatively construed (and imagined) Jamaican, the old-fashioned, stagnant, traditional, and unchanging. "Real" blackness as connoted with "proper" Jamaicaness was a blackness increasingly inaccessible to the British born and remarkably, for some respondents was to be resisted. To become British creates and affirms a (social) distance away from Jamaicaness. Finally, being Jamaican as a self-referent was infrequent for the 3rd generation. Amid acknowledgements of their grandparent's birthplace and references to a (Jamaican) "heritage", 3rd generation respondents did not claim Jamaican. For them, Britishness was framed within a particular conceptualisation of "Englishness" where self-defining as British was bounded within a legal adherence to their country of birth. Significantly, identifying as British affirmed the identity claims of their first-born parents. Jamaican "heritage" was subsequently

of less relevance to the majority of 3rd generation respondents, serving to inhibit Jamaican claim making. Stereotypical and negative constructions of Jamaicans and Jamaicaness further contributes to build resistance to the imposition of Jamaican as identifier. The question of self-definition highlights the complexity of imposed and negotiated signifiers upon the self, becoming a representation of the context and political contingencies within which the research conversations took place.

Consequently, identities as narrated throughout this study were representative of consumed impressions, and were subject to conceptual shifts within and between the generations. That is Britishness was specific and distinct to the research cohorts – a product of historical and social constructions, both imagined and encountered, inter- and intra- generationally. It was through the intergenerational approach that notions of self-definition and (British) identity claims then appear "fluid", inconsistent and complex. Research conversations evoked subjective articulations of self-definition in order to contextualise the story-giver's personalised experiences. The story therefore reveals individual conceptualisations, perpetual formations and constructions of identity (McAdams 1993, Plummer 2001). It is through the stories told that the self is woke, aroused in order to make sense of the storyteller's previous and contentious experiences. So while this study was conceptualised to explore the experience of the research families, the study inductively gave way to voiced conceptualisations of self-, cultural- and national definitions of identity seemingly to order the self and to manage impressions of the self that were produced through their experiences. Of relevance here, for Hall (1990:51-52), identity can be understood from two positions. The first

> 'defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common.'

Herein, identity is stable, 'unchanging', reflecting a 'common historical experience and shared cultural codes'. For Hall, it is this identity that the 'Caribbean' or the 'black diaspora' must 'discover, excavate' and 'bring to light'. However, from Hall's second position on identity, 'deep and significant difference[s]' are foregrounded which

'Constitute what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the Caribbean's 'uniqueness'. Cultural identity…is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. [I]dentities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.'

The conceptualisation of identity and difference arise from our subjective experiences, as part of an ongoing journey between conceptualisations of *identity as fixed* and *identity as fluid* and in recognition of the continuity of migration(s) (Cottle 1978). When conceptualised in this way, 'migration' can be appreciated away from stubbornly enduring economically derived constructs that serve to explain (physical) migration between Jamaica and England, towards one that positions *immigrations* as shifts toward (and away) from the imagined self. However, conceptualisations of the self are not aroused in some definitive linear sense within conversations but emerged through the storyteller's consideration and appreciation of their personal encounters that disrupt and frustrate self-definition and identity claiming. Hall above speaks to the 'ruptures' and 'discontinuities' which constitute the making of the self. For the families within this study, it was dissonance-inducing encounters which aggravated and frustrated self-actualisation necessitating the perpetual management of self-impressions.

Disruptive encounters

For Miles and Phizacklea (1984) the first generation become othered on their arrival into a *white man's country* as a result of shifts in the construction of the first generation away from their legal (colonial) citizenship status towards a more popularised and negated conceptualisation of 'immigrant'. The immigrant label was thus imposed, serving to construct a consciousness of the Jamaican migrant as 'difficult to assimilate, or later [to] 'integrate'' into English society (Back et al 2012: 141). Consequently, accompanying the first generations migration to Britain was the imposed signifier of

'immigrant'. This process of "becoming" (an)other is theorised by Mirza (1997:3) as an integral feature of 'being black' in Britain. That is, through their excursion or migrations towards the homogeneity of 'white' British society, 'physical difference emerged as a defining issue, a signifier, a mark of whether or not you belong'. Within this context, becoming the other incurred reactions from the 'host', detected through their daily interactions, which served to signal and affirm to the first (and subsequent) generation a negated status location within the 'racial order' of British society (Tyler 2018, Weedon 2004, James 1993).

In moving beyond the centrality of Britishness claiming as a consistent feature of research conversations, families also connote the significance of the 'encounter' in the making and unmaking of identity (Wilson 2016). Conversations reveal that, it is through our social interactions and encounters with others, that the self is conceived (Goffman 1956, Mead 1934, McAdams 1993). Yet of equal importance here, the encounter as retold is similarly significant in the 'making and unmaking' of difference. Thus, rather than an 'empty referent for a meeting, contact or interaction' (Wilson 2016:2), the encounter is employed here as a concept through which to document how each generation comes to recognise and negotiate difference within their everyday lives. In theorising 'encounters', Wilson's work challenges the attribution of encounters as a simple coming together of binaries, apparent in many under-theorised articulations of raced relations.   Rather than the encounter being representative of 'contact where a lack of commonality is assumed or where some form of existing conflict, prejudice or unease is present', a feature of a 'throwntogetherness' (2016:4). The encounter serves not to mark the coming together of socially and racially distinct groups, but as critical in making, evoking and (re)affirming historically informed consciences of difference(s). Critical moments as encounters then are continuities in processes wherein the differentiated self becomes either affirmed or denied and where belonging is disturbed or confirmed.

Consequently, the encounter makes difference through which 'beings are formed, remade and given meaning through their intra- and interactions' (Wilson 2016: 5, Bauman 1995). Patterson's (1963) 'shock' on her encounter with *Dark Strangers* is therefore better understood as 'an exceptional experience of radically traumatising

discontinuity' [ibid] of what is supposed to be, consequently 'undoing faith in our ongoingness, our sense of consistency'. From this position, the relevance of the "shock" aroused in encounters necessitates a paradigmatic shift through which to (re)conceptualise and manage the difference making effects encountered (McAdams 1993, Maruna 2001). Examining such critical moments then presents a way to mitigate and neutralise the 'breach of security' or the 'anxiety, fear, resentment and violence' that such encounters produce. The encounter as the making and unmaking of difference has the potential to facilitate 'significant transformations'. (Wilson 2016:6). So again, Patterson's (1963:16) explanation for the conceptualisation of the 'immigrant-host' model as a 'satisfactory mode of interpreting the dynamic processes which were clearly taking place' in post-war Britain, acknowledges her previous anthropological encounters with the 'Cape Coloured people and their relationships with whites, Africans, and Asians in South Africa'. Subsequently, her disclosure of a 'strangeness' and 'shock' on encountering black and brown people in London has less to do with the *strangers* 'darkness', as her previous anthropological excursions attests to a familiarity with black and brown bodies. Patterson's 'shock' then is better understood as a critical moment of discontinuity, an 'anxiety raising' disruption arising from a post-war 'throwntogetherness' of black, brown and white bodies in 1958 Britain. What is significant here is less the presence of 'strangers', than the disruption of her imagined (white) Britishness by the conspicuous presence of the 'black immigrant'. From here, Wilson (2016) opens an analytical frame through which to reflect upon encounters as events, which are disruptive and difference producing. More pertinently, the work extends the relevance of storied encounters beyond the meeting of bodies, toward encounters with materials and 'objects' which seemingly contribute to the production of a 'multicultural' life (Wilson 2016, Plummer 2001). The following then, will reflect upon the significance of encounters for the families consulted as part of this study. In particular, and in resisting the appropriation of the encounter as a simplistic episode in the coming together of difference, conversations reveal that encounters are precipitated by experiences of otherisation with significant others, alongside mediated encounters which connote negative representations of black people as a problem in Britain. Within family narratives, there emerges as critical disclosures of encounters that inculcate difference and disrupt settled definitions and conceptualisations of the self. In this regard, the following will consider encountered

interactions with the *generalised other*, alongside encounters with dominant mediated representations of the post-war Jamaican immigrant and encountered intra-actions with significant others.

The dominance of Britishness and at times Englishness as claimed by the families within this study is significant in connoting and concealing "shocks" in encounters with (generalised) others. Similar to their previous generations, the 3rd generation disclose encounters through which they detect difference. For example, in encountering the race and ethnic monitoring forms when "going swimming", where RA ticks the "black box" through a process of elimination, because he is "not white". For LG, difference is detected on entering the "white school" where there was only one other black girl whom she knew. Difference was loaded within the innocent question of "why do you have brown skin?" which served to both shock and initiate a sense of other. Further, moments are noted when the "girls" want to "touch my hair" or to question, "Is that your real hair?" Yet what also arises as abstruse is a subtlety in othering experiences. Encounters that other were seemingly less explicit for the 3rd generation, when compared to the more overt face-to-face encounters experienced by their parents and grandparents. So whilst there was that sensation, it was difficult to 'put your finger on it' (Tate 2016). So for SJ (3rd generation),

> "okay this is what they think…I'm gonna have to adapt because sometimes I think you'd want to say things and then they just wouldn't get it, they wouldn't understand, they wouldn't get it. So, it's like after a while I think I kind of like became aware and knew how to deal with it and then sometimes I would just ignore it and just get used to and just leave it how it is kind of thing."

Having to "adapt", to be "somebody different", to "act" to "fit in" arises in conversation again and again. Yet the "it" to which SJ and others refer is difficult to discern. Perceptions and impressions of difference and otherisation remain, despite the difficulties in validating such experiences. However, "it", that sense of being different, becoming conceived of as other, emerges as particularly salient where one migrates away from 'home', specifically difference becomes particularised as family members speak of entering the conflict zone of 'white spaces'. For AO, it was when he and his friends venture from Old Trafford to Stretford and encounter the police. It was detected

in the police officer's question "what are you lot doing around here?" It is the conspicuousness of their presence away from the familiarity and sameness of "multicultural" Old Trafford that triggers the question. Conversely, for LD (UJ's granddaughter) "it" arises when she is required to enter the "black canteen". For her, this disruption draws the following: "why am I being forced to go into the black canteen". Her being forced into the black canteen was precipitated by negative encounters with "black boys", who disrupt her presence in the 'white' school, with "you think you're white". Of significance, critical moments encountered by research respondents accumulate and combine to denote a stubborn conspicuousness of their blackness in Britain, serving to reaffirm previous episodes of otherisation. Within such moments then, respondents detect and appeal to the prevalence of dominant mediated discourses, which attribute problems with those objects racialized as black (Coates 2015). Although subtle and subjectively rehearsed, such discourses infer a mediated consciousness "that we were coming here and causing trouble". In addition "we'd had those riots in Notting Hill", and "there were stories in the newspapers about how we were being treated in the workplace". Moreover, beyond encounters with those "English" people with whom they came into contact, newspapers and television emerge as materials and objects (Wilson 2016) to which the families were subject to significant disruptions.

Otherisation

The British as encountered in Manchester and specifically Old Trafford profoundly disrupt the first generation's imagined sense of Britishness and what it means to be British (Anderson 1991). Disruptions are detected when the neighbour "complains about your children" when they are not doing anything wrong or awakened by the treatment of their children when they went to school, being excluded or placed in lower 'sets'. It is the teacher's advice not to bother showering, because the blackness "won't come off". Such encounters, whilst episodic and at times fleeting, are redefining enduring, augmenting a sense of not belonging, as being different, as becoming (an)other. To be othered, disrupts legal and imagined claims of belonging, with such encounters affirming a (social) distance between them and us. Shocks serve to demarcate families from the white British people they encountered, requiring them to

make sense of that enveloping sensation, the difference between the increasingly redundant Britishness of their childhoods and its juxtaposition with the (white) British in Manchester. Consequently, there evolves an antipathy (James 1993) towards the British encountered in Manchester. An attribution of negative traits and characteristics related to their cleanliness, food hygiene, their attitudes to education, the way "we spoke" good English, become foregrounded as a feature of a "good" Jamaican upbringing and 'their' (white British people's) ignorance.

Here then, the conceptualisation of Britishness as claimed by the first generation is disrupted when juxtaposed against the imagined Britishness of their childhood. What develops is a shift away from those perceived British cultural norms that offend the sensibilities and peculiarities of (colonially imposed) Britishness as cultured in Jamaica. The identifiers of Britishness and Jamaicaness then become contradictory, incompatible counter points for the first generation. In particular, the imposition of 'immigrant' as a disrupting feature of their identity becomes an identifier to be resisted and evaded, in order to retain coherence to the sense of being 'made in England' and to retain their sense of entitlement to become British. Critically, migrations toward Englishness/Britishness become resisted as the emergent idiosyncrasies attributed to white people encountered offend Jamaican sensibilities. Through narratives then there emerge *identifiers* to be negotiated and claimed by the first generation, which, as will be developed next, further complicates conceptualisations, constructions and the negotiation of Britishness for the first-borns.

Whilst for the first generation, difference was marked through a series of disruptive encounters and interactions related to imagined constructions of Britishness and then latterly with neighbours, work colleagues and the media (newspapers), subsumed within those unsaid moments, the first-borns insinuate encounters and disruptions within their interactions with 'significant others', namely parents, family members and family friends. What emerges through first-born conversations is the contention that intra-familial encounters served to inhibit them claiming Jamaicaness. Contentiously then, encounters as othering were located in the stories heard between parents, family friends and the first-borns. For BD, it was her father's "story" where he spoke of having to "sleep on the floor, cos we were the darker ones and the lighter [skinned] ones slept

on the bed."   Otherisation occurred in the utterances of the "family friend" who in conversation with her mother deemed BD an unsuitable "wife" for the "light" skinned Chinese Jamaican man.   Intrinsic to BDs narrative is a central feature of her "dark skinned" blackness as negated – captured within her narrative is the contention that in Jamaica "the darker ones advertise 'ghetto stuff' and the red skin ones for the Banks".   For PJ, he was 'tutored' prior to his enrolment at secondary school to recognise that his dark skin may trigger encounters, when his mother informs him "you're probably the blackest person they've ever seen.   But you're black, you're handsome, you're intelligent". Whilst bestowed with a sensitivity in preparedness of the encounters to come, the "but" is powerfully suggestive, affirming to PJ that his blackness is a contentious feature of his self, an encounter-triggering identifier.   BD similarly highlights the "racist stuff" she endured and experienced in school from other black girls, attributing this to her being "dark and hair nappy."   EA is advised not to go to Jamaica by his mother, due to the violence, but was also cryptically informed "the English change like the weather", whilst his father regularly spoke of "going home". For the first-born's, difference was firstly aroused within the family home precipitating what was to emerge as significant *external* encounters which occurred outside of the "home", amidst a social and political context wherein blackness arises as conspicuous (Gilroy 2002, Ahmed 2000).

For the adolescent first-born, 'blackness' is disruptive to their constructions of Britishness. The encounter with the stranger that disrupts GW's claims of Britishness. To rehearse, he is "British". He is not Jamaican like his older brothers and sister. The encounter becomes memorised as a critical moment from which he is required to 'momentarily' (re)negotiate his Britishness. The moment becomes marked, "word for word" as "how can a black man be British?" Significantly, the impact of this encounter saw GW attempt to migrate away from Britishness: "right I'm not British then…so I'm Jamaican or foreign then".   Of interest here, GW draws upon nationality identifiers other than "black" even though blackness initiates the disruptive encounter. Whilst imprecise, being black is used by the children and grandchildren to signify heritage, the place of birth of their parents.   It is appropriated to delineate the first-borns' difference.   Becoming black becomes a resource appropriated by the first-borns to make sense of those 'anxiety raising' experiences as discussed in Chapter 6. 'Black'

British then emerges out of the difference-raising contradictions of their encounters, signalling to the first-borns a recognition of white British sensibilities to an imagined blackness, as British. Here then is detected race as stigma, but stigma as embodied within experienced exclusionary features of Britishness (Tyler 2018, Howarth 2006). Whilst their parents referenced "immigrant" status primarily as disruptive, Britishness for the first-borns is retuned and reconceptualised in defiance of the stigmatisation of blackness as dialogically connoted by the 'stranger at the bus stop' (Alexander 2001).

Identity as imposed

Encounters also emerge from pervasive media representations. Such representations have a defining effect upon the storyteller wherein they are required to (re)position themselves both within and yet away from the negative and stigmatising effects of such media representations. This is particularly pertinent to the Moss Side 'riots' of 1981 which was mediated as being representative of the intergenerational strains felt by black people living in Manchester. Apparent within these conversational themes are a series of othering narratives necessitating first-borns to differentiate and distance them(selves) from the effects of racialising constructs attributed to those living in the Moss Side area. Yet rather than being dismissed or disregarded, such constructs were appropriated and projected by the first-born's onto others, away from those who reside in Old Trafford. Thus imposed stigmatising identifiers of the criminal, "Rastafarianism", "Niabinghy", drug dealing, the rioter, 'gangs', educational underachievement, school exclusion, the speaking of Patois by those who were born in England was viewed (by many) as problematic and indicative of "trouble". EA acknowledges the tension, when he is unable to make sense of the 1981 riots, unable to rationalise "why you would smash up your own area." More widely, suggestions of Britain being discriminatory against British (black) people were derided as unsubstantiated. PMc articulated those claims of racism as indicative of a "chip on the shoulder" as characteristic of people who cannot move forward, those who are "constantly looking backwards". Yet, there is ambivalence here, a complexity that the first-borns do not reconcile. That is, negated constructions as encountered are pivotal in renegotiation and (re)construction of self-definition and identity for the first-borns.

Such complexity was storied through encounters with the newspaper images of Clinton McCurbin, who was killed in police custody (as discussed Chapter 6). It was storied in the first-born's experiences of being "stopped and searched" by the police, when "I hadn't done anything". It was detected in BD's encounters with social services who questioned her ability to parent her "at-risk" daughter who was "hanging around with gangs". It was sensed by JL, in the "special" black history sessions in her school, irrespective of her excellent educational performance.

Media disruptions as difference affirming

Of significance, through conversation there was a consistent reference to television programmes which served to disrupt self-conceptualisation. Specifically, "Love Thy Neighbour", "Till Death Us Do Part" and the TV serialisation of Alex Haley's autobiography entitled, "Roots". The television as encountered became an ever-present backdrop, symbolising racialised tensions inherent within British society and in turn, framing the research conversations. Alongside the academically informed 'race relations problematic' and the 'race and crime nexus', the immigrant as (nuisance) neighbour was communicated through the media to illustrate the failings of black immigration. Serialising the antagonisms endured by the 'white' neighbour to affirm the race relation problems that the white Briton was then experiencing. For PJ, "Love Thy Neighbour" sought to present "racism" as having an acceptable "veneer". In 'loving' thy black neighbour the utterance of "wogs", "coon", "Paki", "sambo" become everyday vernacular. Such language in turn served to initiate encounters, as the cultural backdrop of the 1970s. Rather than a reflection of neighbourly relationships between the accommodating 'white host' and the non-absorbed dark 'stranger', such television shows, constructed and produced relationships (Jewkes 2011). Simplistically, television presented transcendental signifiers, anthropologically informing the masses of (an)other. The first-borns disclosed consuming such television shows. They concede laughing at such representations. The 'jovial' vernacular beam through the television screen was mimicked, rehearsed and replayed on the school playground. The children learned and played at problematic raced relations. They played at being 'Eddie and Bill', they became 'Joan and Barbara',

employing the racist language as "banter" for humour. The school playground encounter was precipitated by a consumption of media constructions of an objectified black other. Britishness as conceptualised through the stories of the first-borns was therefore characteristic of those othering representations with black objects presented as being distinct and different to Britishness. They were presented as possessing an alternative way of life and culture amid everyday (neighbourly) tensions and incivility, occurring at a time of national conversations of 'race-relations' (James 1993). Intergenerationally, such themes persist, where LG (3rd generation) remarks at the repetitive representation of young black boys in 'gangs'.

> "[T]o me, it was kind of upsetting and disturbing because I was like thinking again it's bad media for black people. I know myself that it's not just black people that do this and it's called Gangland. It wasn't focusing on black boys in gangs, it was about gangs. So why is it only the black gangs on here? Why is nothing else?"

Disruptions to Britishness evoked in first-born conversations represent a continuity, affirming constructions of the first generation and subsequently, 3rd generation young people as outsiders, as not being British as "foreign" as problem. While infrequently defined as racist or racism, such moments affirm otherisation, that "you can't be black and British".

On reactions

Significantly, whilst name-calling and the mimicry of "Love Thy Neighbour" within the playground was explained as "banter", racialized encounters with those in positions of power was disclosed as being qualitatively different. Encounters with teachers and the police presented the first-borns with what they regard as significant disruptions. There was some acceptance from school friends using racialized language, which they had encountered on the television shows. However, where teachers engaged in such "banter" then this was different. Within encounters with authority, some of the first-born respondents found it difficult to ascertain the motives behind the teacher or police officers' reaction to their presence. School based encounters with authority incur a significant disruption manifest as othering them from their fellow white pupils. Through

the "black pen", the reference to some "ethnic minority groups" causing problems, the humiliating slap in the face on the school corridor, the repeated stop and search of EA, when his white friends were not searched. The realisation that it wasn't "white blonde haired girls" being excluded from the classroom. Such encounters necessitate a reaction. It is notable that in Chapter 3, anti-authority attitudes were theoretically connoted as an innate feature of black people contributing to processes of criminalisation (Williams 2015, Williams and Durrance 2018). However, the findings here are illustrative of the encounters with authority as producing anti-authority, being against 'their' authority. For the first-born's in particular, they are sceptical, wary, "you had to be careful around him". Being anti-authority was to be anti the subtle (and explicit) abuses of power, which the first-born's experienced and which served to other. Painfully, each moment, each encounter served in "letting you know that you were different" (EA).

> "What that did, [it] caused a little bit of confusion in people I reckon. Caused, in the aspect that, you wanna be yourself at all times. You wanna be you. But because you're sometimes in a place that's alien to you, <u>you have to act a bit different, just to fit in</u>…[B]ecause you're not allowed to be who you wanna be. And I think that in itself is one of the tragedies of racism. It makes you want to fit into a structure, what doesn't really want you to fit into it". [PJ, first-born, emphasis added]

Conceptually, a particularly challenging feature of disclosures from research conversations arises in discussion of reactions to disruptive encounters. Notably, it was the first-born's who connect their experience of disruptive encounters as initiated by an imagined blackness (Coates 2015). Painfully, WL of the first generation spoke of wanting to be "somebody else". PJ spoke of having to "act" to "fit in", with his daughter SJ, similarly speaking of having to "adapt" once she had realised "that's what they think". Whilst not all respondents utilised the language of racism to explain disruptive encounters, racism particularly for the first-born's emerged as an explanatory device to make sense of 'racism's touch', particularly where disruptions occur in encounters with those in a position of authority. Encounters experienced by the first-borns was deemed as initiated by and was therefore explained by their blackness. Blackness then emerges as a signifier, imposed intra-familially and affirmed externally through their social interactions with the generalised other and

particularly authority figures. As has previously been discussed, such moments disrupt claims of Britishness, disrupting their sense of "home" and belonging. 'Black' therefore emerges as an adjunct to their Britishness, a signifier which cannot be resisted, concealed or ignore. For the first-borns, they are Othered and in so being, become the other. Of significance here and inferred throughout this thesis is the concept of 'race as stigma'. It is the mediation of race as stigma, which governs the social interactions for each of the families and generations within this study. However, the stigmatisation of race as embodied within the structures of British society are concealed, obscured from view and thereby can become dismissed as an explanation for disruptive encounters (Tyler 2018, Howarth 2006). Whilst LG of the 3rd generation uniquely reflects upon blackness as triggering the "shocks" she incurred within encounters, the majority of respondents conceive of such disruptive encounters in subjectively different ways. The "nigger, nigger nigger…" was defined as the utterances of a woman who was "not righted" [having mental health problems], while other racialized encounters were conceptualised as "ignorance". MW responded to the mutterings of "I wouldn't employ them" with a strategic silence. You see, "they wouldn't understand it". So consistently and in defiance of the dominant story, respondents disclosed that they never experienced racism. At times, encounters suggestive of 'racism's touch' (Tate 2016) were deracialized (Harries 2014). While racism was at times inferred, it was frequently 'defined away' for a seemingly more palatable explanation of "ignorance" especially when encounters occurred away from "home", and outside of their communities. Differential treatment then was the inevitable reaction to 'them' as immigrants, a logical reaction to their visible difference. Moreover, racism as a 'relic of the past', being more prevalent in the "olden" days was invalidated as an explanation for racialized disruptions. For the 3rd generation, racist language and actions were attributed to people who were "not educated", the "ignorant" or those who cynically used racist language as a resource to "wind you up" because you "can't" be racist nowadays. Related to this, racism was frequently presented as occurring somewhere else, happening in other spaces, territories, in other countries. For the first generation's MsB, racism existed in America not in England. People (from Jamaica) had not complained of "racism" they were settling in and getting on nicely. Continuities of this theme was also found in conversation with the 3rd generation where respondents referenced the fatal police shootings of black

people and the emergent Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement as particular to USA. Racism was experienced in "Spain" and in "Korea", but not in Old Trafford, Manchester. In emphasis, it was said by one 3rd generation respondent that there is no need for BLM within the UK, due to our qualitatively different experiences and the absence of (real) racism. However, Harries' (2014) conceptualisation of deracialisation as a feature of post-racist societies does not, indeed cannot, explain the equivocal dismissal of racism(s) found in this study.

Consequently, disclosures point toward the unmentionable – that of embraced invisibility, defined as a strategy of concealing negated traits stereotypically attributed to the group (Eijbert and Roggeband 2015, Jarenski 2010, Wasserman 1976). It was WL who in discussing his receiving cousin claimed she was "passing for white", continuing, "they had nothing Jamaican about them at all…I didn't like how they had sort of just accepted that. I still wanted to be Jamaican". To embrace invisibility marks the concealment of the self, to present as you are not. It is to become the other, through strategies to conceal primary definers, to minimise the potential or eventuality of disruptive encounters. Whilst WL's cousin marks an extreme of such reactions, conversations are suggestive of further examples of invisibility. To illustrate, MW recalls his experience of being "knocked back" from nightclubs and bars throughout encounters with Manchester's night-time economy. In conversation, he disclosed being 'turned away' from three establishments in one evening. Whilst he concedes to being dressed "smart", with "smart shoes" and a "jacket" he notes that the "knock back" was due to him wearing the "wrong shoes". For AO, stories of "black" people being denied entry into particular nightclubs was deracialized with reference to the type of club night it was. It was the way that some black men "dress" which initiated the 'knock back' especially those not fitting the "demographic". RA, sensitively, yet adamantly, discloses the difficulty in accepting the concept of 'institutionalised racism' by asserting that he had never experienced racism and consequently it would be difficult for him to accept such a concept. Again, AO, in reflecting upon his experiences of "stop and search" and in recognition of the racialized disparities in stop search figures, explicitly states that this had nothing to do with racism, but more fittingly is representative of policing responses and effectiveness in apprehending those young people involved in crime and offending behaviour. For AO, the vexed issue of police stop and search

was a "class ting" and not a race thing. Most radically, LJ speaks of a "school friend" who was in the English Defence League (EDL). Whilst acknowledging her friend's racist father and that her "friend" had attended EDL marches, she ambiguously regards him as a "friend".

On the one hand, migration arises as a strategy to get away, a move toward a concealed self while avoiding the imposition of negated identifiers through our encounters, which significantly disrupts previously negotiated conceptualisations of the self. Concealing information of the self and identity is a tool to reduce the negative impacts of race as stigma (Goffman 1968, Howarth 2006, Tyler 2018). Our encounters whether disruptive or self-affirming, necessitates the (re)making of (our)self as a means to evade associations to othered and stigmatised bodies. To be "somebody else" therefore necessitates rendering silent and invisible those identifiers that make difference visible. Becoming somebody else demands that we create a (social) distance away from those objects, those Others who like us, contaminate and disrupt our negotiated conceptions of self.

On Becoming Another

The findings to emerge from the fieldwork within this study provides an insight into the families' impressions of Britain and Britishness that inductively emerged from respondents' discussions of self-definition and experiences of living on Manchester, England. Impressions are contingent upon the dominant historical, social and political constructions mediated through newspapers, television and social media. Moreover, such conceptualisations serve to initiate disruptive encounters with significant others. Critically, self-definition and identity formation as they converged in conversation were further complicated, yet simplified by their appropriation within dominant media sources and representations, serving to temporally frame research conversations. The self is formed through encounters with external objects, materialities, communities and individuals. As argued by Wilson (2016) the self is unmade and made through encountered interactions (Bauman 1995). The conversations and narratives related to being and growing up in Old Trafford, Manchester are informed by experiences,

engagements appreciations and understandings of dominant constructions of those groups and individuals who are Othered – that is those bodies that are produced and presented as outsiders, alongside those who do not belong. Those who blur and infringe the normative boundaries of imagined communities (Anderson 2013). It is from this position and within this context that the pronounced multiple identifiers to which the families within this study appeal are conceptualised and come together to form a coherent and whole identity (Stones 2015). Yet, the identifiers of Jamaican, Caribbean, British, English, black, mixed-race, white are contingent upon the temporal moment, the (time and cultural) frame from and within which the experience being recalled and retold is located. Identity formation then is subjective, unique and time-specific within the individual storytellers' moment (James 1993). The sense of Jamaicaness, Britishness, Englishness, blackness, mixed-raceness and whiteness cannot be shared, no matter how often and upon whom these identifiers are imposed. Identity formation and identity claiming amidst self-definition is as much to do with what we cannot claim, what we cannot be, the unavailability of "boxes" that match our self-conceptualisation. To immigrate then reflects our engagement in a never-ending process of identity negotiation, characterised by a need to resist the imposition of ill-fitting and negated identifiers. Self-definitions evolve and shift in reaction to wider social constructions of the Other as perennially made, remade and unmade. The enduring nature of self-definition is responsive to and appropriated in the evasion of the racialised stigma as embodied within British society with self-definition facilitating and building a resistance to the imposition of blemished identities. Again, whilst this may serve to support a view that identities are "fluid", the intergenerational nature of this study illustrates complexity in the process of self-definition which challenges the academic pervasiveness of identity claiming, and its concomitant negotiation, formation and maintenance as fluid.

Claims of particular identifiers which appear as contradictory, particularly when discussed in relation to the stories of previous generations, are representative of a pursuit toward self-actualisation, of becoming "somebody else" which drives migrations (Lutz 1998, Olwig 1998). Self-identification and identity claiming serve to facilitate and support our claims of belonging. It validates and reaffirms our legitimate claims of being there, of being here. For Maslow (1943), self-actualisation

necessitates belongingness as a critical human need. In this regard, claiming Britishness for the families within this study facilitates shifts toward self-coherence (Maruna 2001, Stone 2015). It insulates and renders the self resilient against anticipated disruptions as encountered, those episodes and moments that disrupt claims of Britishness and belonging. Critically, from this position, the evasion of imposed and claimed identities is an agentic strategy in moves (or migrations) towards coherence. In essence then, the multiple identifiers evoked in conversation are better conceived of as resources utilised in movements toward self-coherence.

Consistently then, Britishness as imagined (and migrated toward by the first generation) and as claimed was evoked as a relatively fixed identifier. Whilst found to be subjectively conceptualised and experienced, Britishness as claimed is static. To foreground Britishness, makes sense of our presence, our place, illustrative of an allegiance to our "particular line". It affirms belonging. Also claiming Britishness is critical in maintaining a coherent self. Consequently, Othered signifiers are subject to concealment. When claimed, Britishness precludes explanation and qualification of our conspicuous presence. Similarly, racialised stigma as embodied in the British state is itself concealed, with political strategies designed to circumvent and to deny the enduring nature of the racialised stigmatisation of black and brown bodies. Consequently, becoming the (British) other conceals our stories and experiences. In concealing our disruptions, and shifts towards coherence, respondents define away that sensation and sense of otherisation. As a resource, Britishness enabled the first generation to be "somebody else". For the first-borns, becoming British enabled them to "fit in", and for the 3rd generation British claims facilitates the adaptive deracialisation of racialized disruptive encounters. Ironically, in migrating towards Britishness the family's stories are increasingly dehistoricised and decontextualised (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi 2013).

Whilst encounters are a common everyday feature of our social interactions, within and without difference and sameness, their significance is most marked where identity claims are disrupted (Wilson 2016). It is the "slap in the face" that accompanies the realisation of WL's concealed self. Such disruptions are internal and externally made conscious. The disruption is aroused when 'Britishness' gives (a)way to the poor living

conditions within which early post-war (white) British people lived. The first-born's sense disruptions when blackness as imposed contravenes their claims to Britishness, by the stranger at the bus stop. It is where the Polish girl would be deemed 'more' British than the "black" British 3rd generation girl. It is within such moments that a sense of what it is to be British is fundamentally undermined, disturbing self-coherence. Yet despite this, retaining Britishness at times necessitated creating distance away from the very same signifiers that initiate disruptions. For MsA "[i]t's not like those people who are coming over here and drowning, we were invited".

Where coherence is threatened and/or disturbed in proximity to an imagined other, then strategies serve to resist the attribution (and imposition) of the traits, characteristics and features of the Other. In the disappearance of the "room to let", the racialized questioning encountered by the first generation becomes deconstructed as "ignorance", so "they don't know any better". The playground mimicry of "love thy neighbour" becomes deconstructed to "banter". Moreover, the retelling of painful encounters with "authority", the stops and the searches, the schoolgirl who acquired a "racist friend", are not simply disruptive encounters, these are exceptionalising moments. Clearly then, the experience of such moments presents contradictions, ambiguities and conundrums. Harries (2014) valuable work suggests the absence of 'racist-talk' within contemporary society is representative of living in a post-racial world, characterised by the absence of political discussions relating to racism(s), particularly in social policy discourse. As such, the above is apparently reflexive of the present moment within which younger family members are disempowered to articulate experiences of racism and racialized discrimination in Manchester. However, given the continuity in 'strategic silences' concerning articulations of racism and discriminations throughout this study, the findings here suggest that deracialisation or the deconstruction of racialized encounters is more akin to and representative of continuities and crises in what it means to be British. Herein, deracialisation preserves the 'coherent self' where such "debates" have the potential to other and exclude. Whereas, to acknowledge racism(s) alongside British identity claims disrupts self-coherence. Whilst reference to the wider socio-political contexts was peripheral to the conversations recorded for this study, they are pervasive and ever-present, detected as relevant, yet unsaid. To deracialise then is not to deny the "tragedy of racism", but

to preserve and maintain self-coherence within a context of structural racism. To repeat, it enables WL to "be somebody else" in pursuit of self-actualisation. It supports the first-borns to "fit in" at a time when their blackness is stigmatised (Howarth 2006), becoming racialized, within an "acceptable veneer", mainstreamed and beamed into the homes of British society through their television sets. Critically, one cannot "fit in" or "adapt" to an exclusive white Britishness, within an exclusionary Britain, a Britain most recently infused with anti-Europe, anti-foreigner, isolationist intent. To lose coherence within this context now would necessitate the appropriation of (an)other identifier. To the first-borns and their children, this would necessitate become something they are not. For the 3rd generation RA, "I don't feel European". To claim Britishness then facilitates an 'invisibility embraced' (Wasserman 1976), concealing the naked self (Maruna 2001) - to maintain coherence, to reaffirm relevance and their belonging. A belonging which facilitated migration to Britishness, to become (an)other, to maintain coherence and a "better life".

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