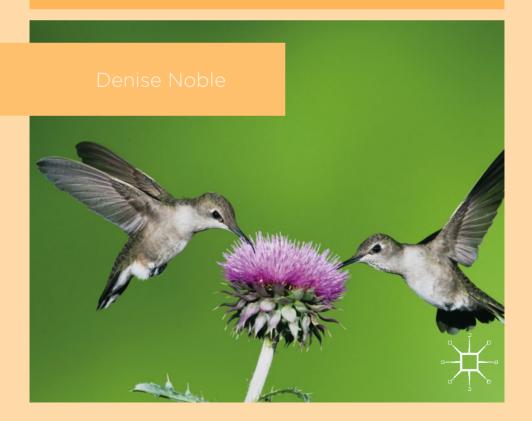
DECOLONIZING AND FEMINIZING FREEDOM

A CARIBBEAN GENEALOGY



Thinking Gender in Transnational Times

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Denise Noble

Decolonizing and Feminizing Freedom

A Caribbean Genealogy



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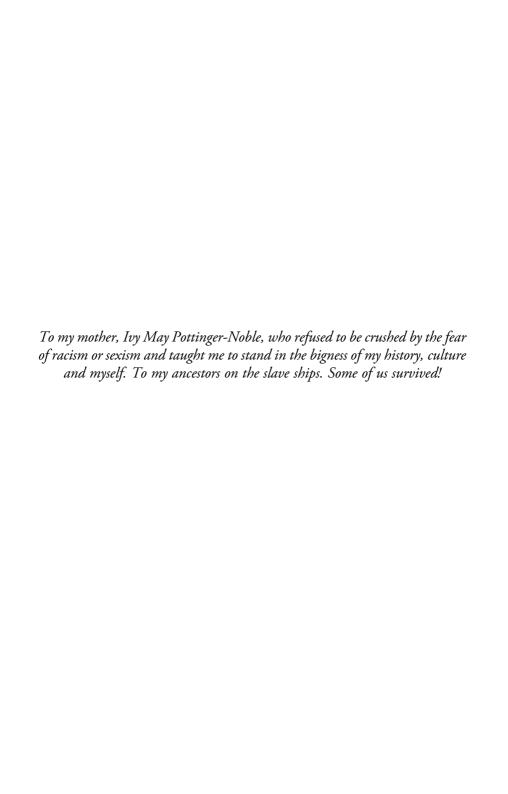
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1

Introduction: Decolonizing and Feminizing Freedom

In Britain, as in many other Western postcolonial nations, the contemporary politics of difference and anti-racism have tended to privilege the nation-state as both the condition and the container of difference and the guarantor of rights, based on entitlements of citizenship. This book resists this preoccupation by casting a transnational and transhistorical lens on the historical conjunctures in which macrostructures, global processes and governmental strategies become entangled in local contingencies and vernacular practices, nation-states in their histories of empire, 'civilizing' missions in emancipatory projects and 'the woman question' with 'the race question'. These longstanding links—frequently viewed by the Western nation as over, defunct and forgettable—continue and persist, albeit in altered forms, thereby requiring new types of analysis and renewed critiques to understand their novel articulations with the changing identities and practices of the present, which has been variously characterized as postcolonial, postracial, postfeminist and neoliberal.

This partial, sociohistorical and biopolitically situated Caribbean genealogy of liberal freedom offers a narration of a particular experience of Black Britishness and Caribbean womanhood, beginning from the perspectives of women of Caribbean descent living in London. This book's

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transnational perspective attends closely to the politics of location, both geographically and discursively, which construct the intersectionalities of heterosexual Black femininity. This inevitably must include attention to how the formation of the free African-Caribbean woman has emerged in relation to other categories of Blackness, Caribbean identity and woman, engaging with the local, regional and uneven global flows of the diasporic, the transnational and the global. The writing of this book has principally been informed by my own location as a Black British-born scholar of African-Jamaican descent, and my own frustration and yearning to find a way of analysing the politics of race, ethnicity, gender and racism in Britain in ways that can take seriously their conjunctural global and local historical formations. These histories reappear in the national and transimperial legacies, which, in their interactions with the neocolonial formations of contemporary neoliberal capitalism, constituted the conditions of possibility framing twenty-first-century postcolonial Britain. Understanding the contemporary politics of race and ethnicity in Britain outside this analytical frame is to perpetually misdiagnose the times in which we live and the people whom Britain claims to be.

This book constructs an ontology of the present of Britain in its colonial articulations of racialized modernity, tracing the links between contemporary postcolonial neoliberal racial formations and earlier colonial modes of racial thought and ruling practices. In particular, it is interested in focusing on the moments of intensification and crisis in the liberal modes of governance that define Britain's liberal identity and in which the complicity between race, nation and broader global political and cultural processes are revealed. These considerations are particularly pertinent at a time when government ministers in Britain, along with other political leader in Europe, have proclaimed the 'failure' and 'crisis' of multiculturalism in Britain and Europe, with the former prime minister, David Cameron, calling for a turn to 'muscular liberalism' as the solution. Rarely made explicit in these discussions of multiculturalism is the very obvious gendered dimension of this representation of both liberalism and Britishness, given that muscularity in Western culture is normatively valued as an expression of a certain kind of active rugged masculinity, typically associated with conquest, rule and mastery. That this 'muscular liberalism' is represented as the indigenous moral character and political identity of the British nation and its people requires interrogation and explanation using analytical frames that can address the entanglements of modernity's gendered racial formations.

This is advanced through a transnational and postcolonial sociocultural history of the formation of the Black Caribbean woman as a subject of British liberal freedom since the abolition of slavery in Britain's Caribbean territories in the early nineteenth century. Starting with the current period of the twenty-first century, the arguments presented here trace the changing identities of liberalism—not as a philosophy or theory, but as (1) a set of rationalities and practices for governing and critiquing the limits of both freedom and government in liberal states (Foucault 1991a, b); and (2) a central tenet of British modern national identity. Both of these are mutually constitutive of and constituted by the uneven and changing intersections of white supremacy, race, gender and sex with the mutating governmental logics of capitalist modernity. Centrally, this volume concerns the tensions, contradictions and appearements that take place within and between diverse state and non-state liberal projects for governing biopolitically constituted populations in the name of modernizing freedom and how those so-constituted 'free' populations in turn have utilized their available freedoms to govern themselves, and the meaning of freedom, otherwise. In short, this book addresses liberal governmentality as a practice of rule and freedom that is saturated with the racial and gender logics of a Western universalizing system of knowledge/power relations, otherwise known as coloniality/modernity (see Chap. 2), and which therefore produce the ethical and political imperative of decolonizing and feminizing freedom.

Sociological and feminist studies of race and ethnicity in Britain have largely focused on the role of the state in responding to ethnic diversity and racism, women's rights and gender inequality. Despite the turn to culture inaugurated by the work of the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, sociological investigations that specifically addresses the cultural worlds and self-understandings of Black women in Britain have been conspicuously thin on the ground. This study addresses this gap by exploring the practices and discourses of freedom through which British women of Afro-Black Caribbean identity have sought to understand and shape themselves as free women with personal value and social power. Focusing

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on the post-emancipation formation of the free Black woman of the Caribbean, this work analyses the self-making practices of freedom that are produced from this intersectionally inscribed subject position, and the extent to which this figure may exceed or escape the sum of her historically mutable, biopolitically construction parts. In writing a British Caribbean genealogy of the modern free Black woman, I consider how Black African-descended, or Afro-Caribbean women in various times and locations have sought to utilize, revise, extend and define their available freedoms. I ask: Who is the contemporary self who emerges from this self-affirming and self-determining subject? What can we learn from her about our contemporary times? And how does this history of the present produce new ways of understanding liberalism's changing racialized and gendered governmental formations and the intimate co-production of *racialized modernity* (Hesse 2007) and the *coloniality of gender* (Lugones 2008).

This book is not a chronological history; neither does it aim to merely narrate a particular experience of woman or Blackness. Rather, as a history of the formation of the post-emancipation free Black Caribbean woman within British rule and modern freedom it is an intellectual practice of critical 'rememorying'. Novelist Toni Morrison defines rememorying as a creative act of imagination in which, as a writer, she must trust her own recollections and also depend on the recollections of others (Morrison 1995, 91) to undertake 'a kind of literary archaeology' whereby 'on the basis of some information and a little bit of guesswork you journey to a site to see what remains were left behind and to reconstruct the world that these remains imply' (Morrison 1995, 92). This imaginative act of fictionwriting for Morrison is constituted in three parts: the image, the recollection and the creative imagination. For her the imaginative process of fiction-writing combines the image (the 'remains' and the feelings that accompany it) with recollection, and as a result they 'yield up a kind of truth' (ibid.). Rememorying then uses the memory and past of others to facilitate my own individual as well as a collective rememorying, which does not rely on subjective memory alone, which can so easily forget what it did not realize would be important to remember, or can succumb to the power of hegemonic histories that wilfully produce collective amnesia. Rememorying does more than simply remember, as though that which needed to be recalled was simply sitting there waiting to be picked up

again. Rememorying as genealogy is investigative, interrogative and insurgent, seeking out the threads of power, its repressions and activations. Rememorying is both recovery (in the sense of retrieval) and critique (Morrison 1995, 95), in order to better understand the present. In this sense, there is some overlap between Morrison's concept of rememorying and Michel Foucault's methodological perspective of genealogical historical analysis (Chap. 2).

While Foucault's genealogy and his critiques of liberalism, modern power and freedom are central to this work, they will also be questioned and reworked in the service of other subordinated knowledges; inflected by feminist and decolonial-postcolonial perspectives. In this regard, the argument presented in this book contributes to a body of work in the social sciences and humanities that bears the marks of the influence of Foucault's work on postcolonial and feminist theories, but which has sought to redress Foucault's enigmatic disengagements with empire, race and woman, despite his interests in difference and countermodernities. This has generated important work that has been able to examine the diffusion of coloniality as a global system of power through cultural imperialism and colonial governmentality. However, in contrast to very useful but often either highly abstract political theory (Bernasconi 2010; Hesse 2007) or very state and institutionally focused studies (Joyce 2003; Ferlie et al. 2013), this book falls within an approach to analysing these concepts spearheaded by Ann Laura Stoler (1988, 1995, 2002). This work retains the deep theoretical rigour of postcolonial and decolonial analyses that foreground the conjunctures and articulations of power, resistance and struggle, while focusing particularly on the body, the everyday microphysics of race and gender, the 'performative nature of state power' (Wilson 2011, 1295) and the cultural aspects of nationbuilding in liberal rule. This book contributes to the growing body of postcolonial/decolonial analysis by women scholars addressing the interdiscursive formations of colonial governmentality, race and gender-for example, Bannerji (2001) and Azim et al. (2009) on gender and British colonial rule in India, and Sheller (2012) on gender and British colonial rule in the Caribbean. Stoler's work has demonstrated how inter- and transdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approaches can be deployed to move within and between questions of

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representation and experience, discourse and the lived everyday, between state governing practices and ethics of the self, performativity and affect, race and gender, to understand more fully their cultural and political intersections, interactions and articulations in the making of colonial modernity. These insights are applied in this study to explore conceptually and experientially how coloniality as a naturalized relation of difference/ inequality reproduces Western rule, hegemonic White constructions of the human, and articulates changing conceptions and categories of human life, in the name of liberal freedom. Drawing on postcolonial and decolonial critiques of race and modernity, the followomg chapters aim to engage the experiences of Caribbean women and the politics of gender and sexuality in Western modernity's racialized ontology, and within Black modernity's gendered formations (Spillers 1987). It is important to note that some of the most exciting work in this regard has been produced by theorists in Black queer and sexuality studies, and this volume draws on those influences to bring these perspectives to a critical consideration of heterosexual Black women. This seeks to take seriously how Black heteronormativities are both hegemonic and governmental in defining Black identities and so reproduce and often reinforce Western heteronormativity, but also how they are paradoxically racially 'queered' by colonial modernity's Western and liberal sex/gender order.

Black Like Who?

The all-inclusive British anti-racist conception of Black to refer to all women of colour is deferred in this text in order to address the specificity of a certain historical trajectory of Black Britishness—one traced through the particular (though not unique or homogenous) history of British African Caribbean women. Chapter 4 discusses this in much more depth than can be done here. For now it is important just to clarify that the focus here is on the operations of power through which the figure of the heteronormatively embodied Black Caribbean woman has been produced and deployed within the history of British colonial racial

hierarchies. The figure of the Black Caribbean woman emerged within the making of the colonial race/sex/gender grammar of Anglophone Caribbean societies and continues to be meaningful in relation to her location and locutions within the contemporary topographies of postcolonial racial formations and 'new ethnicities' (Hall 1996). This means that it will be impossible to ignore either African-Caribbean men or other Caribbean and non-Caribbean ethnicities and identities. Yet narrowing in on one particular biopolitical category of social identity is both a methodological device and a political move to avoid reproducing an 'elision [...] between "women" as a discursively constructed group and "women" as material subjects of their own history' (Mohanty 1997); between Black (British) identity as a fixed biological or cultural essence and Black British political identity as an already accomplished local political settlement. Black Britishness and its complexities is the subject of Chaps. 3 and 4, which analyse the narratives discourses of Black womanhood and Britishness in the narratives of a group of Black Caribbean women living in London.

Four related concerns underwrite this book: (1) to present and analyse critical moments in the double articulation of the colonial relation (Hall 2000) between Britain and its Caribbean territories in which the development of British national and colonial social policy discourses and cultural meanings were mutually informing if not constitutive; (2) to demonstrate in the context of the Anglophone Caribbean and Britain how liberalism has simultaneously advanced and expanded the global reach of Western conceptions of liberty and equality—especially in relation to race and gender—while paradoxically modernizing, refining and reproducing racism, racialized social inequalities and masculinist forms of rule not always reducible to patriarchy; (3) how conflicts or tensions over British national identity and/or racial rule have been repeatedly expressed through concerns and debates about the status of women, gender relations and the limits of liberal citizenship; and (4) to produce an analysis of all of the above through an investigation into the embodied, quotidian and vernacular practices through which Afro-Black Caribbean British women have generated and deployed contested meanings of freedom, woman and Black identity to decolonize and feminize freedom.

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As already stated, this book is not a chronological history but a genealogy of the present, and this is reflected in its structure. Part I, 'Freedom's Liberal Identities: Being Black British Women', sets out the core analytical concepts and perspectives of this study, highlighting the book's use of postcolonial and decolonial critiques of modernity and the liberal identity of modern freedom. The following two chapters then offer a detailed close analysis of the narratives of Black Britishness presented by nine women of Caribbean descent living in London in the first decade of the twenty-first century, which provide the core experiential qualitative data that then informs the genealogy of Black British womanhood and freedom.

Chapter 2, 'Turning History Upside Down', introduces the key concepts and theoretical frameworks used in this book, providing a discussion of Foucault's concepts of genealogy, governmentality and biopolitics. It then goes on to make the case for the importance of a feminist decolonial critique that can engage the entanglements of what Barnor Hesse (2007) has described as modernity's racialized ontology that together with its colonial formations inscribe what Maria Lugones has referred to as the 'coloniality of gender' (2008). Chapter 3, 'The Old and New Ethnicities of Postcolonial Black (British)ness', begins the process of situating the analysis in the present by examining interviews conducted between 2002 and 2005 with ten Black Caribbean women living in London. Exploring the contemporary meanings of Black British and Caribbean identities as narrated in individual interviews conducted with these women, this chapter establishes the coherence of a particular construction of Black British identity, traced through transnational and diasporic identifications. The interviews illuminate how these women made sense of growing up Black in Britain through self-defining practices that repeatedly reorganize the categories and meanings of cultural identity, nation, ethnicity and race in their intersections with gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and location. Chapter 4, "Standing in the Bigness of Who I Am": Black Caribbean Women and the Paradoxes of Freedom' moves on from the previous focus on Black identity to the presentation and examination of how the women interviewed spoke about their gender identities. As a key chapter in elaborating what it means to be a free Black woman from the perspective of the ten women involved in the study, it is necessarily longer

than the others, taking the time to listen to and analyse how these women understood themselves in relation to freedom. What emerges from this is how central to their subjective and collective identities are the concepts of freedom and Black womanhood, in particular as they are unified in the discourse and figure of the 'independent Black woman'. In the course of analysing the ideal figure of the independent Black woman, one that is widespread in African diaspora cultures, it becomes necessary to address the ways in which Black women's freedoms have also been questioned in terms of their implications for Black masculinity and Black men. In particular, the discussion moves on to explore the connections between two key discourses, one from the Caribbean and the other homegrown in Britain, that seek to account for gender disparities in the achievement levels of Black males and females both in education and in social advancement more generally. Both discourses in different but related ways claim that the greater educational attainment and economic and social advancement of Black girls and women comes at the expense of the familial marginalization and social disadvantage of Black boys and men. The chapter concludes by connecting these discussions to the racialized ontology of liberal patriarchy and to reflect on Maria Lugones' theory of the coloniality of gender.

Part II, 'Colonial Liberalism and Black Freedom', undertakes the historical genealogical work to unravel the discourses of womanhood and freedom presented in Section 1. Focusing on two critical moments in the social and political development of the modern Caribbean, the chapters in this section argue that gender and the regulation of women were central and constitutive technologies in the reorganization of racial rule in the British Caribbean. This section also addresses the perplexing aporia in the tripartite or triangular structure of memory that frames the practices of remembering emerging from the narratives in Part I—a structure that reflects a broader Black British collective memory. This tripartite structure of memory enacts a critical restructuring of the history of Britishness, one traced through a Caribbean sociohistorical trajectory or temporality. This British Caribbean history of Britishness delineates three nodal points of conjuncture in the colonial formation of Black Britishness. (1) Africa and the capitalist and later imperial extraction of African life and African resources; (2) slavery, racism and colonial domination in the

Caribbean; and (3) post-Second World War immigration to Britain. This section acknowledges and respects the structure of British Caribbean collective memory that emerges from the interviews, but then deliberately subverts it by focusing the lens of analysis on the period of Caribbean history that it appears to have forgotten—that is, the post-emancipation development of freedom in the Anglophone Caribbean between the abolition of slavery in 1838 and the years preceding it, and 1945: a period that represents the high period of British colonial governmentality in the Caribbean. The section does this by placing centre stage the trope of the independent Black woman tracing her emergence within the contested discourses of African-Caribbean populations and British colonial policy and practice concerning emancipation and colonial rule.

The chapters in Part II provide the core historical perspective used to historicize the discussions in Chaps. 3 and 4, and they highlight the changing temporalities of British state and non-state liberal projects as they target Caribbean gender relations and Caribbean women. Chapter 5, 'Two Reports, One Empire: Race and Gender in British Post-War Social Welfare Discourse', subverts the rupture that emerged in the narratives of the women in this study, one that is pervasive in a Black British structure of memory that institutes a perplexity fractured line of continuity between, on the one hand, slavery, racism and colonial domination in the Caribbean and one the other hand, post-war immigration to and settlement in Britain. It achieves this by examining two critical moments in the reform of British rule in the mid-twentieth century and the government reports that were produced in association with them. First is the reconstruction of the British Caribbean from colonial territories to independent self-governing nation-states as shaped by the West India Royal Commission Report 1945 (also known as the Moyne Report), and second is the post-war reconstruction of Britain from an imperial nation at war to a multicultural welfare state, as represented in the Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services 1942 (also known as the Beveridge Report). What unites these transitional moments is how, in each, plans for state interventions in civil society and family life were also critical transnational moments in the circulation of British colonial liberal meanings and concerns regarding the reform of British racial rule advanced in part through patriarchal nation-building, in both the metropole and its colonies.

Chapter 6: 'Discrepant Women, Imperial Patriarchies and (De)Colonizing Masculinities' takes us back even further to trace the discursive and experiential history of the independent Black woman of the Caribbean. It spans a period of just over 100 years, and it centres on the British abolition of slavery and the transformation of the Caribbean into nominally free societies under British colonial rule. This period represented a defining moment of both Britain's liberal national identity and Black Caribbean modern subjectivity. It includes the high point of the Abolitionist Movement from 1823, through the drawn-out process leading up to the Emancipation Declaration of 1 August 1838, the importation of Indian and Chinese men and women as indentured labour until 1917, and the labour unrest that swept Britain's Caribbean territories in the 1930s, culminating in the report of the British West India Commission in 1942. The chapter argues that in the nineteenth-century reconstruction of the British Caribbean from slave to free societies, concerns and debates regarding freedom and colonial rule were repeatedly represented and managed through mutually constitutive discourses of gender and race. It further suggests that the responses of many African Caribbean women reveal a complex series of ethical and ideological investments and disinvestments in colonial and creole patriarchy.

Part III, 'Neoliberalism's Postcolonial Liberties', brings us back to the present using the insights garnered from the previous genealogy to reflect differently on contemporary cultural politics of Black freedom, arguing that the problem-space of freedom to which they are responding are informed by the postcolonial and neoliberal articulations of liberal governmentality. Focusing particularly on contemporary Black popular culture, this part asserts that although Black vernacular culture generally has been seen through the prism of male custodianship, its irrepressible, recurrent references to contested gender relations suggest that any attempt to account for its often complex political significations needs to understand not only the role of Black female participation and spectatorship but also the significance of gender in the politics of postcolonial racism and advanced liberalism's freedoms. Its two chapters address practices of freedom in which the racially and gendered body is deployed as an ethical

site of freedom and consider how these practices are stretched between de-Westernizing and decolonizing sensibilities.

Chapter 7, 'Beyond Racial Trauma: Remembering Bodies, Healing the Self', begins Part III's interest in how Black freedom is imagined and practised, and in this practising how it raises both specific critiques of contemporary freedom and particular modes of problematization. It examines how ideas of Africa and 'tradition' are deployed in the Sacred Woman healing programme, which presents itself as offering Black women a return to African traditional spirituality as a way of opposing Western modernity's damaging effects on the Black body and soul. Through a textual analysis of the manual of the Sacred Woman programme and analysis of interviews with women who have participated in it, this chapter explores the ways in which both spirituality and a performative therapeutics of the Black body are deployed in ethical practices of the self, which target and in so doing problematize the embodied legacies of the racial traumas of slavery and racism.

Chapter 8, 'Taking Liberties with Neoliberalism: Compliance and Refusal', takes up a theme that ends the previous chapter—that is, the complex interactivities and often unconscious complicities between a range of Black self-representational practices of freedom and the logics of contemporary freedom shaped increasingly by the interpenetrations of the cultural logics of neoliberalism. "However, in contrast to the previous chapter's focus on the body and sacred practices of freedom, the next chapter investigates the uses of the erotic body as a site of resistance and compliance." It explores the cultural logics of transnationalism and neoliberal capitalism, and the entanglements of Black vernacular and mass-mediated popular culture in discrepant articulations of neoliberal conceptions of consumer freedom with postracial racial rule. This chapters addresses how sex, race gender and the erotic in transnational Jamaican dancehall reggae culture construct discrepant transnational publics and sites of subaltern de-Westernizing and decolonizing resistance at the same time as they are paradoxically recruited into processes of incorporation and collusion with the deterritorialized zones of neoliberal governmentally and discrepant transnational hegemonies.

Chapter 9, 'Conclusion: "Rebellious Histories: Decolonizing and Feminizing Freedom", makes the case for the importance of genealogy in not only revealing hidden histories and subjugated knowledges but also using those new forms of knowledge to decolonize the normativities of colonial modernity. It considers the identities of liberalism as a mutable and mutating practice of racial rule that this study has revealed, and it sketches out an initial reconfiguration of the temporalities of British liberal rule through its articulations with racial governmentality and coloniality. This is used to reflect on the key questions posed in this study in relation to the liberal identity of Britishness and their implications for understanding the politics and poetics of race and freedom in contemporary postcolonial Britain, considering the legacies of this relation in the present to reflect on contemporary liberal formations in Britain as they seek to manage what are represented as the crises of multiculturalism and immigration, linked to a series of threats that these are seen to present to the security of the nation and national identity. The book closes by using this genealogy of the Black Caribbean woman as a subject of freedom to answer the question: What do if anything, can these practices of freedom, imagined, or already being lived, by many Black British Caribbean women, tell us about what a decolonized and feminized freedom might look like?

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2

Turning History Upside Down

Rather than using biopolitics as a modality of analysis that supersedes or sidelines race, I stress that race be placed front and centre in considerations of political violence, albeit not as a biological or cultural classification but as a set of socio-political processes of differentiation and hierarchization, which are projected onto the putatively biological human body. (Weheliye 2015, 5)

This chapter maps out the general aims of this study and explains both the historical sociological approach taken and the key concepts that will be used. In particular, it provides an overview of the Foucauldian genealogical approach to the history of freedom. The aim is to enable readers new to these approaches and concepts to make sense of the micrological as well as the macrological lenses of vision that this study brings to the formation of the Black Caribbean free woman. It will then go on to explain why and how this approach when informed by postcolonial, critical race, transnational feminist and decolonial theories of modernity will be particularly useful in analysing and unravelling contemporary and historical constructions of the free Black Caribbean woman and of British liberalism. This leads on to an explanation and discussion of the concept of governmentality that is central to this book's. Recognizing the influence of Foucauldian theory both on this

study and on postcolonial theory, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of Foucault's work for understanding the temporality of modernity and thus of many of its key formative attributes and deals, such as freedom, race and biopolitics.

(De)colonizing in Reverse

The argument of this book proceeds from the position that Britain is a postcolonial nation shaped and defined by the after-effects of its history as an empire. Therefore questions of race, difference and multiculturalism cannot adequately be addressed in isolation from this history of the making of 'multicultural Britain', and the post-war mass immigrations in which Britain's former colonial citizens began 'colonisin' Inglan in reverse', to quote Jamaican poet Louis Bennett (1966, 179). How the British racial state has responded to this transference of racial governance from far-flung overseas colonial territories to its domestic postcolonial homeland informs the successive racial settlements that have unsettled Britain and Britishness. It has also contributed to the Janus-faced conundrum that is postcolonial Britain; torn between the much proclaimed multicultural—even, for some, postracial—conviviality of Britain's major cities, and Britain's white postimperial melancholia (Gilroy 2004) for an 'indigenous' imagined white imperial yet liberal national identity; one regarded as being threatened and corroded by its excessive tolerance of intolerable differences. These differences are signified not only by new immigrant and refugee arrivals but also by longer-standing communities of former colonial immigrants 'whether British nationals or not, whose allegiance lies elsewhere' (David Blunkett, former British Home Secretary, 2003), and who consequently, individually or collectively, represent the internal stalking Trojan horse of potential and actual 'Islamic terrorism' at worst, and at best cultural degeneracy. These intolerable differences are repeatedly represented in mainstream public discourses that 'rehearse endless crisis narratives' as iconic moments of 'excessive otherness' increasingly attached to the alleged extreme civilizational difference of Muslims (Lentin and Titley 2011, 20), but also linked in an analogous

chain of signification to other forms of cultural, ethnic or religious differences. In recent years these 'intolerable differences' have been represented by the London bombings of 2005, the English riots of 2011 and the very public and violent murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby in 2013. The first two represent the localization of the global War on Terror. The latter, because the Islamists were of Nigerian ethnicity, made visual the vulnerability felt by white Britain to forces seen as potentially emanating from any part of non-white Britain, even those longstanding minority ethnic communities not typically associated in the national imagination with Islam or 'homegrown' terrorism. In the second, the complex articulations of race, class, nation and neoliberalism are writ large. The initial protest against the fatal police shooting in August 2011 of a young Black man, Mark Duggan, in Tottenham, London, spread across England as people (mainly young, of diverse ethnicities and mostly working class), erupted in what some sections of the British media chose to represent as 'shopping by looting', but which more nuanced commentators suggested might better be understood, following the global economic recession since 2008 as a 'critique of Britain's economic crisis in the shadow of a new austerity' (Muir 2014, 193). Despite all the efforts of politicians to deny that race or racism were a factor in the disturbances, a leading white British historian let the racial 'cat' out of the postracial bag when he blamed the unrest on the fact that the 'whites have become black' under the corrupting influence of Black popular culture. This exemplifies the ways in which the 'crisis of multiculturalism' is seen through these racialized moments which come to signal a threat not only to social cohesion and/or national security (Titley and Lentin 2011) but also to the very future of British culture and national identity.

These ideas of national cultural and existential threat are recruited into a narrative of British liberal tolerance that is perceived as being abused by the intolerable moral dispositions of *extreme and extremist others*, whose alleged moral, cultural and political excesses are the very evidence of their individual and collective unassimilability into the civilities and liberties of besieged white, Western, British liberal tolerance. The reality is that these unruly

¹ David Starkey on BBC Newsnight 12/08/2011 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14513517 Last accessed 25/10/2016.

differences, and the contemporary social inequalities and racial faultlines with which they are associated, have a long colonial history—one that is increasingly obscured by their framing in terms of President George W. Bush's 2001 declaration of a global War on Terror, or the alleged failure of state multiculturalism to ensure national cohesion through the smooth assimilation of difference. These representations deny the complicity of these crises and anxieties with the continuing coloniality of the postcolonial present. Reframing Britain as not so much, or simply, a multicultural nation but also as a *constitutionally* postcolonial, yet in all other ways a culturally deeply colonial one, brings into vision the 'Other' Britons, the alternative experiences of modernity and the multiple temporalities of the nation produced by Britain's imperial modern formation.

Susan Kingsley Kent (1999) argues in relation to gender that from the seventeenth to the late twentieth century, conflicts and debates occurring at the level of British state authority and concerning the liberal modern identity of the nation have frequently been represented through concerns over the family and gender relations, and that British metropolitan state formations have similarly been developed through ideologies of gender that at different moments have also been racialized through the local practicalities influencing the transcolonial circulation of ideas of European imperial rule (ibid.). These insights inform the approach of this book, which identifies key moments of crisis in British racial governmentality in the colonial Caribbean when it has been required to reform itself in the name of freedom. The focus on African-Caribbean women as subjects of British freedom is used to examine if, when and how in moments of crisis in racial rule, questions of gender, women and the family emerge and to what effect.

David Scott defines colonial governmentality as the political rationalities of colonial power in which colonial power is organized as an activity designed to produce the effects of rule' (Scott 1994, 193). This study draws on Scott's definition to examine Thomas Holt's thesis that the abolition of slavery required a radical change in the organization of racial rule by specifically addressing how this implicated gendered forms of colonial governmentality. I also extend its application to the *postcolonial* organization of racial governmentalities—that is, how postcolonial governmentalities may not only reproduce and reform old colonial technologies of power but also initiate what we might call neocolonial

technologies of power, better suited to the changed and changing conditions of the *postcolonial* present, a present that may be more fully grasped through a decolonial lens. This revival of the sadly discarded concept of neocolonialism helps to highlight the unfinished project of decolonization that persists in the postcolonial present. These considerations are particularly pertinent at a time when government ministers in Britain, along with political figures in Europe, have proclaimed the 'failure' and 'crises' of multiculturalism. This has included the now notorious call by David Cameron for a turn to 'muscular liberalism' as the solution (Cameron 2011a, b). That this muscular liberalism is represented as the indigenous moral character and political identity of the British nation and its people requires interrogation and explanation.

A focus on governmentality centres our attention on the embodied and subjectifying registers of colonial liberalism. This refers to the reforming and modernizing shift in racial power that was required following the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean in the nineteenth century. Transforming the British Caribbean from slave societies to nominally free yet colonial societies required a shift from primarily coercive and extractive forms of power to a productive form of power based on securing a balance between rule and consent—that is, hegemony. Studying this reformation of white racial rule requires attending to 'the targets of colonial power (that is, the point or points of power's application, the object or objects it aims at, and the means and instrumentalities it deploys in search of these targets, points, and objects); and the field of its operation (that is, the zone that it actively constructs for its functionality)' (Scott 1995, 193). This is pursued in this book through a transnational, postcolonial, sociocultural history of the formation of the Black Caribbean woman as she is targeted as a subject of British liberal freedom in the period leading up to and following the abolition of slavery in Britain's Caribbean territories in the early nineteenth century to the present. However, understanding liberalism as a practice of rule and a practice of freedom, this volume also examines the practices of freedom in which Black Caribbean women have sought to experience themselves as free.

Starting with the current period of the twenty-first century, the arguments presented here trace the changing identities of liberalism—not as a

philosophy or theory but as (1) a set of rationalities and practices for governing and critiquing the limits of both freedom and government in liberal states (Foucault 1991a, b); and (2) a central tenet of British modern national identity. Both of these are mutually constitutive of and constituted by the uneven and changing intersections of white supremacy, race, gender and sex with the mutating governmental logics of capitalist modernity. Centrally, then, this book concerns the tensions, contradictions and appeasements that take place within and between diverse state and non-state liberal projects for governing biopolitically constituted populations in the name of modernizing freedom and how those so-constituted 'free' populations in turn have utilized their available freedoms to govern themselves, and the meaning of freedom, otherwise.

David Scott (2005) argues that postcoloniality has produced new kinds of question, or problematizations, that require fundamentally different answers to those that guided anti-colonial and civil rights cultural politics of the twentieth century, because in the new problem-space of postcoloniality, new questions arise. This book takes up Scott's challenge to theorists of postcoloniality to rethink the problem of freedom in new ways that are mindful of the new times we inhabit. Rather than continuing what he describes as the anti-colonial project of exposing the partialities, exclusions or failures of liberalism to live up to its promises, Scott suggests that we should attend to the new kinds of problematization being raised in relation to freedom and to identifying from them the new and emergent problem-spaces to which these questions are a response. In the light of the decolonial turn in postcolonial studies and beyond the academy, this volume seeks then to better understand the ongoing conditions of coloniality to which decolonial politics and theorizing are a response.

The Coloniality of Postcolonial Britain

The concept of coloniality refers not simply to the military and political forms of conquest, domination and rule, for clearly since the Second World War the formal political structures of European imperialism have been largely dismantled. Coloniality refers to an epistemological and cultural mode of

global domination/hegemony, reproducing 'cultural Europeanization' as a universalizing totality (Quijano 2007, 169). Epistemologically, as a universal system of knowledge, coloniality refers to 'that specific colonial structure of power [that] produced the specific social discriminations which later were codified as "racial", "ethnic", "anthropological" or "national", according to the times, agents, and populations involved' (ibid., 168). These categories of differentiation and their associated discriminations persist. However, since their forms and modes mutate to meet the changing demands of shifting material and political conditions, they need to be repeatedly subjected to new forms of analysis. Coloniality as a cultural condition and ontological state of being flows from the hegemony of cultural Europeanization in shaping 'modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivized expression, intellectual or visual' (ibid, 169). The starting premise of this book, then, is that the decolonization that was politically inaugurated in the twentieth century, in failing to decolonize the epistemological, ontological and cultural violence that colonialism inflicted on humanity, remains an incomplete project.

The concept of coloniality rests on the recognition of the racialized ontology of modernity, initiated by the racialization of the globe that the conquest of the Americas from 1492 introduced. This chapter will explain the concept of 'racialized modernity' (Barnor Hesse 2007) and begin to flesh out a core preoccupation of the book as it integrates decolonial theory, race critical theory and postcolonial feminist theory in an applied investigation of how racialized modernity is co-constitutive of the 'coloniality of gender' of Maria Lugones (2008). This establishes the usefulness of these two concepts for thinking about the ways in which the modern categories of race and gender are both produced by and harnessed to the Western project of coloniality.

Discourse, Power, Identity

Foucault's theory of power as discourse enables us to consider how contemporary and historical constructions of the Black woman are the truth effects (Foucault 1980) of forms of knowledge legitimized through systems and relations of power. What is accepted as truth in any sociohistorical period is the effect of the fusing of power and knowledge. This coupling of power and knowledge establishes and naturalizes and naturalize the contingent and contemporary limits to ways of speaking and being within any sociohistoric context (ibid., 112). Discourse does not refer to a system of signs pointing to an a priori essence to which it gives a name, or a hidden truth overlain by culture or ideology. Rather, a discourse is made up of 'practices that systematically formulate the object of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, 49). The specific term that Foucault offers for these practices is 'statements' or 'enunciative modalities' (ibid., 28). A discursive field can be identified where 'Statements different in form and dispersed in time form a group if they refer to one and the same object' (ibid., 32), and in that targeting produce it as the subject of their discourse. That object then becomes their field of discourse (ibid., 29). It is manifest in the appearance of natural and taken-for-granted identities that are in fact the 'truth effects' produced in discourse in a 'circularity of interdependence' (Kendall and Wickham 1999, 54). Each chapter of this book addresses diverse statements constituting contested discourses of Black Caribbean women in relation to freedom as an everyday state of being and freedom as a practice of liberal rule.

In his earlier work on discourse, Foucault explained that a 'discursive formation' (Foucault 1972) indicates a network of power relations, structures, representations and disciplinary regimes in which bodies are constituted within particular subject positions as both the effect and the target of discourse (Goldberg 1990, 298). Therefore the disciplinary aspect to any sociodiscursive field is evidenced through the circulation of power, which is not only manifested and invested but also *productive* of bodies, concepts and relations of domination, exclusion and inclusion (Goldberg 1990, 301). The final move in the discursive construction of the subject is the internalization of discourse by its subjects (Goldberg 1990, 298).

However, this model of discourse and subjectification has been criticized as producing a repressive model of subjectification, in which the subject is rendered docile and without agency. This leaves the problem of how to conceptualize agency and social transformation (Moss 1998; Sawicki 1996). In his later work, Foucault responds to these critiques and offers a new expanded theory of power, organized around the concept of governmentality. Before explaining the concept of governmentality, it seems important to clarify how the concept of feminization is being deployed in this study.

Feminization and the Coloniality of Gender

What does it mean to talk about 'feminizing freedom'? The term 'feminization' as I use it in this book has some similarity to Robert Miles' term 'racialization', which in its broadest terms refers to 'any process or situation wherein the idea of race is introduced to define and give meaning to some particular population, its characteristics and actions' (Miles quoted in Bhatt et al. 1988, 10). In this respect, feminization is both disciplinary and produced within discourses of gender. At a minimum there is a discursive chain of signification in which feminization is linked to femininity and woman, so that the term 'feminization' is routinely used currently to describe any activity that has either become particularly taken up by women,' or become ascribed the qualities normatively associated with woman or with hegemonic femininity. For example, 'the feminisation of the workforce' can refer to the process wherein women become numerically significant or dominant in a particular occupation or in the workforce generally. It can also refer to the process whereby increased social capital becomes invested in certain skills stereotypically associated with women or femininity where this was not previously the case. Feminization then can be ascribed to variously gendered bodies. However, feminization and its association with femininity and woman can also connote demasculinization, since within the Western heterosexual matrix masculinity and femininity are typically regarded as opposed; but it may not necessarily do so. For example, the feminization of Jamaican dancehall culture in the 1990s did not replace the dominance

of its masculine culture. Instead it expanded it and expressed the greater power of women within it to refashion some of its aesthetic and ethical practices, and transform some of its meanings (Chap. 8). There is a sensibility in male tight jeans; the latter being seen by some as especially inappropriate and feminized because they draw attention to the male buttocks. Thus feminization operates within a heteronormative gender-sex system in which woman and the feminine remain subordinate to masculinity and maleness. This can remain so even in the absence of 'weak' forms of patriarchy. In other words, feminization is normatively defined through its constitutive relation to the discursive formation 'woman'.

Feminization is a second layer of social construction on top of the social construction of woman. Leaving aside for a moment the controversy of the relationship of gender and sex, this is what is implied by the feminist slogan adapted from De Beauvoir: 'We are born male or female, but not masculine or feminine' (Bartky 1997, 64). Consequently, the term 'feminine' can be attached to men perceived as feminine or withheld from women perceived as unfeminine. Yet even when attributed to male bodies, it always connotes the gender 'woman' inscribed within the western post-Enlightenment binary sex/gender order. While the recent spread of greater equal rights for LGBTQ persons, especially in Western democracies, has loosened the legal moorings that have underpinned the policing of gender and sex, it cannot be said to have overturned it globally. Ironically, this is particularly apparent in those regions of the world in which European bourgeois patriarchy and Christian morality were powerful colonial technologies for eradicating indigenous categories and meanings of gender and sex. Thus a feminine man is, within the representational system of the heterosexual matrix (Butler 1999, 9), still a man, and a butch woman is still a woman, just as transitioning and transitioned transgender persons remain inscribed within the 'cultural genitalia' and gender expectations that derive from their gender presentation (Schilt 2009, 441). Within this binary representational schema, the feminine, femininity and woman are therefore asymmetrically linked biopolitical elements within a heteronormative binary discourse of sex/gender.

As biopolitical categories for disciplining bodies, gender identities are legitimized or delegitimized by the state and constituted as the bearers of

specific rights on that basis (Foucault 1979). However, as technologies through which individuals can exercise power over themselves and others, they are also available for the arts of freedom (ibid.). It is this dimension of the struggle between these two registers of governmentality that is the focus of my interest in feminization. How have heterosexual Black Caribbean women—positioned ambivalently within the racial logics of the modern Western heterosexual matrix—'played the game of truth' in relation to the gendered racial entanglement of modern power considered too intolerable to bear, and how in their self and other-oriented practices have they sought to construct their own individual and collective reworkings of gender, sex, race and freedom? Posing these questions in these terms recognizes that Black heterosexuality has largely been taken for granted or ignored unless being problematized in the context of sexism or homophobia. Therefore the focus here is deliberately on heterosexually identified Black women and is informed by the work of lesbians of colour as well as the emergent field of postcolonial queer theory and Black sexuality studies.

Thinking in terms of the discursive formation of feminization offers a way of exploring Black Caribbean women's experiences of subjectification and subjectivity without fixing that identity to an embodied essence that is always the same, or to a set of cultural characteristics that constitute the timeless 'truth' of what it means to be a Black woman. Instead, this study of the feminization of freedom seeks to identify how a specific construction of Black womanhood is produced as a certain way of performing freedom. In other words, if gendered identities are accomplished in discourse, through a variety of interpretative practices in speech and social action concerned with notions of 'womanly 'or 'manly' behaviour (West et al. 1997, 119), how is Black womanhood accomplished simultaneously in racialized and gendered mentalities and performances (Butler 1990, 8)?

Bordo suggests that feminist theorists have helpfully explored the symbolic reproduction of femininity through the analysis of cultural representation. However, she is concerned that this has become distanced from the pragmatism of the feminism of the 1970s and 1980s, which was concerned with the 'practical lives of bodies' (Bordo 1997, 104). Bordo argues here for the importance of attending to how the body is experienced and deployed, not just represented. This is important if we are to

have an awareness of how bodies can be the site of struggle and resistance to gender oppression, not just rendered docile or complicit to it, and 'of the often contradictory relations between image and practice, between rhetoric and reality' (Bordo 1997, 105). This produces the necessity to pay close attention to the different material and non-discursive conditions in which bodies live, and how these real conditions shape and delimit the potentialities of bodies. In other words, to understand femininity and the mechanisms of feminization through which it emerges we must recognize the particularities of bodies, and the material conditions of their existence, without being paralysed by the fear of being accused of essentialism. At the same time, this requires a constant vigilance against the dangers of biological or cultural reductionism. Studying the feminization of any aspect of the social involves describing and mapping the dispersed technologies of power by which particular bodies, in specific times and spaces, become defined or come to define themselves in terms of woman and the feminine. It is from this position that this study sets out to analyse the relationships, interdependencies and similarities between different discourses of feminization and rationalities of rule, not all of which may be patriarchal but, rather, linked to other structures and regimes of masculinity and male rule.

Governmentality

In rethinking modern power, Foucault makes a distinction between sovereignty, states of domination and strategic relations. These define the three levels in Foucault's later analytics of power. A state of domination (Foucault 1984, 299) is characterized by the absence of power relations, defined in terms of a multidirectional flow of powers between the governing and the governed. This is the most overtly coercive form of power, in which the subject is defined, and in the moment of that definition is brought within the juridical power of a sovereign power. New World slave plantation societies might on the surface be prime examples of this. However, one might argue that in any society, even under slavery, the possibility of even the most minimal opportunities to exercise choice and power exists, for even the enslaved African of the

Caribbean could break his tools; poison her master; or abort the result of rape and thereby refuse to pass on the uterine inheritance of the slave status that befell any offspring of an enslaved woman. Such actions demonstrate the existence and persistence of what Caribbean historian Hilary Beckles refers to as the 'self-liberation ethos of the enslaved' (Beckles 1988a, b). We should note that in modern liberal democracies the state retains a degree of sovereign power as expressed in the state's capacity to imprison, or even in some countries execute, its citizens.

The second level of power is government, or governmentality. It consists of two dimensions. First are the disciplinary regimes through which principles, rules and procedures of governing the population are achieved. These represent a particular mode of modern governance, linked by Foucault to the rise of the nation-state in Europe alongside the hegemony of rationalism and liberalism as the principle discourses and values of European-centred Enlightenment modernity. Therefore governmentality has to do with freedom and its limits. Foucault defines liberalism as itself a form of governmentality, which addresses the problem of how to govern or, more precisely, how to secure compliance with governance with as little coercion and expenditure of force as possible. Governmentality, then, has to do with the rational and most efficient governance of a society on behalf of the people by the state. In its statist dimensions, it refers to the ensemble of anatomo-politics and bio-politics that produce liberal biopower. Anatomopolitics denotes the inscription of society on the body; it is a bureaucratization of human life in which bodies are disciplined and regulated within state-led, or sanctioned, institutional practices and knowledges.

The second dimension of governmentality constitutes the third level in Foucault's model of modern power. This is governmentality as strategic relations. This framing of power does not amount to an abandonment of Foucault's earlier repressive theory of disciplinary power but does seek to offer some criteria for judging different types of power (Sawicki 1996, 171; Patton 1998, 70), and for thinking about how social change and individual agency can occur. Foucault locates the possibility of resistance to power in strategic relations, which refers to 'a broad array of different relations: the relation between the state and its subject, between "men and things", between free individuals and the relations with the self' (McNay

1994, 133). Therefore the concept of governmentality also encompasses the rights and liberties, which the free person deploys in order to advance their own autonomous self-making, and in so doing transform and resist the state's normalizing discipline.

Foucault further introduces the concept of 'ethics of the self' in order to address the question of political agency and how resistance and emancipatory knowledge are possible. In so doing he turns his attention to the possibilities of freedom, or perhaps more accurately the possible freedoms at any sociohistoric conjuncture. This speaks to 'the temporality of freedom' (Bell 1996, 84), which therefore suggests the plurality of freedoms rather than the assumption of an unfolding of a singular universal utopia or moment of liberation.

Ethics of the self denote the range of operations that individuals utilize to produce effects on their own bodies. These technologies of the self, or forms of self-making, stand in a relation of embattlement to the institutional and cultural norms of society that work to discipline individuals into socially prescribed identities and roles, and disciplined citizens. The techniques of disciplinary power and the techniques of ethical self-making are two relational dimensions of the hermeneutics of the self, understood as the mechanisms through which humans understand, or have knowledge of, themselves (Foucault 1982, 224). Within a dispersed force field of power relation, these practices can be understood as strategies directed against the various blockages of power in the system of relations (Foucault 1984a, 295) and therefore as ethical practices of self-liberation. Ethics of the self or practices of freedom, then, are hermeneutic devises in which individuals seek to understand and interpret their lives, beyond and against the disciplinary limits of normative individuation within social prescribed subjectivities and identities.

These practices of the self, then, disclose the capacity of the subject to constitute themselves—not outside discourse but within the power relations established by liberal freedom. In 'Politics and the Study of Discourse', which first appeared in French in 1968, Foucault refers to 'discoursing subjects' that form part of the discursive field (Burchell 1996, 58). In 'The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom' (Foucault 1997a), we see how he does not abandon this earlier model of the subject as produced in disciplinary discourses but rather

seeks to analyse the practices or capacities of the *discoursing subject* to deploy and reorganize the micropowers which exist at different levels of the social which are mobile and malleable (Foucault 1997a, b, 292). It is here that Foucault sought to respond to the criticisms that his model of power left room for resistance, social change or human agency, while still refusing a humanist conception of agency.

I would say that if I am now interested in how the subject constitutes itself in an active fashion through practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something invented by the individual himself. They are models that he finds in his culture and his society and his social group. (Foucault 1997a, b, 291)

Foucault defines 'governmentality' as the nodal point in modern liberal societies between domination, discipline and freedom (Foucault 1997a, b, 102). When considered in its relationship with the racialized biopolitics of colonial modernity, governmentality operates as the central rationality through which racial states as institutions of racial rule (Goldberg 2002) produce biopolitically constituted subjects of freedom through disciplinary practices, even as these so-constituted subjects are targeted as the subject of state governance. In short, as David T. Goldberg succinctly puts it, 'racial states are where "states of being and states of governance meet" (ibid., 98). This relationship produces the tension and paradox inherent in governmentality as a liberal mode of government that seeks to govern through the freedoms and agency of the governed. Moreover, historically there has existed an synergistic relationship between the governance of the liberal state and the governance of liberal capitalism, so that, as Don Slater argues, what we call 'consumer culture' should be understood not as the recent effect of neoliberalism but rather as 'the culture of the modern west [...] bound up with central values, practices and institutions which define western modernity, such as choice, individualism and market relations' (Slater 1997, 8). As Chap. 8 explores in relation to contemporary mass-mediated Black popular culture, the globalizing cultural logics of neoliberal capitalism have intensified the power of consumer culture as a mode of cultural governmentality, at the same time as they must negotiate their own internal contradictions as well as the subversive collisions and traversing interruptions of the alternative modernities and cultures of postcolonial transnational publics.

Power is not a unitary entity or a possession but a relation of strategic forces 'exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations', and therefore it can 'come from below' as well as above (Foucault 1978, 94). Thus we can investigate how Caribbean women at different times and in different places have attempted to reorganize power and to refashion freedom. Governmentality then places an emphasis on the embodied practices of freedom, by which the individual seeks to harness or extend the strategic relations of power between the individual and the state (and other disciplinary institutions) in ethical practices of governing the conduct of the self, for the self, within, beyond and against discipline. This leads to a number of key questions: Are all strategies which appeal to the embodied biopolitical categories of modernity always to be viewed with suspicion and as inevitably 'self'-defeating'? Does freedom require the abandonment and transcendence of modern biopolitical categories? And, moreover, what are the emancipatory limits of biopolitics as a strategy or ethics of freedom at both the individual and collective levels? The exploration of the ways in which race and gender are deployed by some Caribbean women to shape and experience themselves as 'free', and what the meanings of those freedoms are, will be used to explore these questions in the remaining chapters of this book.

Foucault's theory of ethics has been criticized by feminist theorists who argue that it offers no normative criteria by which to judge whether practices of the self are complicit or transgressive, a weakness that in Lois McNay's view leaves the concept of the aesthetics of existence open to 'a libertarianism that does not distinguish between acts that are predatory and oppressive in relation to others and actions that are genuinely progressive (McNay 1992, 147). In short, McNay claims that Foucault collapses knowledge and practice, and leaves no space for a critical self-reflexivity outside knowledge as the effect of power (ibid., 153). Indeed, there is a tendency in Foucault's work that leads in this direction and, in so far as it does, it explains how resistance often becomes ensnared in that which it resists, and how struggles of oppressed groups and discriminated-against minorities can, in advancing one axis of freedom, reproduce new forms of discipline and coercion on another.

However, I think that Foucault does, if rather obliquely, explain how critical responses (which may fall short of total revolution), as well as resistance, are possible. To grasp this, one needs to fully engage with his assertion that power relations are just that: a relation of a multiplicity of force relations. Power is not a monolithic block but an array of different orders, flows and rhythms. Not all forms of empowerment and resistance are emancipatory in the sense of advancing social justice. That is why it is important to speak of 'powers' in the plural (Rose 1999) because this helps to remind us of the slippery terrain we are on.

Foucault invites us to think of freedom not as something existing outside power, or different from power, but just one of the many identities that power may take. In other words, in liberal society, power is multiple and everywhere—'not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere' (Foucault 1978, 93), even in the face of its representational denial. This often means that there is a struggle for hegemony over the meaning of the freedoms through which we are to be governed, and to govern others and ourselves. Thus the terrain of freedom is fraught with contradictions and oscillations between consent and resistance, for freedoms do not exist in a dialectical relationship to domination or government. Freedom can lie in the 'moment of emergence' or uprising out of the battlefield of conditions considered too unfavourable to bear and powers too intolerable to endure. Freedom can be the form that realizes itself as a specific identity by its difference and ongoing differentiation from outside, or from inside 'the uprisings of those it oppresses from within' (Foucault 1984a, 84). Freedom can be that which emerges not necessarily in opposition to, but in its difference from or within, coercive or governmental forms of power. However, as a new freedom gains strength and solidifies, it too can find itself once more embattled from within and without, contending against itself, both in the abundance of its strength and in a reaction against its weaknesses (ibid.). In these new embattlements, freedom seeks to govern the freedoms it has won, and new freedoms emerge to resist that government. This is the 'double-edged character of freedom' (Rose 1999, 67)—that renders freedom both paradoxical and contrary—that this study investigates. Therefore the moment of emergence can be a form of problematization or reform, in which existing arrangements of power are questioned or

reorganized in the face of intolerable conditions. Yet in being a moment in which the relations of power are questioned and reconfigured, the moment of emergence can also be when government reforms itself in the name of freedom in order to hold better onto its ground in the face of new conditions that might threaten its hegemony. So governmentalities are also often faced with the dilemmas induced by liberalism's internal critique of its own powers of freedom. This means that a genealogy of the formation of the Black Caribbean woman as a subject of freedom needs to attend to moments of crisis or reform in which the limits of the conduct of government and the limits of practices of freedom are resisted, reformed and rearticulated, and in relation to which bodies, spaces and purposes. It also permits a tracking of the strategies and tactics of British liberal governmentality through which the Black Caribbean woman's body has been transformed from unfree 'flesh' (Weheliye 2014), and 'liberated' into the biopolitical subject overdetermined by liberalism. It homes in on liberalism not so much as a philosophy but as set of practices for managing the practice of government as it 'concerns the shaping of human conduct and acts on the governed as a locus of action and freedom' (Dean 1999, 15). Consequently, the main focuses of the chapters that follow are on how 'liberal modes of government are distinguished by trying to work through the freedoms or capacity of the governed' (ibid.) and how the governed in seeking to escape colonial liberty have reworked and re-embodied freedom.

Genealogy

Genealogical histories are not linear or teleological narratives; neither do they simply tell of a particular subjugated experience—though they often do. In using Foucault's genealogical method, this book is not concerned with a search for the 'truth' of what it means to be a Black woman; rather, it uses genealogy as a 'critical history of the present' (Foucault 1997a, b) in order to understand how 'we' got to be who 'we' are, and how we came to be in this arrangement and understanding of the present rather than any other. Hence the emphasis on the discursive 'formation' of the Black Caribbean woman within discrepant discourses and practices of discipline

and freedom, and her perverse moments of subjection, compliance and resistance to liberalism's governing rationalities and modes of subjection. This allows us to recognize 'the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats' (Foucault 1984a, 80) through which the free Black woman of the Caribbean and British liberalism has been entangled. At its core, genealogy is a method for the social and historical description and analytics of modern power (Fraser 1981, 272), and rejecting the notion that power is a simply unitary domination/ subjection relation enabled one to trace the intensifications, reroutings and revisions of governmentality in its multiple links. A genealogical analysis is therefore primarily a history of the micropractices of power, focusing on power's multiplicities, productivities and capillary (ibid.) penetrations into the lived everyday of the self and the social, while ideally not losing sight of its mechanisms of unification, repression and structural imposition. Consequently, genealogy enables us to track the relationships between the history of the ethics of freedom and the history of government (Rose 1999). In the context of liberalism as the governing ethos of modern freedom, we can historicize the biopolitical grammar of post-Enlightenment liberalism and identify the rules by which different categories of humanity are located within a carefully structured modern syntax of freedom—a historicization that in turn permits the mapping of the disparate and overlapping routes and forms that this history has taken.

Therefore the starting point and focus of this genealogy of modern freedom is shaped by my own subjective and collective sociohistorical and biopolitical formation and lived location as a Black British woman of African-Caribbean descent, and how that shapes the lens of analysis that I bring to the question of the problem of freedom. In this, a transnational and decolonial feminist politics of location becomes central to moving beyond mere critiques of the exclusions and partialities of liberalism. We may still need to do this, but other questions also come into view once we begin to historicize not only freedom but also the social constructed mess of the present in which we take freedom to be self-evident, desirable or at stake in some way. This takes seriously the view 'that the values that we hold in the modern era, the meanings we give to words like "freedom," "justice," "equality. " "selfhood, " "person, " "citizen "—definitions seemingly settled for at least two centuries, settled

in a way that systematically excluded large segments of the population of the West—are in no way essential or natural, but rather the product of particular social formations and relationships that have developed through time' (Hirschmann 2009, 76).

A genealogy of the post-emancipation development of freedom in the British Caribbean, and of the Black Caribbean woman, directs our attention away from an exclusive focus on the macroprocess of power and the state, and shortens the lens of vision to those things nearest to the suasive point of contact between the state and the individual, between biopolitics as governmentality and biopolitics as ethical strategies and practices of the self. That is, it trains our attention on the body, its identities, its desires and the 'low'-level social processes through which it is animated and given meaning by the self that inhabits it for itself, but also who is also disciplined into certain categories of subjectivity/being by the state and its surrogates as they seek to govern through the body. It is here at the level of the micropractices of power that we can examine how, where, when and why governmentalities encounter resistance, obstruction, evasion, reversals and 'the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it' (Foucault 1884, 88) in the service of alternative ethical claims and conceptions of freedom. It is also here in these moments of reversal and resistance that we can examine how, where, when and why governmental rationalities and practices may be required to reform themselves in order to respond to the destabilization of a relationship of forces and overcome contradictions that have become unmanageable or, more accurately, ungovernable.

These moments of upheaval or reform are captured in the concept of 'conjuncture'. A conjuncture denotes the intensifications of longstanding contradictions in their moments of 'condensation and entanglement' and marks the moment of condensation effected by 'an *accumulation* of tendencies, forces, antagonisms [that] produces a point of uncertainty and possibility' out of which new 'settlements' come into being (Clarke 2010, 340). In other words, conjunctures alert us to moments of crisis in the system of rule, and the reforms and new settlements that they may bring into being. This produces an interest in the temporalities of conjunctures because although the duration of conjunctures cannot be predicted, 'their time is determined by the capacity of political forces—

the leading bloc—to shape new alignments or to overcome (or at least stabilize) existing antagonisms and contradictions (Clarke 2014, 115). This directs our attention not only to hegemonic forces but also and therefore to the counterhegemonies and alternative temporalities that also constitute the play of forces within any conjuncture. Conjunctural and genealogical analysis are two facets of a single orientation that both frame what one is looking for methodologically and provide a set of theoretical and political points of concern analytically. In this regard this study seeks to achieve a genealogy of the conjunctures or moments of crisis in which British liberalism has problematized and targeted Caribbean women and Caribbean gender relations as both the subject and the object of its field of concern and knowledge, and conversely how Black Caribbean women have behaved in ways that interrogate or unsettle the liberal meaning of freedom.

Racialized Modernity's Contested Temporalities

Foucault's genealogy of governmentality and modern power, and his theory of biopolitics, have been challenged by critical race theorists for their Eurocentrism and reproduction of Western narratives of modernity that fail to account for imperialism and colonial racism. In Foucault's history of modernity, biopolitics mark the 'threshold of modernity' (Foucault 1990, 143), becoming the primary mechanism, or in Foucault's terms, 'technology', of liberal government as a modern form of rule and power overtaking sovereign power and replacing its extractive or deductive logics with the productive and enabling imperative of liberalism—that is, 'a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them' (Foucault 1978, 136).

Barnor Hesse argues that Western political philosophers and social theorists have routinely elided the racial dependencies of Western modernity's canonical principles and self-representations (e.g. rationality, liberalism, rule of law and secularism) and thus have obscured modernity's racialized ontology (Hesse 2007). He argues that his persistent elision enunciates a 'sustained racial coherence [...] "Whiteness", "Christian",

the "West", "Europeanness" ' (ibid., 644) in the making of modernity; one that is only sustained by evacuating questions of race and empire from any analysis of the same canonical principles. The myopia, amnesia and disavowal of the historical and conceptual significance of empire and race underwriting racialized modernity can only be overcome by 'understanding the significance of the social economic, political and cultural formation of the modern world since the sixteenth century within the colonial and liberal system in which race was gestated and elaborated' (ibid.).

An understanding of modernity's racialized ontology is central to grasping the coloniality of the modern European power/knowledge formation (Quijano 2007; Mignolo 2001), and how this demarcates an alternative temporality of modernity and racial biopolitics to the one that Foucault advances. Foucault, joins an ignoble band of largely male European theoretical architects of Western knowledge who have ignored or naturalized empire and coloniality even in work that relies on abstract discussions of the idea of slavery, or in the case of Foucault race, but then erases their actual historical existence. This disavows the ways in which the coloniality of racialized and capitalist modernity designated an 'intersubjective universe', and instead invests in representations of modernity 'as an exclusively European product and as a universal paradigm of knowledge of the relation between humanity and the rest of the world' (Quijano 2007, 171), thereby producing a Western 'rhetoric of modernity' (Mignolo cited in Hesse 2007, 645). This rhetoric of modernity, or what Hesse calls a 'white mythology', routinely analyses key modern concepts such as slavery, liberty, race and democracy, while simultaneously obscuring the historical reality of empire in the colonial formation of the West. As a result, 'hegemonic conceptions of modernity (e.g. "rationality", "liberalism", "capitalism", "secularism", "rule of law") have been retold in precisely these racial terms without those terms becoming part of a critique of race in contemporary thought' (Hesse 2007, 644).

Critical race and decolonial approaches to modernity overturn Foucault's assertion that biopolitics, as the rationalization of life and death, marks the 'threshold of modernity' (Foucault 1990, 143). Exemplifying the Western rhetoric of modernity, Foucault acknowledges the significance of race in the modern shift to biopower, asserting that it is the

emergence of biopower that institutes the break between 'traditional' forms of racism and modern biologizing state racism (Bernasconi 2010, 206). The problem is, however, that Foucault locates this shift to race as biologizing governmental practice in the late nineteenth century and as emergent solely in Europe. As Bernasconi makes clear, 'In one of his rare remarks about colonization, and after acknowledging that racism first develops with "colonizing genocide", [Foucault] proceeds to locate it in the second half of the nineteenth century [...], as if all forms of colonisation prior to that time were free of racism and the desire to exterminate indigenous populations' (ibid., 207).

Similarly, in Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human (2014), Alexander Weheliye challenges the ways in which race is ambivalently present and absent in Foucault's body of work, noting that Foucault replicates the tendency of white Western theorists of modernity to ignore imperialism and the 'the volatile relation between race and the human' (Weheliye 2015, 8) that it inaugurated in the sixteenth century. Just like Bernasconi, Weheliye is struck by the uncommon presence of racism and race in Society Must Be Defended (Foucault 2003). In this collection of work, Foucault somewhat bizarrely acknowledges that racism pre-dates the late nineteenth century and 'had already been in existence for a very long time. But I think it functioned elsewhere' (Foucault cited in Weheliye 2014, 57). In naming that 'elsewhere' as 'colonising genocide', Weheliye takes to task Foucault's assertion that in the nineteenth century, biopolitics came to completely dominate the form of power in European nation-states as the entities that have the 'legitimate' sovereign power to take life or preserve it; a theoretical move, says Weheliye, that renders European societies as those that must be defended (ibid.). Weheliye argues against Foucault's position that race as biopolitics emerges in Europe in the late nineteenth century as a set of concerns and tactics addressed to the nation operating as the legitimate jurisdiction of liberal state power. It is clear that, for Foucault, modern racism emerges in the context of internal European concerns over territorial sovereignty and the policing of white ethnoracial populations in Europe, thereby producing a 'racism that society will direct against itself, against its own elements, and its own products' (ibid., 57). This periodization of modern racism locates

it within a purely nationalist logic of the imperative of defending the *European* nation. This, then, is what Foucault is referring to as the internal *racism of permanent purification*, which he asserts will become one of the basic dimensions of social normalization (ibid.), manifesting its racial dependencies in the rise of eugenics at the end of the twentieth century. It is impossible to attempt to rescue Foucault from these criticisms. In a scathing and ironic rejoinder to this dismissal of the imperial origins of modern racism, Weheliye states,

Racism, which up to this point had led a peaceful conceptual and historical life in an unspecified terra incognita, thus journeys from the uncharted periphery into the heart of the modern European nation-state [...] for Foucault, in a reversal of colonial modernity's teleology that locates the temporal origin of all things in the west, racism only attains relevance once it penetrates the borders of fortress Europe. (ibid.)

Foucault assigns no analytical and minimal historical significance to the role of imperial conquest and colonialism in the racialization of the globe, the birth of modern racism and its subsequent gradual and uneven refinement in the rationalizations of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment scientific reason and liberal biopolitics. He is only able to maintain this white mythology by sealing off imperial racism from his genealogy of modern power. This study shares the position taken by Weheliye, and which opens this chapter when he states that

Rather than using biopolitics as a modality of analysis that supersedes or sidelines race, I stress that race be placed front and centre in considerations of political violence, albeit not as a biological or cultural classification but as a set of sociopolitical processes of differentiation and hierarchization, which are projected onto the putatively biological human body. (Weheliye 2015, 5)

The chapters that follow break from the wilful myopia and amnesia of a hegemonic White gaze and set out to name and explore one historical trajectory of the invisibilized colonial 'elsewhere' to illustrate the multiple articulations and overlapping unfoldings of coloniality/modernity taking place between metropole and colony.

The Gender of Modernity and the Coloniality of Gender

The extent to which racialized modernity is also inherently gendered has largely escaped analytical attention, even in the work of the most insightful of postcolonial male writers. Decolonial and postcolonial theorists of modernity are only fairly recently centring questions of gender, sexuality and woman in a way that makes them integral to the analysis of race and modernity rather than adjuncts. In 'Toward a Decolonial Feminism' (2010), María Lugones lays out her theory of the coloniality of gender, addressing the relation between colonial racialising practices, sexual distinction and gender distinction, centring on the problem of determining which came first. Lugones argues that the imposition of the colonial civilizing mission involved the global projection of a Western masculine and white template of the ideal human against which all other human life would be determined. This meant that both colonized males and females were judged as non-human

from the normative understanding of European 'man,' the human being par excellence. Females were judged from the normative understanding of "women" the Hunan inversion of men. From this point of view, colonized people became males and females. Males became not-human-as-not-men, and colonized females became not-human-as-not-women. Consequently, colonized females were never understood as lacking because they were not men-like, and were turned into viragos. Colonized men were not understood to be lacking as not being women-like (Lugones 2010, 744)

Thus, she continues, 'What has been understood as the 'feminization' of colonized 'men' seems rather 'a gesture of humiliation, attributing to them sexual passivity under the threat of rape.' From this Lugones concludes, 'if I am right about the coloniality of gender, in the distinction between the human and the non-human, sex had to stand alone. Gender [...] could not be both inseparably tied and racialized.' Sexual dimorphism became the grounding for the dichotomous understanding of gender, the human characteristic'.

² Since the publication of Lugones' article, recent advances in LBG transgender and transsexual politics have been powerful in complicating and unsettling the dimorphism of the post-Enlightenment modern sex/gender order.

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A weakness in Lugones' analysis lies in her failure to theorize what she means by gender. This leads to some confusion because she wants us to argue that gender is a colonial construction but then continues to refer to it in relation to indigenous pre-contact societies. The problem here is either that we do not have a concept with which to refer to these indigenous arrangements of life, and she would need to come up with one, or that she must theorize gender in a way that enables us to use it to refer to gender both as it refers to the Western binary of the heterosexual matrix and as it applies to other arrangements in other contexts. I am not sure we can escape this colonial effect of the concept of gender, the key point of what Lugones is arguing seems to be that colonialism generates the categories of gender and race in a dimorphic unity, thus instantiating the coloniality of gender. The racialization of sex discursively is, she insists, is a subsequent effect of this anterior formation. This implies that historically and conceptually the sexual right of access of men racialized as white to the bodies of all women and racialized men was opportunistic and not reflective of an organized theory of sex. It was only subsequently in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment-crafted emergence of European liberal bourgeois patriarchy that heteronormativity became imposed on already racialized and gendered representations of life. There are immense differences between how Lugones wants to talk about the entanglements of race, gender and sex and the work of Judith Butler. However, where these authors seem to agree is on the Enlightenment emergence of the regulation of gender through sexuality. Drawing explicitly on Foucault's analysis of regulatory power, Butler asks if 'regulatory power has certain broad historical characteristics', and if it 'operates on gender as well as on other kinds of social and cultural norms, then it seems that gender is but the instance of a larger regulatory operation of power' (Butler 2004, 41). Butler suggests that gender is a form of regulatory power that 'institutes its own distinctive regulatory and disciplinary regime' of norms (Butler 2004, 41). Normalization is not a set of rules but rather is a set of principles embedded in the practices in which it realizes itself, but the norm is not the same as the practices it governs. 'The norm governs intelligibility, allows for certain kinds of practices and action to become recognizable as such, imposing a grid of legibility on the social and defining the parameters of what will and will not appear within the domain of the social'

(ibid., 42). Demurring while drawing on Butler's insights, I want to suggest that gender as the imposition of normalization cannot be understood outside its emergence within Enlightenment conceptions of the human, emergent through coloniality as a historically contextualized regulatory power. Gender as a distinct form of regulatory power generating gender norms emerges as a subsystem of the broader regulatory power of Enlightenment humanism. Therefore we can think of feminization/ masculinization, masculinity/femininity as normalizing practices of gender that are inseparable from race 'not as a biological or cultural classification but as a set of socio-political processes that discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans, and nonhumans' (Weheliye 2014, 4). This formulation theoretically supports what Lugones asserts only anthropologically. It should follow from this, if my reading of Lugones is right, that it is the rise of bourgeois liberal democracy together with the demands of liberal capitalism that finally suture anatomical sex to gender to sexuality,³ which by the eighteenth century had already been fused to race, so that by the early nineteenth the racialized body of the African woman was epistemologically and culturally central to theories of gender and sexuality. The abused body and tragic figure of Saartjie Baartman at the hands of both popular culture and comparative anatomy stands as the paradigmatic example of the Enlightenment biologization and ranking of life in which the African woman's body stands as the border and limit-point between human and non-human life, between sacred life and bare life. Thus we can both agree and disagree with Lugones when she characterizes the 'feminization' of 'colonized' men as 'a gesture of humiliation' rather than

³ In both Lugones' and Butler's work there seems to be at several points in their respective analyses a conflating slippage between gender, sex and sexuality that is confusing. For the purposes of this current study, it is not necessary to delve into this in depth, but Gaten's work seems to be an important intervention into feminist debates that insists that these issues cannot be fully settled outside conducting a theoretically nuanced genealogy of these concepts. As Gaten charges feminist theory, both Lugones and Butler seem to be operating within an Enlightenment-driven tradition of thought shaped by metaphysical dualism and liberal humanism even as they critique them. This rests on the pre-supposition 'that culture (and reason) presume the organization and control of nature (and the body) by a power that transcends the natural condition', producing a juridical view that relies on understanding existence as operating on two planes: 'an inert, passive, immanent plane of matter or nature and an intentional plane of an organizing "intelligence" or "force that imposes form and meaning" '(Gatens 1996, 6). Gatens offers a fascinating situated genealogy of these concepts as they emerge in the context of Western feminist problematizations of gender inequality.

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dehumanization; and across the chapters of this book, we will repeatedly return to Lugones' theory of the coloniality of gender to both clarify a better understanding of it and to test it against historical cases.

Visitor Theory

In this final section, I address the obvious question: Why, given this extended critique of Foucault's ideas, should a decolonial analysis continue to use his work.? Similarly, in relation to gender, Carole Boyce Davies has addressed the validity of Black feminists continuing to use Eurocentric and masculinist theories and theorists in their work. Boyce Davies takes issue with the masculine and Western identity of what counts as 'theory' and who can be counted as a 'theorist'. Aiming her critique particularly at postmodernism, as a 'metatheory' that similarly excludes 'others' at the same time as it makes claims to represent them (Boyce Davies 1994, 41), she charges some elements of postmodernist and feminist theories as having largely intellectually assimilated Black women's theorizations of intersectionality in order 'to complicate unitary subjectivities' without acknowledging the source of these ideas (ibid.). Thus, Black women remain marginalized even as their work is included. Consequently, not only is black women's intellectual labour as theorists obscured but the theoretical and ethicopolitical implications of Black women's 'critical and dissonant speech becomes 'dubbed out' (ibid.). This is also the case in some masculinist Black radical theories (Boyce Davies 1994, 42). Even when Black feminist theory is invoked, the actual histories and experiences of Black women in relation to themselves or in relation to men and masculinity are largely absent. This does not mean that Black feminist theorists should only write about Black women's experiences and abandon theory. Instead, Boyce Davies calls for Black feminist scholars to conceive of theoretical interventions as forms of critical speech—as a performative practice of 'deconstructing a variety of metanarratives'-so that 'critical speech in this context becomes a signifying practice that "reads" theory' (ibid., 42). 'Reading' here refers to a range of Black performative practices that are aimed at dismantling or exposing the pretentions of dominant discourses. For Boyce Davies these

reading practices place an emphasis on theorizing rather than theory that is, theorizing as a practice of dissonant speech. Bringing together Stuart Hall's theory of articulation, Edward Said's concept of 'travelling theory' and Homo Bhabha's view of theory as inherently political and Deleuze's concept of 'nomadic thought', Boyce Davies advances a model of Black feminist theorizing that performatively expresses Black women's migratory subjectivity across multiple identity categories, political constituencies and geographical places. This approach expresses a 'critical relationality in which various positions are interrogated for their specific applicability to Black women's experiences and textualities, which are negotiated within a particular inquiry with a necessary eclecticism' (ibid., 46, emphasis added). In other words, Black feminist theorizing involves being 'free' to go to any theory that is helpful for the task in hand, without becoming fixed in or by one theoretical position; being willing to discard those elements that do not speak to the diverse intersections of that experience and subjectivity and move on to others; creating new links between theory and theory, and theory and objects of enquiry, without being predetermined by a set of intellectual or political orthodoxies but rather remaining open to the contingent and therefore arbitrariness of connections produced by the exigencies of the present. She calls this 'visitor theory':

In using this formulation, then, I want to engage all these theories as visitors. This comes from the recognition that going all the way home with many of these theoretical positions—feminism, postmodernism, nationalism, Afrocentrism, Marxism, etc.—means taking a route cluttered with skeletons, enslavements, new dominations, unresolved tensions and contradictions. Following many of these theorists and theories, 'all the way home' inevitably places one in the 'homes' of people where I, as a Black woman, will have to function either as maid or exotic. Going all the way home with them means being installed in a distant place from my communities. (ibid., 46)

Visitor theory involves 'going a piece of the road' with theorists and theories and then returning 'home', with home being both a point of 'grounding' and also, as Boyce Davies concedes, a problematic site of

potential domination and conflict for women (ibid., 49). This implies that 'home' within visitor theory can be both a point of orientation and a site of critical disidentification. Jose Esteban Munoz coined the concept of 'critical disidentification' to define and analyse queer performances of counterdisciplinary identification, arguing that queers of colour inhabit 'multiple identity components' without being comfortably or fully situated in any one discourse of minority subjectivity (Muñoz 1999, 32). As a result, queers of colour are positioned outside or on the margins of a series of hegemonies or mainstreams yet are also interpellated by and identified with them. This produces a discursive and embodied tension between being positioned on the margins but also, paradoxically, as a constitutive element of a category. As a result the performativities of critical queers of colour work with and against the hegemonic biopolitical categories of race, sex and gender, even as they attempt to deconstruct and transform them from their marginalized insider status, by bringing into them codes of conduct normatively excluded onto Other bodies. Munoz defines critical disidentification as a third mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, 'disidentification is a strategy that works on and against' and frequently within dominant ideology (ibid., 13).

As a Black British woman whose disciplinary 'home' in Britain is sociology, and who found herself 'at home' for five years in a department of African American and African studies in a US university, not only do I engage cultural studies, feminist and womanist theories, critical race theories and various kinds of history work in order to address the experiences and questions that I wish to study, but I also find myself at times feeling uncomfortably situated across a range of theoretical and disciplinary positions in which I am never entirely, or always, 'at home'. Theorizing as a practice of visiting necessitates an engagement with the politics of location, and the relations of power that structure the conditions under which one travels, and the criteria for entry. So nomadic theorizing is potentially liberating but also risky. It is liberating in so far as it facilitates what Walter Mignolo has termed 'the decolonial option', which exposes the geopolitics of knowledge in the colonial difference (Mignolo 2009, 16). However, it is also risky in so far as one is perpetually rendered a dissonant, if not dissident, voice and vulnerable to the violence of

exclusion, marginalization and silencing. This is also an effect of pursuing the decolonial option that underwrites the Black politics of knowledge production. The decolonial option seeks to connect a range of colonial subjects who have shared the debasements and wretchedness of 'the colonial wound', and now are challenging the mythologies of Western epistemology and naming its silences (ibid., 162), as a precursor to imagining new emancipatory forms of knowledge and human existence. Black politics, although it shares the sensibilities and agendas of decolonial politics, is not wholly reducible to it. If Black politics is partly defined by an attitude of uncertainty towards the state (Iton 2008, 5), it is also shaped by a suspicion of the capacity of critiques of modernity that reject or equivocate on the question of colonial modernity's racialized ontology. For it is the racial and racializing identity of coloniality that underwrites the Western Enlightenment biocentric conception of man. This is a theory of humankind and a practice of being human that produces epistemologically and politically the split between '(European) Man/ non-white Native' (Wynter 1992, 51) and an ethicoaesthetic racialized ranking of different forms of human life. Combining critical race and decolonial approaches to Black feminist or womanist theorizing contests the notion that core concepts of modernity, such as freedom, can be approached as though unsullied by race, imperialism and brutality. Critical race-decolonial theories of modernity approach 'the modern/colonial world-system as a socio-historical structure coincident with the expansion of capitalism but also [...] of coloniality and the colonial difference as loci of enunciation' (Mignolo 2002, 61), grounded in the instantiation of a global capitalist world order based on race as one of its central logics of governance.

Theorizing as a visitor, whether welcomed guest or uninvited intruder, I 'go a piece of the road' with several theorists and theories across the chapters of this volume. In the final stages of writing, I returned to Britain after an almost six-year sojourn as an academic refugee in the USA. Like my Caribbean parents before me and other immigrants from Britain's empire and their descendants, but now in a different register and time, in writing this book I continue the practice of 'colonisin' Ingan in reverse' and in so doing continue to 'turn history upside down' in the hope of unsettling, and decolonizing it.

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3

The Old and New Ethnicities of Postcolonial Black (British)ness

The politics of Black identity are shaped by the ongoing tension between Black identity as a Category of subjection and rule, and Black identity as the embodied site of racialized being as an ongoing act of creative selfmaking in resistance to coercive racialization and racist oppression. While the latter is in part the effect of racist subjection, it is also an ethical location from which to challenge racism, and to produce meaning and existence beyond and against the disciplinary weight of Western humanism's narcissistic representation of the human and the racist logics of Western modernity. Furthermore, in the altered conditions of postcoloniality, these two registers of race, as a technology of state governance and as racial states of being (Goldberg 2002), are increasingly disturbed and rerouted across new postcolonial ethnicities (Hall 1996), enduring diasporic identifications and the cultural logics of neoliberal globalization. The discrepant transnational publics produced by these processes reflect diverse investments and disinvestments in Blackness, and other forms of ethnoracial, cultural or politicized identifications. Identity politics has been criticized as tending to fall into the trap of biological or cultural essentialism. Critiques of identity politics based on accusations of essentialism have been central to the challenges against

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Afro-Black mobilizations and cultural politics in Britain, with a range of claims that such mobilizations can become invested in victimhood and politicized identity's wounded attachments to the liberal racial state, seen as simultaneously providing the possibility of oppressive racialized subjection, the focus of politicized identity's demands for recognition, and ultimately the guarantor of the fulfilment of those rights claims on which 'liberation' is seen to rest (Brown 1993). Brown poses an important and necessary question when she asks, 'where do elements of politicized identity's investments in it and especially in its own history of suffering come into conflict with the need to give up these investments in the pursuit of an emancipatory democratic project?' (ibid., 290). An immediate answer might be: when that suffering ends, and it is the context of the continued suffering of Black people at the hands of racism that impels movements such as Black Lives Matter. However, there has been some valid criticism that some forms of Afro-Black identity politics and cultural expression remain too attached to mid-twentieth century 'race first' or even 'race only' politics, and fail to respond to the new landscape of concerns, problems and challenges of the present. In particular, the idea of self-evidently innocent political identities has been challenged, highlighting in particular the ways in which some forms of anti-colonial nationalism and cultural resistance have descended and ossified into defensive forms of cultural nationalism and even biological essentialisms. We can add to this assault on identity politics the postmodernist cultural turn and its emphasis on the fluid, unstable social construction of all identity categories. This has contributed to the accusation—especially in Britain—that anything other than the most politically heuristic applications of Black identity warrant suspicion. These always ready and available criticisms of Afro-Black British and British Asian cultural identities have in fact been dominant in British academic discourse on race in an often arrogant disregard for the lived realities and meanings of those communities, and despite the ways in which the racial state has continued to categorize, construct and target diverse population groups through highly differentiated and specialized forms of racialization, and racist and ethnic oppression. Some of the political motivations behind the desire to discard ethnoracial and ethnoreligious identities and replace them with a concept of black identity have a very important provenance in anti-imperialist,

anti-racist coalition movements (Brah 1996) by people racialized by White supremacy as non-white. However, there is another strand of motivation that flows into that and which reflects the Anglo-American academy's desire to completely disavow subjectivity or identity in theoretical discourse; one that too often leads to the neglect of race as a critical category (Weheliye 2014, 47). This can produce a dissonance between theory and the complexities of non-identical shared interests and 'the ways racialization and different axes of domination cooperate in founding racializing assemblages' (ibid., 49). Weheliye explains racialized assemblages in the following ways. First, drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's notion of assemblages, he explains, 'assemblages pivot on both a vertical and a horizontal axis. The horizontal line, consisting of content and expression, features "machinic assemblages of bodies, actions and passions, an intermingling of bodies reacting to one another" as well as "collective assemblages of enunciation, of acts and statements, of incorporeal transformations of bodies," while the vertical dimension is marked by "territorial sides, or reterritorialized sides, which stabilize it, and cutting edges of deterritorialization, which carry it away" (Plateaus cited in ibid., 46). This definition provides a very helpful theoretical framework for understanding the modes of identification expressed by the Black British women interviewed in this study.

With regard to the category of race, racializing assemblages ascribe 'incorporeal transformations . . . to bodies,' etching abstract forces of power onto human physiology and flesh in order to create the appearance of a naturally expressive relationship between phenotype and socio-political status the hieroglyphics of the flesh. (Plateaus cited in Weheliye 2014, 50)

Weheliye goes on to stress the importance that Black Studies has placed on the centrality of race and its racializing assemblages to the modern Western epistemological, ethical and political elaboration of man or the human in which race functions 'not as a biological or cultural classification but as a set of sociopolitical processes that discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans, and nonhumans' (Weheliye 2014, 4), and which therefore necessitates the intellectual project of Black studies, 'whose principal goal is to disrupt the governing conception of humanity as synonymous with

western Man, while also supplying the analytic tools for thinking the deeply gendered and sexualized provenances of racializing assemblages' (ibid., 5) Thus racialized assemblages also highlight the ways in which race a form of regulator power and racism as a structure of domination articulates other regulatory powers and structures of domination without any of them being reducible in the final analysis to any one, even if they are frequently subjected to preferred combinations, or assemblages. 'Preferred articulations insert historically sedimented power imbalances and ideological interests, which are crucial to understanding mobile structures of dominance such as race or gender' (Weheliye 2014, 49).

This is why the institutional absence of Black Studies in British academia is so pernicious. One of the results has been that people of colour solidarities forged in the context of twentieth-century anti-imperialism and anti-racism have too often descended into doctrinaire and unthinking obedience to longstanding political and theoretical orthodoxies seen to require no re-examination in the light of new circumstances. Paradoxically, in their important motivation to reject state-led ethnoracial categories of racial or religious governance, they have too often ridden roughshod over modes of collective cultural and political mobilizations that in their own internal differences, interests and struggles fail to conform to the Manichaean assumptions underwriting various forms of Left or poststructuralist criticism. This has effected an academic recolonizaton of the reclamation of Black identity that the Black Power movement advanced. It is only since the emergence of the Black Lives Matter campaign in 2014 in the USA, in response to the killing of unarmed Black people at the hands of the police or security personnel, that the hegemony of this Left and/or poststructuralist orthodoxy in Britain has begun to be successfully unsettled, permitting alternative meanings of politicized identities to be heard and included as legitimate voices at the seat of public discourse on race.

The Black Lives Matter movement for justice at its inception was centred on reminding those who may have forgotten or simply never understood that racism's long history of treating African and African-embodied life as not fully human and so always only residually included as the political subjects and bearers of rights is a deeply ingrained expression of Western liberal humanism's discourse of *life* and politics, one in which

"the 'lower non-White races' and most ultimately the 'Negro,' incarnate the most atavistic non-evolved Lack of the human" (Wynter 1994, 49). If slavery reduced African life to 'thingification' and bare life, Black self-identification and African diaspora consciousness revivifies and animates Black flesh from its existence on the margins of the usual laws of ethical and political consideration. As Alexander Weheliye points out, 'violent political domination activates a fleshly surplus that simultaneously sustains and disfigures said brutality', thereby permitting the condemned of modern humanism to reclaim and redeploy 'the atrocity of flesh as a pivotal arena for the politics emanating from different traditions of the oppressed' (Weheliye 2014, 2).

Yet for all this, old and new forms of Black subjectification and identity continue to trouble and unsettle old colonial categories of racial rule and identity, as well as new postcolonial nationalist and postracial claims. Not all of the new postcolonial ethnicities are in fact new; rather, they are often old colonial ethnicities in new locations, reconfigured by the new racial assemblages that have emerged since the formal end of empires and now the Cold War. Yet others are not so much new as newly emergent from the muted audibility of the prediscursive everyday, or their suppressions under the weight of old binary political solidarities. They erupt from the microstruggles of the vernacular and from the politics of the body to reorganize the category Black around alternative and additional axes of power to do with gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, religion and location—and beyond race itself. Being emergent through the conditions of possibility created by the expanded civil rights and cultural liberties won by a range of identity-based social movements of the twentieth century, these new ethnicities repeat old, as well as enunciate new, concerns which turn on struggles over the limits of identity, the legitimate meaning of freedom and the biopolitical terms of its governmental distribution. In describing and analysing the old and new forms of identity that emerge from the narratives of self-identity used by a group of ten Black women of Caribbean descent living in London, this chapter and the next highlight

¹ Ten women were involved in this study were aged between 34 and 49; Seven of the ten were born in Britain, one in France and the rest in the Caribbean. The person of French/Haitian origin arrived as an adult and the remainder were either born in Britain or arrived as children under the age of 12. The Caribbean islands represented by place of birth of family background were Barbados (1), Grenada (3), Haiti (1) Jamaica (4) and Trinidad (1). Further demographic descriptions are provided in Chapter 4.

key themes that emerged, bringing them into conversation with a range of theoretical discussions of freedom and identity.

The analysis of these qualitative interviews will complement the 'intensely cerebral versions of diaspora (Cohen 1998, 27) presented by Cultural Studies theorists' by giving a picture of the extent to which Black women of Caribbean descent in London 'in their attitudes, migration patterns and social conduct—behave in ways consistent with the idea of cultural diaspora' (ibid.). It also begins to make the argument that within the present context of British racial politics it can be ethically and politically valid for women of African descent to continue to mobilize around questions of race and racism, and that pan-African Black identifications—in combination with other identifications—can be an ethical site for the practice of emancipatory selfmaking, and struggles for social justice. This begins in the following section with responses to the question: How would you define your identity?

British Black: 'What Is Your Ethnic Group?—Choose One'

Since 1991 the term Black British has been used as a primary ethnic category by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and it is divided into the following subcategories: Black-African, Black-Caribbean, Black and 'any other'. The state-imposed liberties of British citizenship are operationalized through the biopolitical categories of race, ethnicity, religion and gender, which are thus also the source of the citizen's claims to protection of one's civil rights. Thus British citizenship, or at least residency in Britain, involves a process of being transformed from whatever an individual or group's self-identification may have been prior to settlement into the categories that are juridically and administratively meaningful to British racial formations and to the racial state. Not being a citizen, or refusing at least at some level to self-identify within these categories, removes you potentially from the social rights, entitlements and legal protections of citizenship, as well as legitimized forms of claims on the state.

² The wording of the ethnic question in the National Census is 'What is your ethnic group? Choose ONE section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background' (CRE 2005).

Of the ten women interviewed, none of them identified themselves as Caribbean of a non-African heritage (e.g. Indo-Caribbean or Chinese Caribbean), although one woman had many features typically associated with having some Chinese ancestry (discussed later). While being Caribbean remains a strong unifying principle, looking Chinese, looking white or looking Asian has produced effects on the self-identities of many Caribbean people in Britain whose appearance does not conform to British society's dominant perception of Caribbean people. The possibility that some people who define themselves as Black Caribbean might also be Asian (i.e. Indian or Chinese-Caribbean) is thereby occluded. How individuals of Caribbean non-African ethnicities map themselves into British official and informal racial categories has been under-researched. One of the few exceptions can be found in the work of Yasmeen Narayan (2009), who has offered a detailed and theoretically layered analysis of the intraand interpersonal psychocultural and political processes of Indo-Caribbean identifications in London, which this analysis will draw on.

British Caribbean

All of the women interviewed expressed a very powerful and active awareness of the Caribbean as a central element in their identities and lived cultures. This was the case even for women born in Britain. What emerges here is a picture of Caribbean cultures as actively lived by women through a sense of values, practices and ways of defining and interpreting the meaning of one's experiences as a Black person living in Britain. From the responses it was clear that Caribbean island identities were experienced not primarily as national/citizenship categories but as Caribbean ethnicities linked to similar but distinct practices, languages and mores. All of the women's narratives of identity displayed a transnationalism that was immediate and almost taken for granted. This is seen most vividly where very local identities, such as coming from Moss Side in Manchester or Plaistow in London, were attached with ease to other national, transnational, regional and diasporic locations. Linette described herself as African, of Grenadian parents, born in Moss Side and growing up in Birmingham. Elizabeth, also born in Britain who described herself as a Londoner with roots in Grenada and Africa, later went on to further qualify her Londoner status by saying that as a child she had resented being called Caribbean because she was born in Plaistow in East London.

This transnationalism did not flatten out differences between the different locations. For example, Linette, who described herself as African of Grenadian parents, recognized that there were similarities and differences between her experiences in Moss Side in contrast to London, and in Britain in contrast to other locations of the African diaspora. When she first arrived in London from Manchester in her early 20s, Black Londoners regarded her as a 'country bumpkin' despite Manchester being a major city. Yet Linette accepted this positioning because she too viewed 'Black London' as more 'advanced' than the regions. It was the existence of a larger Black public sphere that signalled London's advancement over regional Black life, both politically and culturally, as indicated by the variety of Black pirate radio stations, specialist reggae music programmes on the legal local radio stations, Black hairdressers and Black nightclubs. The density of the Black population, being located in the national capital and the development of a Black public sphere of economic and cultural activity helped to establish Black London culture as the hegemonic Black Britishness in the 1980s.

At the same time, all of the women made comparisons between different locations of the African or Caribbean diasporas. Being Black or Caribbean in Britain was regarded by all of the women as being different from being Black in the Caribbean, Africa or the USA. So, for example, our émigré from Moss Side went on to qualify her sense of being Grenadian through differences she found between Grenadian women in Grenada and Grenadian women in Britain, and between Black women in Britain and Black women in Africa:

So culturally, I would say I was Caribbean more so than African—although I know about my African heritage. But when I went back to Grenada, there is a difference between things that I do and expect and almost take for granted and some Grenadian women. Also when I went to Africa—there's differences.

Some differences were gendered by a distinction between respectable and disreputable Caribbean femininities. Several women contrasted 'respectable' British-Caribbean femininities with disreputable lower-class Jamaican Dancehall femininity and the styles of fashion associated with it. Alternatively, they distinguished between Caribbean femininities in the Caribbean through a distinction between being 'country' or 'sophisticated'—that is, urban. This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Individuals came to a sense of being from a particular island in the Caribbean through stories that their parents told of their own childhood: the food that was eaten, words used, family photographs and ornaments around the home. Some also described learning to understand themselves as being from a particular island through the ways in which their parents would talk about people from other islands. For example, Njeri, who was from a Grenadian family, spoke about her mother's disapproval when she began to use Jamaican patois picked up from school. In contrast, Elizabeth, who was London born to a Grenadian family, spoke of negotiating a Grenadian sense of self in her home culture, but her social identification as a child and teenager in the 1970s and 1980s was heavily impacted by the dominance of Jamaican culture in the then emerging shared Black youth cultures as well as the hypervisibility of Jamaican culture in both British racial discourse and popular culture more generally:

I suppose when I was growing up there was a far greater influence from Jamaica; what with Bob Marley's music, Reggae music, dub poetry and the lyrics you would see and the language used was very heavily Jamaican.

This echoes Narayan's observations in relation to an Indo-Guyanese Londoner, where she describes how his 'early identifications and refused identifications come into being in response to his parents' reiterated prescription to identify himself as "Indian" at the same time as he identifies the acts of exclusion, erasure and revision in both his own familial histories and wider Caribbean histories which shape these identifications' (Narayan 2009, 610).

For these girls growing up between the 1960s and mid-1980s, 'home' was defined by the home cultures of their families in England as well the broader identifications with their parental islands of origin, usually referred

to as 'back home'. This sensibility was passed on through the talk of family and family friends. 'Back home' is widely used by Caribbean people to refer to their island of origin, and for this generation of women born in Britain it was a phrase that they learned to use even before they had visited their parents' islands. For all of the women born in Britain, the idea that the Caribbean was home helped to transmit a strong sense of island identification and emotional attachment, which meant that the first journey back to the Caribbean was often remembered as significant in terms of the personal identity journeys of several of the women. All of those interviewed who had been born in Britain had visited their parents' birth islands. The impact of going 'back home' was different for each person. For some it could be an emotionally demanding experience that led to radical changes in their sense of identity and identifications. This is perhaps best illustrated by Melissa, who is worth quoting at length:

I have been to Jamaica. It was a culture shock at first. I remember a feeling of disappointment that I hadn't come home, because my parents had always talked of going 'back home' and that's how I thought as well: 'I'm going home.' And then suddenly being in this place where actually you weren't at home where you were an outsider yet again. I think that caused some feelings of displacement because you started to wonder, 'well where do I fit in? Where do I fit' I was about 18 or 19. I remember coming back and feeling [said in a whisper], 'Oh! I'm coming home' And that was the first time I can recollect having those thoughts. The first time I'd thought 'going back to England—home'; because it was almost you're searching for somewhere else.

Going back to the Caribbean then could affect not only how women experienced Britain or England as home but also their very understanding of 'home'. The idea of home is infused with the emotional politics of belonging and unbelonging. As Melissa implied above, the feeling of not quite belonging to Britain produces a search for a place of attachment to a place to call 'home', but having gone to Jamaica she discovered that home was back in Britain. She continues:

Jamaica was the beginning, so it didn't happen overnight. I didn't think, 'Gosh I'm British' or anything [...] I can't say that I am Caribbean. I can say Caribbean descent. But I can't say I'm Caribbean because I'm not, and actually when I go there they probably treat me more as a foreigner there than I am treated here. It was around that time that I started to define myself as Black British.

Melissa's feelings of belonging and identification were self-consciously invested in both Britain and the Caribbean. Likewise, she was very self-aware regarding the distinctions she was drawing concerning where different aspects of her experience of her own subjectivity and identity were primarily located or sourced. Accordingly, she was aware that having been raised in Britain, knowing the cultural norms of everyday life in Britain, afforded forms of identification and familiarity that were not so readily available to her in Jamaica:

I could identify with the norms here of culture, not so much the values, but you felt at home in the sense that you did not have to think 'Oh how do you do that or this.' It was something that you knew and understood and I think some if it also was almost there being an order you could understand here

On the other hand, when describing her values, she did not refer to them as Caribbean or Jamaican but used racial referents:

I think where the difference lies between me as a Black person, how I see myself and how I see white British people is because I see us having different values. Certainly, from my generation, I am not so sure now, with the generations that follow—but I feel that I have a stronger sense of values and tradition around the Black family, than some of my friends do, than some of the white British people do.

This distinction suggests that there are values that she perceives to be shared by Black populations regardless of location. It is also noteworthy that these values are centred on the family. The next chapter explores the intersections of ethnicity and gender in how these women spoke about Black womanhood, gender and the family. For this speaker, moving into Black British identity was accomplished neither by a simple positive

identification with Britishness nor through a sense of absolute difference from white Britishness, as Stuart Hall has previously suggested (1996, 116), but rather through both, in combination with coming to understand herself as not being fully Jamaican and Jamaica not being home. This contrasts with several other women who found that going to the Caribbean had a significant impact on their sense of themselves as Black people and what that signified. Many spoke of this experience helping them to find an invigorated pride in being Black through being able to experience a Black majority country in which, as one person put it, one is not positioned as an immigrant and 'where everyone looked like you, from the road sweeper to the Prime Minister'. For this reason nearly all of the women who were mothers regarded it as very important that their own children should visit the Caribbean:

So that they have a place in this whole hierarchy of events and life and history. They have to have that [...] Living in an environment where children see themselves in all dimensions is the most powerful thing that they can experience. Waking up and going to the dentist who looks like you; getting on the aeroplane and seeing the pilot who looks like you; going to the beach, the hotel, the conference, the school, the university and seeing yourself reflected on all these levels means that this is a reality. It can be. (Mandisa)

Visiting the Caribbean was viewed as important in helping Black British people of Caribbean descent to have a sense of their place in the world and in history. In this way the Caribbean represents both a physical and a historical site of identification and belonging, and also a psychic space of mutual recognition and existential validation. This process of physical journeying between the Caribbean and Britain transforms the Caribbean from a merely symbolic imaginary to a lived reality. 'Reality' was a word often repeated across several interviews to describe going to the Caribbean and keeping connected with Caribbean cultures there.

It seems that some of what is being signalled by these complex negotiations between contexts, racialized embodiment and the temporalities of identification are the hermeneutics of identification (or disidentification) as a practice of freedom. First, as Stuart Hall argues, Black Caribbean cultural identities are displaced—in the sense of being geographically dispersed yet

temporally stretched between a common past of Africa, in the midst of the ongoing processes of change and becoming produced in the culturally creolizing heterogeneity of the Caribbean as an imperial contact zone in which Africa, the Americas, Asia and Europe are all represented. Caribbean cultural identities as emblematic of modern identity exemplify the process of identification as an ongoing process of 'becoming', repeatedly renewed and emergent in the context of the changing conjunctures of time, space and power relations and often underwritten by the racial logics of modernity.

Identity as an embodied condition constructs a perspective on reality that structures the interpretation of reality at the same time as our interpretive frames are given to us by the discursive positioning of identity and subjectivity within normalization. This produces an ambivalent hermeneutics (Gallagher 1992, 4) in which context and perspectives are 'interdependent structural features of our experience' (Weiss cited in Busch and Gallagher 1992, 4). In other words, our perspective is always shaped by a context 'which itself is constituted by temporally changing perspectives' (Gallagher 1992, 4). In the narrative of cultural identity presented here, we see how transgressive Black identifications beyond the context of state racialization within the governing logics of British racial formations are accessed through transnational Caribbean and African diaspora identifications. Visiting the Caribbean island of your parents, or visiting any Black majority country, as we see in the quote from Melissa below, can effect a change in one's embodied experience of self as a being within a particular understanding of reality, shaped by one's material social realities but not fully reducible to them, and supplemented by cultural and psychic attachments to a variety of elsewheres and other times. Although this can generate new identifications without the old ones being erased or replaced, similarly '[o]ur previous perspectives constitute a contextual background for our present interpretations and the perspectives that we are capable of taking with respect to our current situation' (ibid., 5). Furthermore, context is essentially temporal rather than spatial (ibid.). In other words, how Britain or British identity is perceived is discursively perspectival and linked to both identity (as structural positioning) and identification as a spatially and temporally embodied experience. If an individual's hermeneutic stability is achieved through their experiences that are always contextual, a context that sutures together 'a meaningful world' out of the flow of perspectives (ibid.), then travel to the Caribbean for these women is seen to alter their perspective within Britishness and on Britain, and consequently on their own subjectivities and identifications. As they move to new contexts, the old contexts in which they previously experienced and understood themselves in relation to Britain do not disappear; they are merely reframed in a broader perspectival frame, affecting a revised hermeneutics of self, identity and Black Britishness. Therefore Melissa, who discovered her Black Britishness after visiting Jamaica, nevertheless regarded visiting the Caribbean and staying connected with it as imperative if she was not to be seduced by the familiarity of Britain into the mistaken impression that racism in Britain had been eradicated and that Black people were fully accepted into British society:

I feel it keeps you attached to yourself. It keeps you grounded in the reality of the stuff that is happening out there [in British society]. In the sense that you could almost be thinking there is equal treatment for all out there, and as long as you get educated and go out into the workplace, everything is going to be fine, and that you can almost be assimilated into this society and everything is fine and they are going to treat you equally. I think you need to keep yourself grounded and therefore connected back to your community and hence back to some place in the Caribbean because that is the reality.

All of the women agreed that a sense of connection to an island and knowledge of Caribbean culture and history were crucial in empowering Caribbean people in Britain to have real or 'true' knowledge of their own realities and to resist racism. However, only one person thought that gaining an awareness of oneself as being shaped by a Black culture and history did not require one to travel physically to the Caribbean but could be passed on from parents to children in the culture of the home and family life. The majority considered that identification and knowledge must be accompanied by direct personal experience of a majority Black country. This was regarded as especially important for the self-development of children born and raised in Britain. One of the key benefits of visiting or living for a while in a Caribbean country was that it was believed to provide a counterbalance to what many saw as the

partial sense of self that comes from living in a majority white-governed nation, where the horizons of racialized existence are restricted and confined by racism, and social and psychic marginalization.

Living In Jamaica . . . and I know that everybody that I have spoken to, who has ever taken their children out of here to any island, to any country in the Caribbean, confirmed for us that living in an environment where children see themselves in all dimensions is the most powerful thing that they can experience. Telling them every day is very difficult. Physically it is very difficult because it feeds on you as an adult. Having to remind them all the time (Mandisa)

Here Mandisa reminds us that racialized existence and perspectives are contextual, affective and embodied somatically. Importantly, this affectivity is not defined solely through identity as the site of injury under the sway of domination as represented in Wendy Brown's critique of identity politics (Brown 1995). She accuses politicized identities of being always, at least initially, reactive in the sense that they emerge through processes of disciplinary subjectification within specific powerful regimes of knowledge, and then deploy the categories of their oppression to oppose the 'injurious effects' produced by that regime of power (ibid., 7). The charge that Brown makes is that politicized identities, especially within liberal states, make their claims on freedom in reaction to their exclusion and in so doing produce what we might call 'reactive freedoms' that are merely reflections and reversals of suffering that fail to 'transform the organization of the activity through which their suffering is produced and without addressing the *subjects constitution that domination effects*' (ibid.).

Of course, Brown is talking about liberal democratic states in which the liberal promise of universal equality fails to be extended to all citizens, such that appeals to full inclusion in the rights and goods of citizenship locks marginalized groups within undemocratic or prescribed conceptions of freedom offered by the state. In Chap. 6 we see very clearly how, Caribbean anti-colonial nationalisms, in petitioning for full inclusion in the rights of liberal democracy and national sovereignty, nevertheless reproduce the normative patriarchal and racial marginalizations of British colonial liberalism - even as they seek its demise. Brown's critique of

identity politics would question how Black identity as the effect of imperial racism, or the colonial difference, could ever be an emancipatory site for the contestation of racism since it depends on the reproduction of race as the site of its own suffering and as the basis of its claims against the exclusions of the state. This would be the case only if the state were the only site of political opposition. However, as Brown concedes, cultural politics as a site of contestation amounts to recognition that domination, government and democratic resistance are not confined to the state (Brown 1995, x). Nor are they confined to, or by, the national borders of the state, though they may have implications for the nation-state. For these women, travel to a Caribbean or another Black majority country is crucial for the self-development of British-born Black individuals precisely because it is seen to nurture the capacity to see oneself beyond the wounded subject of racist representations and experience in Britain. In fact, Mandisa argued that this could lighten the burden of responsibility of parents, who, in the midst of their own struggles against the daily micro- and macroaggressions of racism and life in Britain, must try to convey alternative meanings of Blackness to their British children.

Both the transnationality of Caribbeanness and the diasporicity of Blackness are garnered as sites from which to interrogate racism in Britain, to resist governmental forms of Black racialization in Britain and to construct a sense of self and collective identity that is historically accountable and ethically liberating. This is very apparent in the following extract. Coral, a social worker of Trinidadian birth but raised for much of her childhood in the USA, came to Britain as a 22-year-old student and, having married and had two children, settled in the London. Having described herself as African Caribbean and Trinidadian, she stressed the importance of passing on her knowledge of both Trinidadian history and global Black history to her children, because not to do so would leave them diminished and ill equipped for the demands of life as Black people:

I think if they don't know it hampers their progress. I think it helps their sense of being. Their sense of who they are! Their sense of where they came from! So, if for example when they feel vulnerable, or discriminated against, they can hold on to that. They don't need to give in to those feelings because they know that they are somebody and they know that they have a history

and that they came from somewhere. They know the struggles but they also know the joys and the achievements so that when people try to belittle that in any way, that they have these things to hold on to. They know a different past, because a different past a different experience has been explained to them. (Coral)

Brown's critique of liberal identity politics is nevertheless a warning that practices of freedom can become ensnared in the very governmentalities they protest and oppose. However, understanding the powers of governmentality as stretched between governing states of rule and states of being (see Chap. 3) as power relations that inscribe the very possibility of resistance invites an appreciation of the lacunae or dissipations of power between the subject as she exists for herself and her unstable social construction within the discrepant intersection of the discourses in which she is inscribed. Here it is helpful to invoke Avtar Brah's concept of 'diaspora-space' to denote a distinction between diaspora as concept and diaspora as historical experience (Brah 1996, 179).

Experientially, as historical experience, Brah acknowledges the importance of journeying in the creation of diasporas and states that the analyses of different historical experiences of diaspora must pay attention to the different kinds of journeying that have propelled their emergence. 'The question is not simply about who travels, but when, how and under what circumstances? What socioeconomic, political conditions mark the trajectory of these journeys? What regimes of power inscribe the formation of a specific diaspora?' The other side of journeying, she continues, is settlement, and the places, terms and conditions of settling down that involve negotiations with those indigenous people who never moved (ibid., 182), or other immigrants.

Conceptually, as an analytical tool, Brah deploys diaspora to theorize the new ethnicities that these mobilities and encounters produce. For Brah, the concept of diaspora 'concerns the historically variable forms of relationality within and between diasporic formations. It is about relations of power that compare and differentiate between and across changing diasporic constellations. In other words, the concept of diaspora centres on the configurations of power, which differentiate diasporas internally as well as situate

them in relation to one another' (Brah 1996, 183). She coins the term 'diaspora-space' to refer to sites of emergence from which new postcolonial ethnicities emerge, and that implicate not only the former colonized and their descendants but also the representationally indigenous inhabitants. Diaspora-space as the unsettled and unsettling space of identifications and identities is centrally 'about the multi-axiality of power. It is cartography of the politics of intersectionality (Brah 1996, 16).

One could object to the concept of diaspora-space on the grounds that it contributes to the conceptual inflation of the word 'diaspora' to refer to any dispersed community. This overuse risks evacuating the concept of its ethical and political focus on communities compelled to move either against their will (as in the case of the formation of the African diaspora in the Atlantic slave trade) or under the threat of ethnic and religious annihilation (as in the Jewish diaspora), and their ongoing yearnings for a return to the space or identity from which they have been exiled. However, if we think of identities as governmental states in which ethical practices of the self seek to resist, reappropriate or evade normalization, it could be argued that Brah's concept of diaspora-space retains this diasporic tension between exile, escape and return, the latter always being a perpetual deferral of arrival because the space to which one wishes to return no longer exists as imagined and in its new reality it no longer offers the fulfilment of the belonging and return desired. Brah's concept of diaspora-space shares much with Weheliye's concept of racializing assemblages, but where they differ is in relation to how each conceptualizes Black identity, with Brah using it to refer to the collective of those racialized and oppressed by European colonialism and racism, while Weheliye insists on understanding Black identity as a specific location within modern conceptions of the human that gathers its meanings relationally on a shifting hierarchical grid of racialized intelligibility in which Whiteness is paradigmatic and governing. Both approaches offer a way to analyse power in multiaxial articulations.

A Different Kind of Black ... A Safe Black?

The significance of Britain as a Western multicultural nation, and its significance in the formation of identity, become more complex when we consider Maria, who was born in Bordeaux, France, to Haitian parents, with whom she immigrated to New York at the age of nine. Throughout her interview, Maria variously defined herself as French, French-Haitian, Haitian, Black, mixed mulatto, Black and American. Although now settled in Britain for seven years and married to a white Englishman, she did not define herself as British. 'Culturally, I'm a mish-mash of French influences, Haitian influences—which is where my family are from . . . American.'

The fluidity of terms used by Maria to define her identity partly reflected an awareness of her identity changing over time, but more particularly her uneasiness and resistance to identity labels, especially regarding racial categories:

I don't like labels, because every time somebody uses a label, ... you're still putting yourself in a box, and it's still a tick box, and people define you as that, and still see you as whatever their idea of that is. And I like to challenge people and say, 'Look, you can't put me in a box, because I'm not ... I'm not like that.' And maybe it's my way of being resistant to dominant ideas about race and ethnicity. I just don't like ... I don't like even ticking a box saying 'Black' on, you know, an equality form or something.

Maria *resists* Black identity and identification, but as we see in the following section, which presents an extended discussion of how she talked about her own identifications, this does not amount to a *rejection* of Black subjectivity, or the politics of Black subjectification. Despite her resistance to identity labels, Maria was able to talk about herself both as a Black woman and as someone who grew up within a Haitian household in the USA and as a Haitian-French-American living in Britain. What emerges throughout her narrative of identity is a critical distancing of herself in relationship to all identity categories, even as she inhabits them. This is reflected in a strategy that she consciously adopts to subvert peoples stereotypes or expectations of race and ethnicity, and which will be discussed in more depth shortly.

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Maria considered that in Britain she is afforded a higher level of social acceptance by white people on the basis of being a 'different kind of Black' person as a consequence of having an American accent, being married to a white man and being a professional. Furthermore, coming from what she described as a 'French vineyard-owning family' also linked her to an English bourgeois romanticism about Frenchness, signifying culture and refinement. She viewed all of these things as giving her a class and racial distinction based on her difference from stereotypical assumptions of homegrown or local Black people. Her ethnic and class status, she said, placed her in the category of the 'safe Black'. Maria regarded 'safe Black' as a racist representation defined in opposition to the other Black identities viewed as threatening in some way—as she put it, those seen through the white racist British gaze as 'the ones who'll rob, steal':

I think there's a class of us, yes, in every different Black community ... That's exceptional. That's 'okay'. They're the ones who are accepted.

This form of racial exceptionalism is not the one that is usually implied in the critiques of cultural essentialism or identity politics—that is, based on a special victim status for Blacks at the hands of white racism and imperialism. Instead, it is inverted and constructs a privileged exceptionalism based on a special status linked to one's Blackness (therefore difference from whiteness) but at the same time different from perceived ignoble forms of Blackness. Its mechanisms are the familiar ones through which stereotypes work to manage a chaotic world that is perceived as risky. Positive attributes become attached to self and negative to others. However, stereotypes do not rely solely on simple dualisms such as self/ good and other/bad. The complex interaction and intersectionality between different axes and analogies of difference, race, class, gender, ethnicity and so on means that differences do not merely operate closed oppositional dualistic systems of difference. Paradoxical attitudes of fear and desire towards the Other are split off, producing stereotypes of the good Other and the bad Other. Stereotypes also work through metaphors, partial truths and absolute lies, which interweave differential levels of equivalences and differences connecting race and gender, or race, sexuality and class. Stereotypes as ordering systems function 'to maintain sharp

boundary definitions between who belongs and who does not, legitimate and illegitimate forms of behaviour, and they exist most acutely at exactly those points where the maintenance of boundaries is an important aspect of the exercise of power' (Dyer 1993, 14–16). An example of this comes through an account that Maria gave of an occurrence in the local pub in the Surrey village of her white English in-laws when she was confronted for the first time with another Black person in the village:

And I turned to everyone; I went, 'What's this?' And went up to him, like, 'Out, mate, we don't like your kind, bloody asylum seeker!' But it was a . . . you know a joke, between him and I. We could see. And I remember everyone in the pub just went, fell silent! And they were just shocked! They couldn't believe it. And he just laughed, and we just laughed, because people, obviously, were, 'Oh, my God, there are two of them!' you know, 'Oh, what are they going to do?' And I just took on the role of anyone who would be . . . who would be the kind of racist bigot, whatever colour . . . and it challenged them.

This episode presents a tableau of an everyday mundane racialized dynamic of life in Britain. I want to suggest that we can understand what took place in this exchange as an anti-racist performance of Black identification. By mockingly calling the Black newcomer by the racially loaded epithet of 'asylum seeker', she was also problematizing a notion of Englishness or Britishness that metaphorically ties Blackness to alienness to an unwelcome presence. In that moment Maria refused identification with the hegemonically white-British racialized drama of the rural English pub in which she was positioned as a different kind of Black, in her terms a safe Black, accepted into the community of whiteness by virtue of her perceived difference and distance from the troublesome menacing stereotypes of unsafe Blacks and unwelcome racialized Others in Britain.

Finally, by identifying with this familiar yet unknown Black man, Maria made visible not so much his Otherness, which was already apparent, but her own identification with all of those ignoble forms of racialized Others on which her exceptionalism and the invisible whiteness of the village depended. The mutual capacity of Maria and the Black man in the pub to 'get the joke' demarcated a shared symbolic world (however

contingent), a common 'reality' constituted through particular racialized experiences and hermeneutic practices. His laughter returned the recognition and in that moment a shared racialized reality as the source of a collective identification was enunciated. In the construction of a 'we' that excluded the white pub clientele, we could argue that a number of things were happening. Maria drew the newcomer in to a racialized psychodrama that is reminiscence of the scene in the train described by Franz Fanon in Black Skins White Masks, when a white child notices him and calls out in fear, 'Mama, see the Negro! I am frightened' (Fanon 1986, 112). This was the moment when Fanon experienced his bodily integrity crumble under the objectifying power of the European gaze and reduced to 'an epidermal schema' (ibid.); a black body known in advance reduced to Europeans' knowledge of him based on his black body. In this encounter, Maria rejected her exceptionalism as 'the only Black in the village' and instead chose to identify herself very publicly with the Black stranger.

The subversiveness of this encounter was achieved through the performative strategies that she used. She started by turning to the pub regulars and asking them, 'What's this?' In that moment she feigned confusion about what she was seeing and instead of asking the stranger who he was she looked to the authority of the white gaze to define him. With her next sentence, 'Out, mate, we don't like your kind, bloody asylum seeker!', she assumed a racist and (in that context) hegemonically white subject position and so usurped a dominant white racist gaze in order to take control of it and deny it its source of power—its invisibility. In that moment of its dissolution and confusion, both she and the Black stranger were afforded a space to recognize each other. 'Between him and I. We could see.' Where Fanon's ontological erasure left him silenced, not even able to raise an ironic laugh—'I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible' (ibid.)—the two Black strangers in the bar (for Maria had for a moment defamiliarized herself to the white villagers in order to make herself 'known' to the newcomer) were able to return mutual recognition based on the public acknowledgment of their shared experiences of racialization in that place and a collective Black experience of racism in Britain.

Despite her abhorrence of racial categories, Maria demonstrated an identification with a set of racialized experiences that she knows are

attached to the appearance of bodies and to racism, yet she refused to essentialize racism as something only white people do or Black people experience. Here something we might call 'Black consciousness' emerged not as a transcendental condition emanating naturally from bodies but structured in real social and political conditions, and historical relations, that though not uniform does draw on shared public memories to construct 'collective trajectories' (Brah 1997, 11), and through which particular ethnicized and racialized experiences emerge and create identifications and identities. In identifying with the newcomer in such a confrontational way, Maria distanced herself from her privileged status within the racialized dynamics of that Surrey village and wider British everyday racism, and by her identification with him as another Black person she exposed the racial exclusivity of the village and the continuing significance of race in Britain.

This scene in the pub was also a very English drama, for Maria was also unsettling accepted expectations and norms around race, class and location. Ethnoracial categories in Britain are linked to class through relations of equivalence that equate Blackness with being working class and urban. Race, class and nation inscribe a metaphorical chain of signification linking race, class and place in which 'Black' signifies working class, signifies the city and urban diversity in contradistinction to the idealized homogenous white nation associated with the rural, and specifically the *English* rural.

This man's a professional, his family, his kids on the honour role, straight A's, and probably will go to Cambridge or Oxford, and why not? Why can't he have the same aspirations, and why can't he move into an area when he wants to? And why can't he give his children what he didn't have? And why can't I challenge that? Why can't I make them go, 'Oh, shit!' (Maria)

The romantic ideal of the English countryside as refuge from the urban decay and decadence of modernity and difference, signified by the foreigner residing in the city, has a long history in Britain, going back to the beginning of industrialization in the nineteenth century (Jacobs 1996; McLaughlin 2000).

As we have seen, Black Caribbean cultural identities and processes of identification in Britain are individually and collectively accomplished, and temporal. This temporality has multiple registers that confirm Etienne Wenger's analysis of the temporality of identity. In a discussion of the generational transmission of cultural identities and community identification, he defines the temporality of identity as something that is expressed in the practice of identification, a practice that is individual and collective, linear and non-linear. The temporality, or perhaps it would be better to say the temporalities, of identifications are sites 'where the past and the future interact as the history of community unfolds across generations' (Wenger 1999, 158). In this statement there is a danger of ossifying community as something that is naturally self-perpetuating and transcendent. This needs to be counterbalanced by an understanding of community as discursively produced through group interests, identification (and disidentification)—stretched between community as a closure and stasis, and community as a practice of freedom, produced by and in the creative struggles for meaning over social and cultural resources, cultural hegemony and shared interests.

Wenger identifies five criteria that define the temporality of identity: (1) a work in progress; (2) individual and collective efforts to thread together a coherent sense of subjectivity across time; (3) incorporating the past along with the future in the experience of the present; (4) negotiated in relation to 'paradigmatic trajectories'; and (5) 'Invested in histories of practice and in generational politics' (ibid.). This politically dynamic conceptualization of community helps us to think about the points of tension and overlap between different conceptions of Black identity in Britain. We can take these criteria and use them to assess different conceptions and deployments of Black identity and the extent to which they are connected to intergenerational temporalities of identification, claims for social justice and based on ongoing shared interests, and how the past, and the future, are reworked in the experience of the present. Perhaps most important, and seldom, if ever, acknowledged, is the terrain of struggles in respect of diverse paradigmatic trajectories of Blackness or Black Britishness; for it is here that the internal differences of ethnicity, material histories and discursive positioning in relation to hegemonic whiteness, and each other, requires first to be recognized and then discussed and analysed. We habitually overlook the temporalities of different trajectories of identity, whether we are talking about Black identity, Black British identity, British Asian identity, Britishness and even White identity.

Transnational Caribbean identities are constructed and experienced through complex assemblages of identifications that augment or displace national state categories of ethnicity with transnational and highly local forms, without necessarily fully abandoning them. This is important and in the next chapter we see how this is achieved intersectionally with gender. For now we can conclude that as Hall argues, Black experience in Britain is still inhabited through diasporicity, as an experience and 'process of unsettling, recombination, hybridization and "cut-and-mix" ' (Hall 1996, 448). The 'cut' has been identified as an African diaspora aesthetic and poetics, and its political articulations in Black identities 'encapsulates [...] a reflexive temporality where the cut is both the site of dislocation and the process of collecting memories to return to it' (Hesse 1993, 167). The 'cut' repeatedly returns to Africa, not as a simple invocation, or even as a lost dis(re)membered history, but as Hall importantly notes, Africa is simultaneously that which was repressed and denied representation under the weight of slavery and colonial knowledge systems, yet also stubbornly and resiliently (but not identically) present in the everyday modes of life, practices and language of the Caribbean. This présence Africaine, as Hall refers to it, has been continually remade in the changing present of Caribbean cultural identities and in its changing relation to the other presences within Caribbean cultures and identities—American, European, Indian, Chinese and more (Hall 1990, 230). This is where identity as temporality intersects with identity as a narrative process. For if, as Hall argues, 'Présence Africaine is the site of the repressed' (ibid.), the capacity to bring it into representation, to narrate présence Africaine, epistemologically, rather than only 'live it' experientially, can be an act of resistance/self-emancipation from colonial repression; how Africa is to be lived, imagined and represented constitutes an important aspect of postcolonial struggles over the meanings of Blackness and freedom.

Stuart Hall has asserted that 'Everyone in the Caribbean, of whatever ethnic background, must sooner or later come to terms with this African presence; Black, brown, mulatto, white—all must look Présence Africaine in the face, speak its name' (ibid., 231). Arguably, people everywhere, including Africans in Africa, need to do this as a key element in disentangling Africa from its paradoxical overdetermination and silencing by Western knowledge and coloniality. If présence Africaine is the site of the repressed, then, as Hall carefully points out, it is the power of présence European that has effected this repression (ibid., 233) on a global scale of relationality in which none is exempt. Therefore key to the decolonial politics of dismantling white hegemony is also confronting the paradigmatic trajectory of whiteness in relation to Black Africa and in relation to which all Others are positioned within the violence of its dissociative and disintegrating gaze. 'This 'look', from the eye of mythical whiteness, 'fixes us, not only in its violence, hostility and aggression, but [in] the ambivalence of its desire. This brings us face to face, [...] with the dominating European presence as the site or "scene" of integration where those other presences which it had actively disaggregated were recomposed—reframed, put together in a new way' (ibid., 233, emphasis added). If we take sufficient note of what he is saying here, Hall enables us to focus on the 'intersubjective constructions' of identity that came into being as products of Eurocentred colonial domination (Quijano 2007, 168) and white hegemony, and how these have been internalized unevenly as 'the ambivalent identifications of the racist world' (Bhabha cited in Hall 1990.) towards self and the other Others of Europe. It is this paradox that must be negotiated, not simply within Blackness, or Caribbeanness, but within modernity. It is this paradox that lies at the heart of modernity and modern freedom, and which structures the 'dialogue of power and resistance, of refusal and recognition, with and against Présence Européenne', one that is 'almost as complex as the "dialogue" with Africa' (Hall 1990).

Africa: (Dis)Continuities

To what extent does Africa figure in the self-identifications of Black Caribbean British women? How, if at all, does *présence Africaine* still figure in the cultural identities of Black people? Is Africa alive and well in Caribbean identities and, if so, how and what sustains its repetition in difference?

Diverse imaginaries of Africa remain active in Caribbean British cultures, whether as a source of identification or of disidentification. Though the former was mainly the case among the women in this study, two of them, both British born of Jamaican parents, expressed strong active disidentification with Africa. Melissa, in her mid-30s and a senior public sector manager, explicitly declared that she does not identify with Africa, only with the Caribbean and Britain, whereas Carole's disidentification with Africa emerged through what she had to say about her feelings about her body. Interestingly, where Melissa was the lightest of the women interviewed in terms of skin shade, Carole was the darkest, and each appeared to have very personal reasons connected to the social values assigned to skin shade and physiological racialized appearance for disavowing any African identification.³

Melissa, who was fair skinned and 'appeared' to have some Chinese-Jamaican heritage was the least willing to talk about the Caribbean ethnicities in her background, so her disengagement with Africa and emphasis on being Caribbean and British were consistent with that. Although she appeared to be of mixed African and Chinese Jamaican heritage, she reacted very defensively to a direct question about Chinese Jamaican identities that was aimed at inviting her to talk about what was becoming an elephant in the room, for me at least: her apparent part-Chinese appearance. Rather than talk about Chinese Caribbean identities, Melissa appeared to become annoyed and insisted that

I actually celebrate the Caribbean aspect of my heritage more than the African, although I recognize the African heritage, but I'd celebrate my Caribbean-ness more and feel more affinity with someone who was Jamaican Indian.

³ Beauty ideals and standards were incorporated into how some of the women negotiated and talked about Black identities but not closely directly tied to questions of freedom and suchlike.

That she chose to name Indian rather than Chinese Caribbean identity was interesting, especially given the irritation in her voice as she said this, leading me to interpret it as a resistance to my attempt to bring Chinese Jamaican identity into the conversation. Beyond the above declaration, Melissa resisted all invitations to elaborate further on other Caribbean ethnicities. Carole, on the other hand, only spoke about Africa in relation to skin shade, beauty and femininity. She regarded her dark shade of skin as being a disadvantage within Caribbean cultures. She had very negative attitudes about Africa and this was strongly related to her painful memories of being called an African by other Caribbean girls at school. This was intended, and taken, as a personal rebuke of her dark-brown skin. As a Caribbean teenager in the early to mid-1970s living in London, to be called African or regarded as looking African was for Carole perceived as negative, denoting ugliness, and therefore being unfeminine and less desirable to boys:

We had this negative about Africans and still till this day there is this negative about Africans [...] of being associated as an African, and I was always associated as an African, which I felt, was a negative—because of the tone and shading of my skin.

Yasmeen Narayan, in an article entitled 'On Postcolonial Authority, Caribbeanness, Reiteration and Political Community' (2009), draws on Stuart Hall's cultural theory of the psychodynamics of identification in ways that are helpful to understand Melissa and Carole's experiences. Narayan notes that for Hall, identification is characterized by 'ambivalence, namely in simultaneous love and hatred, rivalry, concern and desire for the same object' (Narayan 2009, 608). At the same time, she notes how Hall also confronts the discursive aspects of identity and institutions of normalization that also define identity in relation to that which it is not, producing a tension and ambivalence at the subjective level between sameness and difference, belonging and unbelonging. Narayan's article goes on to explore the subjective and individual working through of this tension—between the psychodynamics of identifications and discourses of identity, in an analysis of an interview with a British-born Indo-Guyanese young man, Jamal. As well as offering a much-needed

consideration of what in Britain might be viewed as 'non-normative', or non-hegemonic, Caribbean identities, Narayan provides a very helpful example of how to analyse the interactions between psychic processes, agency and the politics of identity.

Narayan explores Jamal's negotiations with the heterogeneity of his 'identifications and refused identifications' (ibid., 610), which intersect his own personal experiences as he moves between what Narayan refers to as the postcolonial authority of Caribbean cultural identifications (Indian, African, Black) and his encounters with British Asian identities (Asian, Muslim, Pakistani). Exploring the psychological and performative interactivities between political identities and the practices of the self through which the subject responds to encountering his inscription in these discourses, Narayan argues that 'alert to and in response to wounding intra-racial and inter-racial Caribbean antagonisms which he refers to in the first few minutes of the interview, [Jamal] affiliates himself with those who can accommodate the idea of "Indians in the West Indies" and with them against those who subject "Asians" to casual racist abuse' (ibid., 612). However, he also interiorizes as well as rejects the various discourses in which he is mired through the reflected gaze of others, thus producing an ambivalent tension within his practices of identification between 'selfcolonizing yet potentially self-liberating' subjectivities (ibid.).

Similarly, Melissa and Carole may well have encountered, in the reflected gaze of others, their inscription as 'looking Chinese' or 'looking African', which ensnared them in ambivalent identifications and refusals at a psychic level. Both can be understood as resisting identification within governmental Caribbean and British identity categories that inscribe them in a chain of signification that is 'read further up the chain; socially, psychically, cognitively, politically, culturally, civilizationally' (ibid.), and which positions them ambivalently within the prevailing postcolonial racial structure of both Caribbean and British racial formations. The perspectives that each woman brought to their psychic and political positioning in the course of their interviews was a temporal one, linked to the intraethnic racial dynamics of the interview with a light-skinned African-Caribbean woman interviewer, and their embodied perspectives within shifting subjective and collective historical contexts.

82 Decolonizing and Feminizing Freedom

Colourism and shadeism are not specific to the African diaspora but are in fact symptomatic and paradigmatic of modern identity in which whiteness and Europeanness represent the standard of human perfection. Postcolonial scopophilic regimes of racialization are distributed along a spectrum of unequal modes of normalization and ethical practices of freedom, which are frequently articulated to the visual economies of neoliberal consumer culture (Chap. 7). This means that the internalization of colonial racial meanings can occur at a psychic level despite explicit political cognitive rejections of these categories. This dissonance can manifest itself in terms of the individuals' own subjective uses, in attempts to harness the privileges of whiteness, or in negotiating one's relative proximity to or distance from whiteness or non-Whiteness—or for that matter Blackness or Caribbean identity. The ways in which racism and racialization in Britain are manifested in uneven combinations of phenotypically, culturally or religiously perceived differences has been highlighted by writers such as David Parker (1995) in relation to the Chinese, and Tariq Madood (1997) in relation to Asian Muslims. Britain does not have a complex lexicon of degrees of types of mixing as one finds across the Caribbean and Latin America. Although 'mixed' identity gained institutional recognition in the British census categories in 1991, it is hyphenated to the key ethnoracial and religious categories of the British state. In Britain, Whiteness remains the master signifier, with a plethora of colonial identity categories still informing the official categories of the British racial state. Specific categories of 'racially' mixed identities have been included in the British national census categories since 1991, suggesting that the state-led discourse of hybridity as it pertains to Britishness is changing as various ethnic minority populations intermix and have children. This relatively recent institutionalization of mixed identity has given legal recognition and a degree of political legibility and sway to mixed race/mixed heritage (Ali 2003, Ifekwunigwe 2015). However, in the terminology of the Anglophone

⁴ What is clear is that British state discourses of mixing as represented in the National Census categories appear to place special significance on the mixture of white with non-white, rather than mixing within different ethnic minorities. The General category 'Mixed' is divided in the census form between White and Black Caribbean, White and African, White and Asian, with one open category to be completed by the respondent "Any other mixed background please write in" (Centre for race Equality 2005).

Caribbean, 'Brown' identity has a high degree of cultural acceptance and intelligibility owing to the length of its usage going back to the formal legal social categories of both slavery and post-emancipation Caribbean societies. In addition, 'Brown' identity has cultural power and significance because of the postcolonial politics of creole nationalism and state-led policies, which in countries such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana promoted hybridity as key aspects of national identity after independence (Puri 2004, 3). This history, argues Shalini Puri, demands that postcolonial criticism must guard against a tendency in both metropolitan and Caribbean discourses of hybridity (and in relation to Britain she specifically mentions Bhabhi and Gilroy) to celebrate syncretism and hybridity as if they offer an innocent way out of the problems of nationalism, race and cultural essentialisms. Puri argues that the history of the Caribbean and the ways in which hybridity has been mobilized in many state-building projects undo the 'generalised claim that hybridity and the nation-state are opposed to one another' (ibid., 6). In fact, hybridity can itself be a tool of nationalism, white supremacy, racism and cultural erasure, and can be masked behind different conceptions of multiculturalism, or even postracialism.

In contrast to the two previous examples, most of the women expressed high levels of identification with an African heritage, understood in terms of shared history, common ancestry, and some common values and practices. Two of the group defined themselves as Africans and had adopted African names—Njeri and Mandisa. Both Njeri and Mandisa at different times in their lives had been heavily involved in a range of African-centred and pan-Africanist movements. Mandisa was the person with the strongest and most active engagement with Africa. Ethnically African-Jamaican and British born, she described herself as 'a conscious African woman'. Mandisa had had many years of involvement in various pan-African and Africancentred movements and organizations. In her 30s at the time of the interview, she had moved from being a Rastafarian in her 20s to being involved in a number of African-American-based Afrocentric organizations operating across the diaspora. As I shall be discussing Mandisa's thoughts on Africa further in Chap. 7, it is sufficient at this point to note the importance of Africa in shaping her self-identity and her day-to-day lifestyle, which included consciously investing in Afrocentric philosophical perspectives on life and politics, diet and clothing.

Culture makes us and unmakes us, but it is also the way in which we come to know who we are and how we are constituted (Hall 1993, 111). Caribbean cultural identities, argues Hall, are 'framed' by two simultaneously operative vectors: 'the vector of similarity and continuity and the vector of difference and rupture'. The first is constituted in the refiguring of Africa as the symbolization of a desire for coherence in the face of the displacements of the transatlantic slave trade, imperialism and postcolonial migrations. Here, Africa functions as that which sutures together those things that modernity has torn apart and has constituted as the lack 'structuring black New World identities, which only begins to be healed when these disavowed or forgotten connections are once more reconnected' (Hall 1990, 225). While these reconnections can produce neither a complete healing over of the scars of history nor a return to origins, nevertheless 'they are resources of resistance, and identity, with which to confront the fragmented and pathological ways in which that experience has been reconstructed within the dominant regimes [...] and visual representation of the West' (ibid.). We might call this a historicization of the self and identity constituted in negotiations between the forces of racist subjection and the ethics of racialized self-making from the alternative existential and embodied geopolitical locations of Black modernity.

The second aspect to Caribbean identity addresses and responds to the disruptive and dislocating effects of the colonial experience. The conditions of their production are shaped by empire as a powerful 'contact zone' (Pratt 1992) in which the peoples and cultures of the Americas, Africa, Asia and Europe were brought into the 'intimacies of empire' (Stoler 2002, 831); intimacies that were not merely economic but involved the 'banal and mundane intimacies of the everyday', out of which Caribbean cultures emerged as creole formations, creolizing the racial logics of Western modernity. Hall describes this in terms of 'the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the Caribbean's "uniqueness" '. For Hall, these intimacies in the face of ruptures and discontinuities make the complexities of Caribbean identity symptomatic of modern cultural identity itself.

Cultural identity, in this second sense 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. Cultural identities come from somewhere and have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation, (Hall 1990, 225)

a process that in itself defies the fixing of identity to a single representation. So while Black is neither fixed nor its meanings or reproduction guaranteed, its ethical and political status at any moment in time has to be evaluated in terms of the racializing conditions of the times in which its repetitions and revisions occur and are put into the service of domination and its resistance. Hall's insistence on identity as a constant play of forces and the deferral of meaning in the process of becoming overlaps post-modernist critiques of essentialism and identity itself. However, his attention to difference refuses postmodernism's 'deep and ambivalent fascination with difference' (Hall 1993a, b, 105) when he states:

I think cultural identity is not fixed, it's always hybrid. But this is precisely because it comes out of very specific historical formations, out of very specific histories and cultural repertoires of enunciation, that it can constitute a 'positionality', which we call, provisionally, identity. It's not just anything. So each of those identity-stories is inscribed in the positions we take up and identify with, and we have to live this ensemble of identity-positions in all its specificities. (Hall cited in Chen 1996, 504)

Dominant Western national discourses and interests seek to determine and foreclose on the meaning of Black cultures and identities, or to usurp the meanings of Black life and culture. It is in this relation of coloniality that Hall emphasizes the connection between Black cultural identities and Black struggles over Western and white cultural hegemony. These struggles over hegemony constitute Blackness as a mode of resistance to the governmental logics of whiteness. Hesse refers to white governmentality as 'a preoccupation with government which valorises "whiteness" in the conduct of European activities as the source of legislative culture' (Hesse 1997, 100). His naming of white governmentality makes visible that which relies on its own invisibility as the source of its ubiquity:

What is remarkable about this is not so much its entrenched institutionalization in the regime of modernity, but that its extremely mundane routinization in the social encounters of everyday life in Britain seems to pass through the discourse of social science unnoticed even by the super-critical sensitivities of postmodern thought. (ibid.)

Whiteness as governmentality can be hard (for some) to see, let alone name, precisely because of its ubiquitous naturalization of the modern paradigm of life and existence in which humanity now resides. Once we recognize white governmentality's colonization of not only life but 'reality' as it is epistemologically and culturally constructed, it becomes easier to understand the politics of Afro-Black vernacular culture, which has from the inception of the modern retained an acute awareness and resistance to white governmentality, one forged in the daily visceral struggle of being-in-Black-life.

Life as we have come to know it since its modern codification by Enlightenment humanism is demarcated in a grid of racialized intelligibility and (im)possibility, and coloniality. As a result, the existence of residual forms of life, racialized as non-white, necessitates resistances, negotiations, refusals, collusions and strategic identifications that seek to negotiate or counter governmental representations of life (Hall 1993a, b). This takes place through using the fluidity of difference that Eurocentric conceptions of life both rely on and yet seek to repress, in order to destabilize the myth of white exceptionalism that underpins Western-centred discourses of universalism, including Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment constructions of the human and liberalism. This implicates the oppositional dualism of Enlightenment representation in which race, gender, class, sexuality and the other categories of human and civilizational difference have been mapped onto a modern rational system of scientific and cultural analogies (Stepan-Leys 1986), out of which racialized assemblages have been constructed, so that non-European equates to nature, to woman, to unreason and to unfreedom, as Europe equates to civilization, to Man, to reason and to freedom. This oppositional and ranked hierarchical order agglomerates non-white life and gendered forms of white life, positioning them unequally on the 'Other' side of 'reason, rationality freedom' in a cultural chain of analogous significations and relations. The flexible hierarchical analogies

between ranked form of life and subordinated life is what enables a play in the structure of modern representation so that despite the White/Black invariant absolute of the *superiority/inferiority* of its ranking system (Wynter 1992, 51), outside those extremes, shifts and rearticulations of analogous relations can occur and permit both oppressive and counterhegemonic practices within identity politics. This accounts for the ways in which even single identity-based emancipatory projects can fail to be unequivocally emancipatory in so far as they fail to ensure the emancipation of all group members from all axes of oppressions whether emanating from within the group or externally. Consequently, in the fulfilment of one moment of emancipation, old dominations can be reinforced and new ones spawned. This is what in part defines the new ethnicities of the post-civil rights, postnational liberation era of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and the new postcolonial struggles to define the meaning of collective Black and national identities, and the meaning of freedom.

These struggles can be seen in the internal fissures and battles within politicized identity categories by those members previously silenced and repressed in the name of the collective battles against oppression who are increasingly able to utilize and extend their hard-won group freedoms to name other dimensions of their identities in which they are also marginalized and oppressed - both from within a singular identity category and from outside. This means that although struggles continue over racism, contestation occurs inside the collectivities and solidarities of race and ethnicity as well (Julien and Mercer 1996, 457). We see this in the critiques of essentialized heteronormative and masculine representation of Black identity internally generated by African and Caribbean straight and lesbian women as well as gay men, and in the 're-articulation of the category "black" as a political term of identification among diverse minority communities of Asian, African and Caribbean origin' (ibid., 454). The latter has been a particular characteristic, and at times strength, of black theoretical and political discourse coming out of Britain. However, it seems, ironically and paradoxically, that for some time this antiessentialist construction of black political identity has itself become frozen into a new form of essentialism that frequently permits only its own antiessentialized critique of essentialized Blackness to speak in the name of blackness. The movement between lower and upper case here is

intentional, emphasizing the conceptual differences between the two constructions of Blackness that nevertheless overlap. For in the context of the contemporary postcolonial racial formations in which Britain specifically is structured, incorporative racial foreclosures and erasures have become normative. However, culture is a self-making activity intersected by the subject's dependence on a biopolitically constructed and historically accountable bodily schema that is also the medium of one's disciplinary and freedom-generating social location, cultural experience and perspectives. Until very recently, pan-African locutions of Black politics and identity in Britain had been rendered virtually inaudible, censored out of legitimate academic or political discourse. Often associated with the discredited essentialism of some forms of Black nationalism, these foreclosures routinely 'make a virtual outlaw of Black political thought' (Hesse, 2014, 290) and of Black identity.

By the latter stages of writing this book, the Black Lives Matter campaign had spread beyond the USA to South Africa, Britain and Brazil. This diasporic extension of Black Lives Matter as both movement and discourse has presented the strongest political challenge for a long time to the silencing and censoring of Black political thought and mobilization in Britain. As Chap. 2 argues, the formation of modernity in the imperial encounter between Europe and the New World was also the moment at which Europe both discovered and constructed itself as it constructed and defined its Others. It is in this context that race emerged as a governing episteme of modernity, and coloniality its governing relation, instantiating and reproducing the White/Black invariant of a global western ranking system (Wynter 1992, 51). I do not want to be misunderstood here. The inclusive state-focused anti-racist mobilization of political blackness in Britain has its roots in Third World anti-colonialism and is a direct anti-imperialist and anti-racist rejection of colonially generated categories of ethnicity as mechanisms of white dominance. This was and remains an important intervention and tactic of resistance—one that retains political effectiveness in a range of struggles. However, the extent to which, for a long time in Britain, it had become the only legitimate way in which B/black identities could be invoked politically or culturally is highly problematic.

Stuart Hall has repeatedly insisted there is nothing intrinsically politically dubious or ethically specious about identity in and of itself; it is the

ideologically inscribed fixing of identity that is problematic, so we cannot throw identity out of the game altogether for 'there's no politics without identification. People have to invest something of themselves; something that they recognize is of them or speaks to their condition' (Hall and Back 2009, 681). Yet, disciplinary governmentality (normalization) as a political strategy is always occurring within modern systems of rule. 'Politics also has a drift, so politics will go on, but you won't have a political movement without that moment of identification' (ibid.). In these terms, if racism as biopower deploys racialization as a biopolitical technology of governmentality, can alternative racializations ever turn hegemonic biopower against itself and be a legitimate strategy in the pursuit of freedom? Or is deracialization both the end and the only route to decolonial liberation? If so, deracialization requires the revolutionary overturning of Western modernity's racializing biopower in all its forms, and there is little sign under the conditions of postcolonial neoliberal globalization that hegemonic Whiteness or the racialization of the globe established in the colonial formation of the modern world is about to expire. Instead it is shape-shifting rearticulating through new (as well as old) analogous and naturalized attachments to class, gender, sexuality, geographies and so on.

In the context of Britain, as already noted, an inclusive political meaning of black identity to refer to all postcolonial people of colour has been hegemonic within most Left/liberal anti-racist movements in Britain at least since the mid-1980s, following the peak period of local government anti-racism spearheaded by many Labour authorities across the country. Some anti-racist mobilizations of local government and some professional or community-based groups came under scouring criticism for having descended into versions of culturalism that mirrored the racism that they sought to contest, and duly they were accused of having made a fetish of race and identity, sidelining the political and economic systems that sustain racism (Malik 1996). It is certainly true that some forms of local and statesponsored anti-racism have either deliberately or absentmindedly fallen into those traps. It is not true, however, that all forms of anti-racist mobilization in Britain have done this, or that ethnicity/race-based activism has been blind to the supranational and global politics of racism and its intersections with capitalism. Anti-racism takes many forms (Lentin 2000) and always has, except that some enunciations of anti-racism have achieved greater or lesser acceptance within prevailing regimes of political recognition and legitimacy—on the Left and Right. Through these forms of political regulation, the self-making and self-liberating anti-racist mobilisations of many Black and Asian people are rendered at best politically unintelligible, and at worst, fascist, thus flattening out the internal contestations within them. This failure of the political mainstreams of Left and Right to communicate respect for the principles of equality, self-determination and self-representation is a serious impediment to dialogue. In its governmental regulation of legitimate political discourse, it can outlaw debate and contestation, ignore competing interests, and disavow or seek to ideologically redefine on its own terms and for its own purposes the meanings of diverse community histories and struggles. On the Left, this often demands solidarity without the hard work of mutual dialogue that coalition-building as a multi-layered process requires. Ironically this can be experienced by many Black and Asian people as a reiteration of coloniality, in which Westernendorsed political constructs represent themselves as the only way to do legitimate politics or be recognized as knowing political subjects. This can potentially alienate many people from mainstream political publics that have become politically both tone deaf and arrogant. Chap. 9, the concluding chapter, returns to these questions to consider the implications of this for how sociology engages questions of cultural identity and anti-racism in the twenty-first century.

The Poetics and Temporalities of Black British Identities

Barnor Hesse has identified four postcolonial poetics of Black British identity, many of which are already apparent in the narratives of identity emerging from the interviews, and which will become more so in the next chapter. The first is a contestatory subjectivity of 'oppositionality to imperialising/colonising . . . discourses and practices' (Klor De Alva quoted in Hesse 2000, 108). The second is defined by a countermodernity that through interrogation exposes the exclusions and partialities that undermine

modernity's self-delusions about the extent of its civilizing and progressive identity. The third poetic draws on Hall's concept of colonialism as double inscription. This refers to how the culture of colonialism worked in at least two apparently polarized spaces at the same time—the metropole and the colony—thereby collapsing an apparent relationship of exteriority between the two, inscribing them both in the unstable, mutually constitutive meanings of imperialism. The fourth postcolonial poetic is the interrogation of postcolonial racism (Hesse 2000, 109). Postcolonial criticism sees continuity between contemporary racism and colonial racism, not just as a continuation but also as the reforms of racialized governmentality in new liberal-democratic terms (ibid.).

In the narratives of Black Britishness emerging from the women in this study, we see these poetics clearly present as vernacular lived dispositions. The diverse diaspora locutions of Blackness that they express unsettle homogenous representations of both Blackness and Britishness. Second, in relation to their modes of identification and disidentification with diverse translocal and transnational locations, these women participate in the routine multicultural transruptions into settled accounts of modern Western nations (ibid., 2). However, in also being settled and therefore invested in Britain and Britishness, they reflect on the terms (and terminologies) of citizenship to 'either question or accept racialized forms of governmentality' (ibid.). Hesse concludes that it is not possible to explain the diasporicity of contemporary Black-British identities without reference to the postcolonial poetics of pan-Africanism (ibid.).

The women interviewed delineate a contestatory subjectivity that opposes colonizing discourse and practices. This emerges through the transnationalism and creolizing aspects to their identifications. All of the women problematized Britishness not only for its exclusions but also for the specific ways in which it sought to include Black people on very particular and restricted terms. Moreover, the way in which Africa and slavery figured in their historical framing of the present produces an interrogation of Western modernity's autobiography. This becomes most apparent in how the women spoke about the meaning of Black womanhood. As this is the topic of the next chapter, it will be sufficient to note that what is already emerging from the interviews is a transnational and diasporic consciousness that deploys the history of the formation of the Africa

diaspora as a counterhorizon in which to locate themselves, not outside but beyond the terms of Western modernity; not a simple escape but as a widening of perspective of the conceptual and existential horizon of knowledge and being.

The temporality of identity has a dual structure: the first private (autobiographical) and the second public (linked to social group formations). The first refers to temporality as it denotes an individual's personal autobiography, tracing each woman's understanding of her own identity formation within a particular sense of herself as an evolving individual in and for herself and in relation to her immediate intimate networks. Pivotal moments of crisis or the intensifications of competing self-understandings constitute the personal affective register of the autobiographical conjunctures in which individuals, through moments of 'identity crisis' come to a new sense of self, or, failing this, remain in a prolonged state of struggle and searching. The second refers more to how their social identities are formed through being positioned and interpolated within shared social processes and contexts and cultural worlds, and through which public discourses of identity, or narratives of identity, are made available. Of course, in reality, both vectors of identity involve processes of subjectification and identification that are discursively entangled and experientially entwined.

All but two of the women interviewed had grown up as part of the first visible mass cohort of Black Caribbean children and teenagers to go through the British education system and enter as a group into British society in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus they represent the children of the post-war Caribbean immigrants to Britain. This is the generation from which a public Black British cultural and political identity emerged, hegemonically interpreted through the African Caribbean experience. In saying this it is important not to erase the pre-war presence of Black and other non-white colonized populations from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean in places such as Cardiff, Bristol and Liverpool (Fryer 1984; Hesse 1993). Instead I am marking a particular moment, or conjuncture, in the transformation of race rule in Britain. Hesse has described this as the postwar transition in British racial governmentality from the colonial to the postcolonial (Hesse 2000, 109).

Hesse problematizes the now institutionalized Windrush narrative of post-war Black settlement that hegemonically represents the post-war

period of mass immigration as the moment when racial difference and questions of 'race' enter a homogenously white nation (Philips and Phillips 1998). This narrative is symbolized by the arrival of the SS *Empire* Windrush that brought back from the Caribbean returning Caribbean soldiers from the Second World War, this time not as soldiers but as economic migrants, responding to the call for labour to rebuild Britain's economy. The image of Caribbean men and one woman disembarking from the Windrush has become the iconic national symbol of the post-war mass migration of Caribbean immigrants that followed it. Even more than this, the image of disembarking Caribbean immigrants has also become seared on the national consciousness, whether white or not, through its constant repetition in mass-media images and sociologies of race in Britain. Although Hesse refers to the Windrush narrative in the singular, it has (at least) two entwined but distinct mythological uses, both serving as explanations or ways of understanding the loss of empire and the rise of multicultural Britain. In the first, the narrative works alongside an imperial melancholia that mourns the changes that the post-war period brought. In this narrative, race is illegally imported into the imaginary space of a homogenous white Britain on the bodies of the disembarking Caribbean passengers. In its second more positive register, the Windrush narrative can be deployed as part of a liberal narrative of Britain's untroubled and smooth relinquishment of colonial power and transformation into a successful modern global multicultural nation. This optimistic, even subversive, use of the Windrush narrative can be found in how it was put to spectacular use in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Olympics. Clips of Caribbean immigrants disembarking from the Windrush was used to celebrate a country at ease with diversity, or, as Guardian journalist Charlotte Higgins rather sarcastically put it, as its designer Danny Boyles' 'impassioned poem of praise to the country he would most like to believe in. One that is tolerant, multicultural, fair and gay friendly and holds the principles of the welfare state stoutly at its heart' (Higgins 2012.)

In whichever register, two of the many effects of this narrative was to erase or obscure (1) the continuity between pre-war British colonial racial rule and post-war emergent postcolonial liberal democratic forms of racial governmentality; and (2) the links between pre-war pan-African anti-

colonialism in Britain (symbolized for Hesse by the 1945 Pan-African Conference in Manchester) and post-war Black British anti-racist politics. Rather than seeing post-war migration as the moment when racial difference enters the nation on the bodies of disembarking Caribbean Windrush passengers, it is much more accurate and insightful to regard it as the moment when the place of race and racism in the British national imaginary was deterritorialized from Britain's distant colonies and reterritorialized within the geographical space of the British mainland. So if, as some British historians have claimed, the British Empire was amassed in a 'fit of absentmindedness' and had little cultural impact on Britain (Porter 2004, 2008), the same could certainly not be said thereafter. One of the things that identifies these women with this era of formal decolonization and the new postcolonial racial settlements it produces within the metropole is the way in which their narratives of their lives and identities trace the piecing together of new postcolonial ethnicities and identifications from the remains of old colonial forms. Their narratives of individual and collective Caribbean identity in Britishness indicate the self-representational practices through which Caribbean descendants in Britain have sought, and needed to become, more than 'West Indian immigrants'.

For the women in this study the initial formation of a common Black identity in Britain was something that occurred as they moved out beyond the confines of the home and family, and into British society, first through schooling and later via leisure and work. This sense of being Black British emerged outside the home in contrast to, or in combination with, the continuation (albeit in an adapted form) of specific island and pan-Caribbean 'home' identities. Island identities were largely taken for granted within the family and expressed through things such as food, language, family pictures and household ornaments (McMillan 2009). A sense of the significance of being from a particular island tended to emerge as children came into contact with other people beyond immediate family-based networks.

I always remember it being very strong in terms of the photographs, the flag and tea towels—very much Jamaica. We didn't really have discussions about people from other islands and I always remember not knowing if I saw a Black person . . . I'd think first and foremost Jamaican. Not so much

African at the time, because I was born in Birmingham and at the time there were not so many African people in Birmingham, so it was "Blacks were Jamaican" and I'm sure, in fact I know now that they weren't all Jamaican, but I just made an assumption that if you were Black you were Jamaican.⁵

This exemplifies the ways in which being from a particular island was closely entwined with a pan-Caribbean identity, but it also raised questions about how Jamaica and Jamaican culture figured in the formation of a common Black British public culture and identity in the 1970s and 1980s. As they entered into British society and ventured beyond the confines of family networks, girls became increasingly aware of being both from a particular island and sharing a common sense of an identity different from their parents. This emerging Black Britishness was increasingly experienced through a sense of being Black in Britain, but not yet Black British, and through sharing a common youth culture of Jamaican patois and reggae music intertwined with a transnational sense of Blackness traced through African American popular music and its Black Power articulations with pan-Africanism.

Learning to know oneself as Black, rather than as the child of Jamaican or Trinidadian or 'Bajan' parents, was not accomplished smoothly, any less than coming to know yourself as Black British. Thus constituting oneself as 'Black' (in Britain) *involved more than the recognition of self through difference from* 'whiteness' (Hall 1996, 116). In relation to whiteness, the formation of Black Britishness in the 1970s shows how Black British identity was constituted in relation to a destabilized, fracturing, yet still governing construction of whiteness. Since Whiteness transcends Britishness at the same time as it fully occupies it, at that time this meant it was possible to become Black in Britain without feeling British. It is this moment of being caught between not being a Caribbean immigrant but Black in Britain (as opposed to anywhere else), having British nationality, but not yet allowed full cultural citizenship, wherein Black British identity begins to emerge organized around British transnational

⁵ This conflation of Black with being West Indian, and West Indian with being Jamaican, was also found in official discourses of public agencies, such as the police, as well as academic experiential research (Bulmer 1999).

constructions of Jamaicanness and diasporic Blackness. Principle among these were the Black Power movement and Rastafari. Both of these were pivotal in the production of a new Black British ethnicity co-produced in conversation politically and culturally with Black populations elsewhere. That these transnational and diasporic influences continue to have meaning and to persist into the present, alongside, or against the grain of, the routine multicultural conviviality of Britain's major cities requires analysis to understand their continuing appeal, uses and forms of problematization. In different ways this book is grappling with this question.

So far, in tracing the genealogy of Black British identity as experienced by the women interviewed, we have travelled to various inner-city locations in Britain, the Caribbean, Africa, the USA and France. This process of movement brings us back to Britishness, yet a Britishness that is almost prosaically experienced and interpreted through transnational connections. What we see in this and the next chapter confirms that thinking through the categories of Black British and Caribbean identities cannot be contained within the limits of national borders; they are constituted within national identities or identifications without necessarily being contained by them. Here, thinking through the temporalities of identity permits an experiential and epistemological perspective that deploys the experiences of the women interviewed as a point of entry into a discursive field of subjugated knowledges. The ways in which these women understand and live being Black Caribbean woman in Britain reveals both Blackness in Britain and Britishness itself as historically, culturally, hybrid and transnational. The very capacity of Black British identities to disrupt and transform hegemonic representations persistently unsettle the postcolonial national settlements that formal decolonization and liberal democracy claimed to have made with race.

Black Britishness deconstructs and reconstructs old and new ethnicities, but being also located, settled and perpetually in dialogue with local, transnational, diasporic and global/izing exigencies and material conditions, these new ethnicities nevertheless frequently 'retain strong links with their places of origin and their traditions, but they are without the illusion of a return to the past' (Harris 2009, 503). This was the case for these women, whose narratives of identity weave complex yet coherent

identity webs routed through local, national and regional territorializations as well as connections to the past, 'are obliged to come to terms with the new cultures they inhabit, without simply assimilating to them and losing their identities completely. They bear upon them the traces of the particular cultures, traditions, languages and histories by which they were shaped' (ibid.). In so doing they reveal not only the diasporicity of Black Britishness but also the (post)coloniality of their understanding of Britain. They exemplify 'the discontinuous historicity' (Hesse 2000, 114) of black Britishness in which different genealogies and temporalities of both B/blackness and Britishness are traced. These delineate complex transnational and transhistorical maps, which demarcate the diverse trajectories of diasporic displacement, racialization and subjectification under the force of British colonial rule and global capitalism.

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'Standing in the Bigness of Who I Am': Black Caribbean Women and the Paradoxes of Freedom

My mother brought me up, you know, she ran the show! A strong Black woman, she ran the show. And I grew up with that, thinking that if I didn't do certain things, I'd be failing the Black race, because I wasn't managing . . . The Black race, yes! All the Black women who have gone before (Njeri, interviewee)

authority as conventionally exercised is masculinized, not because men are in authority (and that is an important distinction to emphasize) but because in its origins authority was constructed as authority over women [...] The idea of women exercising authority, having a right to be legitimate leaders remains deeply traumatizing in the psyche of states, civil institutions, citizens and far too many women. (Barriteau 2003b, 26)

The public discourse of integration and assimilation in the 1960s, when it was not about immigration or crime, was centrally about families, and the control of families, which is always about the control of women and children. In the 1960s the focus of concern was the childrearing practices of ethnic minority families, which were viewed as either too punitive (Caribbean) or too 'traditional' (Asian). These were reflected in the social services, with health and education being the key institutional sites within

which ethnic minority women were rendered visible in both British society and the academic literature. Writing in the early 1980s and reviewing literature on Asian women in the 1960 and 1970s, Sheila Allen remarked:

Almost all of the literature assumes that immigrants are male, who produce male children who enter the education system, the labour market or become unemployed or homeless. Women emerge in the literature occasionally as wives, and a little more frequently as mothers; as independent actors they are largely invisible. (Allen 1982, 130)

These fixed visibilities or stereotypes of Asian women, principally as mothers and wives, allowed them visibility only in terms of the problems they presented for Asian men, children and the state (ibid., 131). This is similar to the mode of stereotypical categorization applied to Black Caribbean women that one can only conclude that ethnic minority immigrant women were very rapidly positioned in a 'racial ordering' that focused attention only on those features in their lives that were considered salient to the problems they are perceived to present to the state (ibid.). Across these areas of social policy a tripartite structure of racial representation emerges. First, it locates and defines Black and Asian women in terms of the domestic sphere-marriage and motherhood (gendered ordering); it then ethnicizes the domestic sphere by attaching it to culture as ethnicity (ethnic ordering). However, since ethnicity often stands in as a cultural code for race, and race is already constituted as an alien problem imported into the nation on the bodies of racialized groups, this then generates a third level of closed signification in which woman, ethnicity and race connote difference and pathology at all levels (gendered racialized ethnic ordering). In the analyses of Black and Asian women's lives in Britain, this has contributed to the prolonged failure to address the structural factors in the wider society, which bear on Black women's lives differently from those of Black men. It also renders the inner lives and cultural practices of ethnic minority women invisible. Defending themselves and Black families against these assaults has for a long time inhibited ethnic minority women from going public about the sexism within their own homes and communities (Sudbury 1998, 66; Razak 2004, 131).

Focusing on Black Caribbean cultures, since the 1980s there has been a move away from the deficit model of Black cultural life and more attention has been paid to identity and cultural resistance. However, such work has reproduced a largely gender-blind approach to Black cultural politics in which the marginalization of Black women's experiences has if anything been intensified. In Britain, outside the field of poetry and literature, it has largely, though not exclusively, been left to Black feminist academics (Amos and Pratibha 1984; Bhavnani and Phoenix 1995; Boyce Davies 1994; Brah 1996; Lewis 2000; Mirza 1992; Sudbury 1998; Young 2001) to give visibility to the cultural lives and perspectives of Asian, African, Caribbean and other ethnic minority women of colour. Outside this work we struggle to find studies that pay close attention to the cultural and self-constituting practices of diverse Black women and their efforts to shift the ground of Black cultural politics and theorizing to include women and the intersections between gender, sex and racism.

It may be that this sorry situation reflects not only the inferior status of women in society but also the marginal status of Black women within Britain's universities. Where Black and ethnic minority women came into view in public discourses of race and gender, it is invariably to highlight the anomalous status of ethnic minority gender relations (too permissive in Black Caribbean cultures and too oppressive in Asian cultures). From this a variety of perceived 'social problems' experienced by specific ethnic minority populations can be explained in terms of maladapted cultural lifestyles and inadequate families. In relation to Black Caribbean populations, lone parenthood, family and child poverty, educational underachievement and high male unemployment rates can be variously 'blamed' on the failure of these dysfunctional family patterns and gender relations to adequately prepare Black young girls and boys for entry into society.

This chapter challenges this prevailing structure of representation by exploring the narratives of identity presented by the women in this study. It does so by analysing how ethnicity, race and gender were bundled and disaggregated in response to being asked about the figure and discourse of the *independent Black woman*. The figure and ideal of the independent Black women has a great deal of currency within African diaspora cultures.

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The absence, presence or merits of female independence are an ongoing topic of popular debates, jokes or concern with both Caribbean and African American communities. This independence is generally conceived in terms of a cultural disposition of Black women, especially in the diaspora but also in Africa, to have high levels of investment in various forms of personal autonomy from the patriarchal assumption of female dependence and subordination to male power and authority. At the very minimum, the figure of the independent Black woman carries within her an assumption of Black Caribbean women's significant social evasion of full compliance with the gender norms of Western colonial patriarchy and indigenous creole and African-derived gender cultures. This is frequently expressed in individual and collective expectations of significant spheres of autonomy defined in terms of self-determination and personal sovereignty as women. Even in circumstances where women's economic and social conditions restrict their access to economic independence from a male partner or the patriarchal state, the conceptions of freedom advanced by the women in this study were grounded in an ideal of personal sovereignty as 'the fundamental right of individuals not only to choose their ends but also to choose how to pursue those ends' (Krause cited in Krause 2009, 127). At the same time the figure of the independent Black woman also functions as a rhetorical trope. Whether she is named 'Sapphire' 'Mother Goddess' or 'Black Bitch', 'the Strong Black Woman' or any of the other controlling images (Hill-Collins 2000) in which Black women have been over-represented and governed, the existence of the independent Black woman is a powerful cultural trope appearing as the subject of internet memes, jokes, reverence, eulogies, awe and ridicule. As a trope the figure of the independent woman emerges from the interviews as a contradictory one, denoting both freedom and governance. Tropes are words, phrases or images used 'in a way not intended by [their] normal signification'. This immediately invites a consideration of the dissonant and heteroglossic speech through which this figure enunciates freedom as a lived practice of the self in negotiation with the multiple discourses in which Black women female subjectivity is constituted. Mae Gwendolyn Henderson defines

¹ Rhetorica, http://rhetorica.net/tropes.htm. Accessed 6 June 2016.

'heteroglossia' as 'the ability to speak in the multiple languages of public discourse' in which Black women's subjectivity is both inscribed and lived (Henderson 1993, 124).² This chapter investigates the ways in which nine Black Caribbean women (eight heterosexual and one bisexual) living in London deploy the tropic figure of the independent Black woman to talk about the meaning of Black womanhood and freedom. Their ways of living and knowing freedom will be brought into conversation with theorists of race gender and freedom in order to explicate whether and in what ways their lived conception and meanings of freedom open up new ways of theorizing freedom and critiquing modern freedom. Although this chapter does not aim to write a political theory of freedom, it will engage political theory along with feminist and postcolonial theories of freedom in an examination of the social and cultural politics of identity, culture and freedom. It is a long chapter that seeks to capture the complex ways in which these women engaged with the figure of the independent Black woman and to take seriously how centrally she figured in their narratives of what it means to be a Black woman. This will involve a deep account of their narratives, bringing them into conversation with political theories of freedom as well as with powerful counternarratives that seek to pathologize and invalidate Black women's cultures of freedom, represented by this figure.

In response to being asked what the idea of the independent Black woman meant to them personally, all of the women, without exception, expressed high levels of familiarity and investment in the idea of independence as a power lived reality, material necessity and ideal or value shaping their conceptions of what it means to be a black woman. At the same time many of them contested and critiqued aspects of this ideal, highlighting its contradictions and the problematic tensions it invoked at the intersections of how race, class and gender produced deep contradictions in their lived experiences of freedom. Thus their narratives of freedom both define the meaning of freedom as they experience it and question or problematize these meanings. This questioning addressed Black women's complex

² 'Heteroglossia' is one part of Henderson's concept of 'speaking in tongues', the other being 'glossolalia'. Where the former denotes the speech of public known discourse, the latter 'emphasizes the particular, private, closed, [...], outside the realm of public discourse and foreign to the known tongues of humankind.' See *Speaking in Tongues and Dancing Diaspora: Black Women Writing and Performing.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

identity formation that inscribes them across multiple discourses of power and identity, introducing tensions and challenges in the realization of freedom.

This chapter describes and examines the discourse of the independent Black woman as presented by the women in this study in which they reveal deep psychic and cultural investments in freedom that refuse modern freedom's racialized and gendered hegemonies. It argues that these discrepant discourses of the independent Black woman represent a lived practical hermeneutics (Gadamer 1981) of freedom through which some Black women interpret and practice a lived poetics of freedom that works towards feminizing and decolonizing freedom. Practising freedom is understood here as being more than simply 'doing'. As a form of agency by an embodied and historically situated subjectivity, practising 'as the character of being alive, stands between activity and situatedness [...] the actuation of life (energeia) of anything alive, to which corresponds a life, a way of life, a life that is led in a certain way (bios)' (ibid., 90). This chapter suggests that the contextualized, embodied and lived everyday subjectivity narrated through the discourse of the independent Black woman offers an alternative ethicopolitical ground from which to construct new ways of both living and knowing freedom. What emerges is an ethic of freedom that is both transnational and diasporic in its cultural affinities and political sensibilities, and highly localized by the conditions of life that these women encounter within the specific postcolonial context of multicultural Britain. To be able later to put their meanings of freedom in conversation with theorists of modern freedom, this analysis begins with a discussion of freedom as a modern concept.

Mainstream Western political theorists of liberty have theorized freedom as both a central tenet of liberal modernity and a problem. This confirming Foucault's characterization of liberalism as centrally a form 183 of self-critique (Dean 1999, 51), this problematization of freedom is perhaps best exemplified in Isaiah Berlin's famous 1958 essay 'Two Concepts of Liberty'. His theory of freedom will be presented here through the analysis of two critiques of this essay. One is by feminist political theorist Nancy Hirschmann and the other by postcolonial political theorist Barnor Hesse. In the interests of both brevity and the focus of this chapter, this will be an abbreviated summary, used primarily to

identify key definitions, themes and questions that we need to keep in mind as we move into a discussion of the interviews.

Questioning Freedom

Liberalism as the hegemonic modern conception of freedom is concomitant with the rise of modern power, the nation-state and democratic government as developed in the West between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Liberalism is bonded to humanism in the Enlightenment-encrypted ideal of freedom, that forms the foundation of modern politics and thus of our present social arrangements (Rose 1999, 61). However, this is a formation that has been brought into question by feminism and anti-colonial movements for its constitutive production of a Western, masculine and patriarchal ideal of the normative subject of universal human freedom; one that has therefore necessarily been advanced alongside the distinctly modern imperial dissemination and liberal institutionalization of domination and inequality for non-European populations and regions, and European women and working classes; in other words, the modern/colonial production of difference as Otherness and inferiority, projected onto bodies, geographies and temporalities (Hesse 2007; McGrane 1989).

In the colonial context, anti-slavery struggles and anti-colonial nationalisms challenged the denial of rights to the enslaved and colonized populations by claiming inclusion of the colonized in the universal human and political rights espoused by liberal humanism. From the slaves' self-liberation ethos (Beckles 1988) expressed in small-scale slave rebellions throughout the period of New World slavery, the Haitian Revolution in the eighteenth century, abolitionism in the nineteenth century and anti-colonialism in the twentieth century, colonized men and women have both interrogated the authority of liberal humanism *and* harnessed it to challenge its racial and gendered exclusions.

Second-wave feminism highlighted Enlightenment reason's foundations in patriarchy, wherein the idealized and disembodied mind of reason as both the source of knowledge and the site of political subjectivity fused modern power, knowledge and politics in the bourgeois patriarchal masculine subject. Both Black feminism and Third-Wave poststructuralist feminism have questioned second-wave feminism's essentialism that produced an essentialized Eurocentred conception of woman who could stand in for all women. These criticisms with their attention to questions of intersectionality and social construction have problematized not simply the gender of the subject of freedom but also the social construction of the feminist self whom feminism seeks to liberate (Hirschmann 2009). In relation to this question, Hirschmann argues that social construction, in rejecting any a priori notion of the subject, recognizes that 'our desires, preferences, beliefs, values—indeed, the way in which we see the world and define reality—are all shaped by the particular constellation of personal and institutional social relationships that constitute our individual and collective identities' (ibid., 10). It is this constructivist perspective that she wants to bring to positive liberty and bring into conversation with negative liberty theory in order to produce a feminist theory of freedom. This involves a series of moves which can be summarized as (1) a challenge to the taken-for-granted claims within liberty theory of the a priori normative subject of post-Enlightenment political philosophy—now visible and named as white, bourgeois and male; and (2) a recognition of the social context in which theorists of the subject of liberty are themselves produced as particular kinds of knowers—a context defined according to Hirschmann by 'patriarchy, sexism and male privilege—as well as racism and white privilege, capitalism and class privilege, and so forth' (Hirschmann 2009, 10). Hirschmann not only challenges the abstract human subject of liberty within patriarchal theoretical philosophy but also goes on to question the abstract imaginary of 'human nature' as equally being the product of sociohistorical configuration:

If claims for human 'nature' or for knowledge of timeless or universal truth about the human condition are actually particular, time- and culture-bound ways of 'seeing' humans, then the 'natural man' 'of social contract theory, for instance, with his natural freedom and equality, should really be seen as the construct of particular individuals located in particular times and places' (ibid., 75).

As Hirschman makes clear, these particular individuals are 'bourgeois white males at the dawn of capitalism and liberal representative democracy', and although this in itself 'does not mean that liberalism is "wrong"', it does suggest that 'it is not what is says it is' (ibid.). This is an important point that enables us to identify how the concept of freedom that liberalism has authored reflects the sociohistoric conditions and concerns of the men who were doing the theorizing. 'In such hidden biases', argues Hirschmann, 'lie the dangers of totalizing representation erasure of men and women of colour, white women workers and the poor' (ibid., 76). This is very useful in advancing this study's interest in the temporalities of freedom in that it focuses our attention on the particular sociohistorical contexts in which the meanings of specific cultural and social identities as well as of freedom and its questionings are generated.

Hirschmann's feminist theory of freedom permits recognition of the sociohistorical and biopolitical identity of both liberal liberty theorists and the conceptualizations of freedom that they produce. So she does not fully succumb to what Barnor Hesse has characterized as the deep-rooted proclivity of Western theorists of freedom to reproduce a 'colonial-racial foreclosure' in addressing liberty/freedom, a foreclosure of which in Hesse's estimation Berlin's article is exemplary (Hesse 2014, 289) As discussed in Chap. 2, this orientation habitually involves deploying the concept of slavery in order to talk about freedom, at the same time as foreclosing any reference to the actuality of slavery, or the forms of unfreedom that are extant across the colonial world. However, although Hirschman acknowledges race, she does not go so far as to interrogate the Western formation of freedom 'all the way down', so to rectify this we can use her work in conversation with Hesse's critique of Berlin specifically and of modern freedom generally in which he questions their 'constitutive entanglements in Western colonialism and race governance' that are occulted in Western discussions of freedom (ibid.).

In an article entitled 'Escaping Liberty: Black Western Hegemony, Black Fugitivity', Hesse confronts the colonial foreclosures underwriting Berlin's 'Two Concepts of Liberty'. Addressing Berlin's distinction between 'negative liberty', which Hesse summarizes as *non-interference*, and 'positive liberty', as *self-mastery*, Hesse argues that in Berlin's essay, slavery is not included as a historical reality but merely functions as

freedom's nemesis (Hesse 2004, 291). He characterizes Berlin's concept of negative liberty as assuming

an uninterrupted and unproblematic presence, the meaning of which is signified only by the threat of its potential absence, associated with any form of interference an uninterrupted and unproblematic presence, the meaning of which is signified only by the threat of its potential absence, associated with any form of interference. (Hesse 2014, 291)

What Hesse seems to imply is that Berlin's conceptualization of freedom regards it as an a priori ontological condition that only in its deprivation becomes conscious of itself as freedom. He then contrasts this with Berlin's representation of positive liberty 'as a mode of self-direction, independent of external forces, including the desire to be a subject rather than an object. It is a declaration in which slavery is again its nemesis' (ibid.), resulting in a 'wish to be somebody, not nobody; a doer—deciding, not being decided for, self-directed and not acted upon by external nature or by other men' (Berlin cited in Hesse 2014). Hesse characterizes Berlin's conceptualization of positive liberty as 'aspirational, predicated on the enduring denial of the liberty it hopes to realize' (ibid.).

Hesse goes on to demonstrate what Hirschmann theorizes but does not investigate—that is, how Berlin's theory of freedom reflects his own bioand geopolitically interested location in the West at a particular historical conjuncture in the 1950s shaped by Cold War politics, anti-colonialism and their respective implications for the meaning of liberty (ibid., 292). In an argument that it is not possible to adequately summarize briefly, Hesse establishes that Berlin's attack on positive liberty is based on two assumptions, the first being that of the ideal rational Western white bourgeois subject of negative liberty (as Hirschman identifies), and, the second (which Hirschmann does not), that positive liberty for Berlin represents a threat to his ontological concept of freedom as an a priori condition invisibly dependent on the former, an approach which 'privileges Western liberalism as the heir to and adjudicator of the meaning of liberty (and of slavery)' (ibid.). From this, Hesse then puts Berlin's 'Two Concepts' into discussion with the contemporaneous analysis of Aime Cesaire in Discourse on Colonialism, first published in 1950.

In *Discourse*, 'Cesaire interrogated the global politics of the mid-1950s from the vantage point of the West and its Empires rather than the West and its liberalisms', leading Hesse to ask how might our reading of 'Two Concepts' change if we locate it in the geopolitical temporality framed in the Cold War of the 1950s and from the *anti-colonial perspective* of positive liberty in which 'the *aspiration* to "self-determination" is located in the unfreedoms of the "non-European" colonies, and negative liberty, the *accomplishment* of "non-interference", is associated specifically with the freedoms of the European-metropoles' and White America? In this fascinating *anti-colonial* reframing of the question of freedom as posed by Berlin, Hesse argues that

In 'Two Concepts' the colonized, non-Western world is construed as having scant regard or need for genuine liberty. Without naming the theme of colonialism directly (the term is never used by him) Berlin dismisses non-Western anti-colonialism as more concerned with demands for self-determined identity and 'recognition' than actual liberty itself or the desire for 'equality of legal rights.' Equating the desire for 'proper recognition' with restoring the integrity of 'class or nation, or color or race'. (Hesse 2014, 293)

Cesaire provides an answer to the question of what freedom looked like in the 1950s from an *anti-colonial* perspective in in his critiques of his contemporary French theorists of freedom. These French theorists represent anti-colonial struggles as illegitimate claims on a misidentified freedom; an attack Cesaire names as rooted in racism. Cesaire proves a précis of the racist position of one prominent French theorist as 'The Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is. They don't want it, they don't demand it. It's the white agitators who put that into their heads. And if you gave it to them, they wouldn't know what to do with it' (Cesaire cited in Hesse 2014, 295). Hesse equates this with Berlin's 'liberal-colonial' (Hesse 2014, 293) framing of the liberty question in the context of the Cold War, one that 'eclipsed all the ways in which the politics of anti-colonialism and race were deeply entangled in figurations of freedom throughout the global conflicts between [...] the super powers' (ibid., 292).

By situating the formulation of Berlin's 'Two Concepts' in the *anti-colonial* context of the Cold War, Hesse addresses the social constructedness of Berlin's concept of liberty, the normative 'universal' subject of freedom and its relationship to his own embodied social and cultural identity as a White bourgeois man of the West. With this in mind, the discussion of the meanings of freedom that emerge from the interviews as well as other self-representational practices of Black Caribbean women will be analysed in terms of the sociohistorical conditions in which the identities of freedom as well as the identities *Black woman* are produced within specific sociohistorical temporalities and material conditions. It is in this decolonial framing of the present that we can begin to think about the contemporary independent Black woman as both a discursive biopolitical effect of neoliberal racial rule and a lived ethical embodied subjectivity claiming and performing her own conception of freedom.

Defining the Independent Black Woman

All except one of the research participants identified themselves as heterosexual, and eight out of the nine were birth mothers, with one also being a foster mother. Thus the views presented here are overwhelmingly those of heterosexual women and mothers. Although this can be criticized for contributing to the invisibilization and silencing of Black lesbians, especially Black lesbian mothers, part of what this research came to be interested in was how racially and ethnically constructed heterosexualities are ambivalently and paradoxically inscribed, and positioned within the multiaxial and interdiscursive stratagems of both liberal patriarchy and Black cultures of masculinism and nationalism. This study therefore begins to consider how Black heterosexual women negotiate the heteronormativity of the European and colonially defined heterosexual matrix in which Caribbean gender relations have been colonially shaped. Before moving on to a discussion of the findings from these interviews, the next section addresses the feminist and postcolonial problematizations of modern freedom.

The women were aged between 34 and 49; qualified at least to degree level or the professional equivalent; and were in, or had held, professional

and managerial posts. Seven of the ten were born in Britain, one in France and the remaining two in the Caribbean. The person of French/Haitian origin arrived as an adult and the remainder were either born in Britain or arrived as children under the age of 12. The Caribbean islands represented by place of birth of family background were Barbados (1), Grenada (3), Haiti (1) Jamaica (4) and Trinidad (1). An equal number were single as were married or cohabiting in heterosexual relationships. Of the currently single women, only one identified as bisexual and the rest as heterosexual. Three were divorced or separated from long-term childbearing, cohabiting, heterosexual relationships; six of the women had children: two had one child (excluding foster children), three had two children, and two had three children. At some point, four of the women had been, or were still, single, full-time working mothers. All had been raised in two-parent households, although at least three had experienced parental divorce or separation and/or death during their childhood. In terms of income, qualifications and professional status, nine these women would not be classified as working class and, although these nine women would not regard themselves as wealthy, all were property owners. Of this nine one woman was on long-term Incapacity Benefit from her career as a social worker, while the current economic status of the other eight reflected their lower was middle class professional status. Only one person had no further or higher qualifications and was not in employment by choice, being a full-time mother. The extent to which the nine professional women identified with being middle class was very variable with most of the women expressing a multiclass identification. This reflects the way in which in white majority countries, such as Britain and the USA, there are many Black people who are 'less securely established in the Black middle classes who have experienced social mobility in their lifetime, providing them with a unique "outsider-within" perspective' (Rollock et al. 2012, 255). Just as Rollock and Moore found in their respective studies of Black British and African American middle-class populations, these women disidentified with middle-class identity perceived as normatively white, elitist, Eurocentric and disinterested in questions of racism and racial equality. These women confirmed the findings of both Moore in the USA and Rollock in Britain that Black multiclass individuals not only had ongoing familial and friendship connections to lower-income

and working-class Black people but consciously invested in maintaining 'a symbolic and personal connection' (Moore cited in ibid.) to low-income Black populations. In the previous chapter on identity, this was reflected in the concept of 'reality', which was used as a way of indicating a sense that race and racism were 'real' factors shaping Black experiences, and rejecting any idea that racism was no longer a factor in British society, or that class mobility provides protection or escape from racism.

A great deal has been written about Black women, as mothers, viewed variably in terms of stereotypes of the Black matriarch—as the indomitable defender of the Black family, the emasculators of Black men or the feckless welfare mother. Whether eulogized or demonized, the figure of the strong and independent Black woman can be found within all of these representations, whether explicitly or implicitly. All ten of the women interviewed confirmed that the idea of the independent Black woman was one they were familiar with and also could identify with as a central ideal shaping their understanding of what it means to be a Black woman. Not a single woman rejected the term, although, as will become apparent, the majority were ambivalent and critical of aspects of the discourse of ideal Black womanhood that they saw as underlying this figure. Nevertheless, all of the women saw the ideal of independence as central to their definitions of valorized Black womanhood.

Independence could denote a number of things but was always intricately and exquisitely inscribed in gendered and racialized understandings. For example, even before the topic of independence came up as a question, one woman, when asked whether she would describe herself as a Black woman, immediately replied, 'I am a Black woman. Independent Black woman. Carole.' As the interviews progressed, it became clear that the idea of independence was intimately bound up with these women's experiences of being a Black woman and the meanings they ascribed to them. Across the interviews it was clear that independence primarily denoted two main things: a degree of sovereignty in the form of self-determination and agency, and autonomy as non-dependence and non-interference with a woman's self-determining will. This encompassed being able to make decisions for yourself and more centrally to think for oneself; to be free of certain kinds of restraint in the exercise of one's free will. Self-determination was frequently expressed in terms of 'independent mindedness':

This sense of independence—my mum always drummed it into my head 'don't depend on no man. Don't depend on no man. Don't make nobody control your mind.' So I thought for myself, I can speak for myself and say that that has shaped the way that I am. (Linette, 35, social worker separated from cohabiting partner, two children).

Independent-mindedness was largely defined as self-determination and sovereignty in terms of not allowing one's ideas and thinking to be controlled by particular forms of external authority. Most usually, this authority was figured as male, in the form of fathers, brothers and male intimate partners, but also racially in the marking out of these men as Black men or white men. When expanded to include white men, it usually also connoted the societal and institutional power of white men as line managers, police officers, politicians and the like.

Ideas of self-determination are closely associated with sovereignty, and it is worth considering how ideas of personal sovereignty appear in the narratives of freedom presented here. Sovereignty is usually understood in terms of the autonomy of sovereign nation-states, and premised on the two principles of 'territoriality and the exclusion of external actors from domestic authority' (Gerber 2008, 81). In the narratives of the these Black women, sovereignty is interpreted in the individual terms of autonomy from coercion and unwarranted interference (negative freedom), and the assumption of women's right to authority over self and others—in both the private sphere of the family and in the public realm.³ For example, a key dimension of the ideal of independent-mindedness was defined as freedom from a normative expectation or requirement of women's submission to the law of male authority. Self-determination

³ It is worth reminding the reader that Foucault's theory of power (Chap. 2) draws a distinction between sovereignty, states of domination and strategic relations. Each represents the three levels in Foucault's theory of modern power, in which sovereignty refers to domination represented in contemporary liberal democracies as the power of the state to take life or let live and to determine the conditions of living (e.g. through the military, police powers, imprisonment or the death penalty). The sovereign powers of the modern liberal democratic nation are ideally held in check by democracy, civil society and the rule of law—that is, through liberalism as a political strategy of rule and freedom. Governmentality represents the primary rationality of liberal practices of rule, combining biopolitics and disciplinary power to produce 'the array of knowledges and techniques that are concerned with the systematic and pragmatic guidance and regulation of everyday conduct' (Ong 1999, 62), including the conduct of freedom and the conduct of governing.

and independent-mindedness as advanced here imply forms of resistance to a blind acceptance of a patriarchal or masculinist definition of authority and to the assumption of men's proprietary rights over women. This ethic of freedom that emerged from the interviews consistently appeared to ignore or refuse recognition of the assumed natural disentitlements of Blackness/woman. Independent-mindedness, as elaborated in the quote below, refers to the capacity to overcome both the internal anxieties and the external barriers that might force a woman into choices that place her at odds with her 'true' self. We see this clearly in the following statement:

For me, being an independent person is this. Being able to stand in the bigness of who you are and being comfortable with that. And when you can do that, then it means that nobody else can shape or frame your identity for you, that you have a sense of who that is, and understanding how that impacts on others. So, for instance, while I may want you to like me and have a friendly interaction with you, I can survive without it [...] While I may want the bigger house, I can survive without it. So, in my life, I don't have anything which you can hold against, that you can take from me ... that is going to make me do what I don't want to do. I'm happy with little, I'm happy with a lot. I think that's, that, for me, is what it is about. (Janet, social worker and business owner, divorced, one child)

Clearly, Janet saw independence as requiring a willingness to adjust ones desires in the defence of personal sovereignty and autonomy. This could be interpreted in terms of Berlin's concept of negative liberty—freedom from external restraints or the exercise of self-determination. It also expresses the notion of self-responsibility for one's desires that Hirschmann notes. However, could we also interpret this in terms of positive liberty's distinction between two qualitatively different internal desires that can be at odds with each other: (1) immediate base and (2) higher, principled desires? Immediate desires, such as the need for approval, or a big house, can frustrate the fulfilment of higher-order desires (self-determination). 'Positive liberty says that if I were to give in to these cravings, I would be not just weak-willed but unfree because I am violating my true desire' (Hirschmann 2009, 7). Here, Janet is highly self-aware concerning her competing desires and is able to impose her own self-generated restraints on herself to resist submission to

lower-order desires that might lead her to compromise her liberty. This is consistent with liberal conceptions of agency that draw heavily on the notion of sovereignty (Krause 2015, 2). Chapter 9 discusses Krause's criticisms of liberal sovereignty as applied to thinking about individual sovereignty. This theme was most frequently invoked in discussions of marriage and intimate relationships.

For most of the women I interviewed, being married or in a cohabiting heterosexual or homosexual partnership was not necessarily viewed as an unalloyed desirable state. It was the *quality* of relationship and the extent to which one could retain self-determination while being supported in the pursuit of ones ambitions, and being able to reciprocate that with an equally independent-minded person, usually male, that seemed more significant than the institution of marriage. The significance of marriage or cohabitation for the majority of women I interviewed was clearly secondary to a commitment to retaining self-determination and avoiding personal dependency. A willingness to endure material hardship in the defence of self-determination for oneself as a woman and mother was seen to mark Black women out from other groups of women. The interviewees' responses implied that they considered Black women to be free from the constraints of the cultural expectation of female submission to masculine power that many believed limited other groups of women from leaving unhappy heterosexual relationships. Consequently, this was considered to empower Black Caribbean women with the courage to inhabit this liberty with greater confidence:

I think there is this idea of the independent Black woman because ... when you see single parenting—and I talk to some women from different cultures who are in relationships they're unhappy [and stay]. It's the loneliness or the not being able to manage, how they are gonna cope financially with the children? Whereas Black women probably have thought about it but it's not a barrier to them. If you're not with me wholeheartedly then they'd rather be on their own than take half measures. People say it's a bad thing but I see it as a more positive thing because at least you're with somebody because you want to be with them as opposed to having to be with them. (Linette)

There was thus a self-consciousness about this as a liberty particularly defining Black women's sense of sovereignty: one that involves the

readiness to pay the price of exercising freedom in contexts governed by forms of racialized and gendered expectations in education, health, the media and so on, which variously seek to promote, penalize, limit or generally govern the terms of female power and women's authority. The desire to secure as much independence as one can exists within a value system that is hegemonically heterosexual and in which marriage is both a desired and a privileged state. In other words, independence did not necessarily imply female autonomy from heterosexual relationships or from men. Thus marriage was viewed ambivalently. The practice of women's independence meant that as Hodge found in the Caribbean, legal marriage was often aspired to as an indicator of social mobility, yet women often saw 'wifedom as a kind of handicap and a wife as a diminished woman' (Hodge 2002, 481). This is demonstrated clearly in another example where we see how growing up in a home with 'traditional' gender roles in place could in fact reinforce this ideal of female autonomy. Janet, a divorcee, regarded her mother as a weak and dependent woman precisely because she had stayed in a violent relationship for many years before divorcing and entering a new relationship, where she again played the accepted traditional wifely role of submission to her husband's authority. What Janet problematized was not marriage but her mother's lack of selfconfidence and independent-mindedness, as she put it, which she contrasted with her grandmother's strength and independent-mindedness:

My mother wasn't like that. I mean, my father dominated my mother, and my mum's husband dominates her [now], but my mum takes that kind of ... role of 'can't do', 'I don't know how to do this', 'I don't know how to do that', what have you. (Janet)

It is not the fact of marriage that Janet questioned but the submissive and helpless status that her mother accepted in marriage. The paradoxical tensions between the *value* of female independence, the *desire* to be in a heterosexual relationship plus the common *reality* of lone parenthood produce difficulties and emotional ambivalences that are differently managed by heterosexual Black Caribbean women. These are demonstrated very clearly by Mandisa, a single parent of two young children, a Master's graduate and a higher education manager and lecturer. She related an

incident when her 13-year-old daughter had announced that she would like to have children one day but she didn't want to have a husband. For Mandisa, this was a worrying statement because it suggested that her daughter had assumed unmarried single parenthood was an aspirational life choice. As we have seen already, the decision to raise children alone was most often a pragmatic choice to discard a partner who was not augmenting a woman's capacity to be a good mother and an independent woman, or the result of abandonment. Mandisa's response was to explain why she was without a partner:

I said 'You see Mummy here? Doing what she is doing. She's trying to make sure you and your brother are okay. If I had a husband it would be much easier. I would prefer it that way, but I also will not put up with rubbish. So it's about saying to you two, I love men. I would have a man in here but I will not have a man in here who will abuse me or abuse the two of you. So that is why I am doing it on my own *until that time*.' (Mandisa)

This confirms the ongoing importance and value that most of the women placed on intimate heterosexual partnerships, if not necessarily marriage; a value that exists alongside the higher value they placed on autonomy and practical sovereignty exercised at an individual level is elevated as a higher value. We can think of this in terms of positive liberty's distinction between immediate base, and higher, principled desires, in which autonomy trumps the desire for intimacy.

The value or ideal of independence is clearly paradoxical. This is because not only does it mean many things, many of them inconsistent with each other, but also living up to it produces equivocation and dilemmas precisely because it is also a powerful technology of governance as well as freedom. Where we have seen its potential for empowering and liberating Black women from gender oppression, it can also be a source of hardship—especially within social contexts that do not culturally legitimate or institutionally reinforce Black women's power and authority. The independent Black woman was seen to place a responsibility on women to be willing to pay the price of freedom, and that price could be the ending of a relationship and the willingness to face the hardships of single parenthood. Marriage or cohabitation, for the overwhelming majority of the women, was secondary

to a commitment to retaining self-determination and autonomy by avoiding excessive material or emotional reliance in an unequal relationship of power, invariably imagined as a male heterosexual intimate partner, but that could also extend to dependency generally. Thinking in terms of intimacy, and women's right to self-determination in the domestic sphere takes us into a consideration of motherhood, and if and how it shapes or altered these women's conceptions of freedom.

The next section discusses a view of motherhood and its relationship with independence offered by one of the women in this study that was markedly different from, and in fact opposed to, the view presented by most of the other women. Here we hear from Melissa, the only bisexual woman in the group, a senior local government manager living alone with no children. She begins by saying that she does not think that 'independence' is quite the right word to convey her understanding of freedom:

I am not sure if I would use the term but a lot of people would attach that term to be about being independent. The reality of it is I do for myself in the sense that I pay my own mortgage, I've got my own car and what I can't do physically I am in a position and my credit card is in a position to pay someone to be able to do it. So I try not to ask anyone to do anything for me [...] I just feel that if I want something done, or I need it done, *I* have to do it. *I* have to arrange for it to be done. [Melissa's emphasis].

It is clear that economic autonomy is central to Melissa's understanding of independence, signalling non-reliance on others to meet your own needs, which she largely defines in term of material needs. She then goes on to talk about her mother, who as a married woman was not as independent as Melissa feels herself to be, but nevertheless was able to exercise a high degree of self-determination within her marriage, based on her economic status as a working woman and on the relative equality of power and reciprocity between her and her husband:

I would not say my mum was overly independent. My mum and dad have been married for years and they have always had that partnership approach so I have never seen her [dependant]—and she has always worked—I've never seen her in a position of having to ask for anything.

Melissa is clearly invested in a neoliberal conception of freedom based on a negative freedom measured in economic terms. In the discussion she used her sister to exemplify what has influenced her investment in maintaining her own independence. Melissa begins by making clear that she views her sister as having a flawed understanding of women's independence:

If I can think of any experience that has shaped it more [...] I remember one incident with my sister, she'd just had her baby son and she asked the father for some money to buy milk and he said something like. I was younger than 18 ... he said, 'Get it from Social' [Social Security benefits system], and I remember thinking, 'God, she must feel terrible!', and you hear a lot of people using the term, saying they are independent but actually they are not, or they are not in the way I would define it, because on the one hand they are saying they're independent, and sometimes it means they live on their own, but by the same token they are asking people to help them, and I think, well, what is it? Is it either or? But I suppose it's down to each person's definition.

In this example we find very different conceptions of independence at work. Melissa objects to her sister's claim to being an independent woman, which her sister seems to base on the fact that she is raising her child on her own. Melissa rejects this claim because, first, living alone does not in her view equal independence and, second, her sister still expects the child's father to support the child financially. For Melissa, her sister is not independent, and proof of it comes when her child's father refuses a request for money to buy baby formula. Rather than empathizing with her sister, Melissa is appalled at what she sees as her sister's willingness to claim independence in the absence of financial autonomy. We might say that each sister and the father in this scenario have different concepts of independence.

We can think about Melissa's sister's situation in term of both negative and positive liberty concepts. Her sister's assumption that simply not being in a relationship constitutes the ontological ground of an already transparently existing freedom seems consistent with negative liberty. Clearly, here reality is proving her wrong. She also seems to imagine freedom in terms of positive liberty, as an aspiration to self-determination

outside the expectation of a subordinate position within a patriarchal or unsatisfactory heterosexual partnership. Inherent in this is another assumption that marriage or cohabitation are not requisite conditions for a woman or a man to expect a father to see himself as obligated to a child. This contrasts with Melissa's privileging of a very individualistic notion of financial autonomy as the condition on which self-determination can be based; one that expresses a liberal conception of negative liberty as freedom from interference, which in Melissa's view her sister is not entitled to if she is in a financially dependent position. In taking this position, Melissa fails to recognize (and how could she) that the liberal concept of the person who is the 'natural' bearer of freedom was never intended to include non-white people or women generally, imagined as too encumbered in their self-mastery by such things as an alleged incapacity to reason and motherhood.

On the other hand, the demand of the baby's father is that the mother of his child fully embraces her declared independence from him, even if it means that she has to become reliant on the welfare state. If we use positive liberty to think through the position of Melissa's sister in terms of positive liberty, we must consider her social conditions as a single mother who is not receiving financial support from her child's father and lacking other 'independent' means of financial support. Positive liberty would place an expectation on her family, or perhaps the state, to assist her in removing a condition that would block her freedom as a mother to have the means to feed her child. However, what we see is that the mother's claim to independence is mocked by both the father and her sister, based on refusing the feminized ethic of a communal self that might legitimize the mutuality of dependency that exists between not only the mother and baby, but also the mother, father and baby. Instead, both Melissa and the baby's father interpret autonomy in individualistic, patriarchal and masculinist terms that regard independence and interdependence as opposed.

In contrast to Melissa's position, the response of the baby's father seems consistent with masculinist positive liberty as criticized by Berlin insofar as his blank refusal and dismissal subjects the mother to insult and abuse. Clearly the exclamation that she should 'go to the Social' is intended not as supportive advice but as a reprimand and insult,

subjecting the mother to the tyranny of an unkind and insensitive sexism. Positive liberty is also concerned with the internal barriers to freedom that can impede an individual's capacity to overcome immediate base desires in pursuit of their higher principled desires. This raises the question of the standard by which base and higher desires are judged. A maternal ethic of intersubjectivity and interdependence would not always be able to simply separate base from higher desires but would regard them as entwined. For example, the father of Melissa's nephew may depend emotionally on his parental relationship to his baby, even as he refuses, or is unable, to financially provide for him. He is also dependant on the mother to take care of his child just as he is also dependant on the state to support her where he is unable or unwilling to. He may also be dependent on her family to provide her with the additional support that he is unable or unwilling to provide.

The idea that the mother as a citizen may have a right to call on the state to support her in her mothering role (e.g. through affordable childcare, flexible working or benefits payments) is also of no concern for Melissa, who sees only her sister's morally shameful economic dependency. By this standard of freedom, only women who are economically self-sufficient should expect autonomy, equality and freedom. There is also a strong influence of neoliberal understandings of freedom as primarily an economic virtue or good tied to the individualizing principle of rational responsibilization (Rose 1999). This which places the duty of autonomy squarely with the sister who by implication is blamed for her incapacity to exercise responsible life management by failing to ensuring she had the capacity to be financially self-sufficient prior to exercising her freedom to 'choose' to become a mother. So even though Melissa does not assign a gender to independence, her expectations of women's autonomy disavows the ways in which parenthood, whether single or not, as a structural condition produces unequal but nevertheless mutual dependencies of different kinds between parents. Melissa's view offered at one point in the interview—that as Black women have become more independent, Black men have become more irresponsible—makes sense if both are working from the traditional liberal conception of negative liberty, except that the statement implies, first, that women are to 'blame' and, second, that Black men's independence is in some way wrong. The latter would only make sense from the point of view of a feminist conception of liberty, where independence carries with it the assumption of a communal intersubjective self, existing in relations of interdependency for its own self-realization. This is quite at odds with neoliberal self-responsibilization, which representationally demotes the value of mutual accountability between mother and father; mother and extended family, and ultimately the mother and wider society represented by the state in the guise of the social benefits system, in favour of an economism in social relationships that privileges individualism and cost/benefit calculations over other kinds of virtue; that in turn justifies cuts in social welfare provision, thus forcing many women into greater dependency on individuals, whose responsibility, as Melissa acknowledged, may not be reliable.

Melissa's sister seems to be caught literally between discrepant concepts of liberty. We can imagine the scenario in which the sister asked her ex-boyfriend for money for baby formula, in which he replies, 'You are an independent woman, aren't you? Why are you asking me. Get it from the Social.' In this scenario, for a Black woman to be called an independent woman by a man from whom she expects certain obligations, at the same time as those expectations are refused on the basis of her independence, places the mother in a double bind. 'A double bind is an emotionally distressing dilemma in communication in which an individual (or group) receives two or more conflicting messages, and one message negates the other.'4 This is a paradoxical form of communication that both produces and performs gender inequality even as it appears to disinvest in patriarchy, without discarding the power of hegemonic masculinity; for a double bind is also 'a type of paradoxical communication or interaction in which one person demands a response to a message that contains mutually contradictory signals (verbal or nonverbal). The other person is unable to comment on the incongruity or to escape the situation' (Miller-Keane 2003, emphasis added).⁵ By usurping Black women's language of selfdetermination and independence, the father appropriates the power

⁴ Double bind: Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double_bind. Accessed 7 June 2015.

⁵ Double bind: Miller-Keane Encyclopedia & Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing, & Allied Health, Seventh Edition. 2003 Elsevier, Inc. http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/double+bind. Accessed 10 July 2015.

invested in the discourse of Black women's independence for his own purposes and against the woman, using it to disclaim responsibility at any level. The mother is left caught in a double bind, unable to challenge him without diminishing her culturally valued identity as an empowered selfdetermining Black woman. As a form of moral governmentality, this culturally reproduced double bind is a sexist mechanism of masculinist rule, masquerading as a postpatriarchal cultural validation. For a mother in this position to push her demands further would effectively amount to denouncing herself as dependant within the terms of negative liberty and unable independently to ensure the survival of herself and her child; therefore not a strong woman, therefore not 'a real Black woman' and certainly not free. We can see here how different concepts of liberty are pushing up against each other, for if the independent Black woman's claim on freedom rests primarily on self-determination (negative liberty), it rubs up against negative liberty's assumption of an already present ontological ground of freedom that Black women in colonial modernity and postcolonial Britain do not possess. Therefore, drawing on Hesse's argument Black women cannot performatively accomplish negative liberty ahead of the prior achievement of inclusion into the ontologically Western masculinized already captured territory of Western freedom, which itself historically and politically depends on her marginalization from freedom to ground its own identity. The Black mother is thereby locked in the double bind of the colonial-liberal conception of freedom. The only way to break the logic of a double bind is to refuse the rules of the game in play, and in this context they are set by the social grammar of patriarchy and Black cultures of masculinism. Thus the tropic aspect of the discourse of the independent Black woman lies in the ways in which it deviates from the normalized liberal meanings of 'independence' and 'woman', as constructed across multiple structures of dominance and their governmentalization of freedom.

Thinking of the sociohistorical context both of Melissa's social identity and of the contemporary temporality of freedom in which she resides, we might also say that her idea of freedom reflects the ways in which neoliberalism has become pervasive in British media representations of benefits claimants as 'undeserving'. The only bisexual woman in the research, Melissa spoke repeatedly about consciously choosing independence as

preferable to relying on others (particularly men), whose practical and economic support or emotional and psychological commitment she felt could not be relied on, saying, 'I have actually been in a [heterosexual] relationship where I felt alone . . . and I have always thought that would be the worse things that could happen. So I have always thought if it is a choice between independence and that, I'd go for the independence any time.' Melissa was conscious of her identity as a bisexual woman and how this might be perceived as shaping her sense of independence, so that at the end of the interview when asked if there was anything she had not had the chance to say, she took the opportunity to say that contrary to what many people in the Black community think, for her, being bisexual was not a reaction to bad relationships with Black men but an innate natural expression of her inner true self.

Tradition, Habit or Necessity?

The elevation of mothering and motherhood in the ethics of Black womanhood outlined here can be understood as a cultural norm or habit, born out of the exigencies of the structural locations that Black women typically occupy in society, learned patterns of behaviour, or as a valued tradition actively pursued and reproduced. In the accounts that follow, the ethic of independence and its attachment to motherhood and mothering is explained as a valued tradition, not only of Caribbean women specifically but also of Black women of African descent generally.

The connection between being independent, strong and mothering was uniform across all ten of the interviewees. All of the women could trace their internalization of these values of being strong and independent to significant female relatives. In the following example, Maria is talking about her mother, a medical doctor, who balanced her career and mothering roles after her husband 'abandoned' her with two children:

My mother was a professional, she had to work, and I didn't have a father figure, so I just thought, 'Well, if my father . . . (excuse the language) . . . fucks off, and it's the women who have to, you know, do the dirty work. Well I can do that as well. I can do both.' So if I, you know, push comes to

shove, and I don't have my husband any more, I can sustain myself. I can do it, because I have that tradition of a strong Black woman behind me ... And it's not [one] kind of Black ... it's any kind of Black woman. It's not just a Haitian, or a French Black woman, or American... (Maria)

Although Maria realized that the willingness and capacity to overcome obstacles, to fulfil ones responsibilities as a mother and to maintain a degree of sovereignty over one's inner desires and control over your life are not a unique or natural attribute of Black women, she certainly regarded this capacity as a specifically Black woman's *tradition*, in terms of a culturally inherited set of norms. For Elizabeth, the *tradition* of the strong Black woman was one that she valued as equipping her with confidence in her own overcoming capacity for resilience and fortitude. Thus, for her, the ethic of survival has a particularly gendered and racialized inflection.

This does not imply that Black men do not have an ethic of survival, but that it may be in some ways different to that of women. The ethic of overcoming, or survival, was very prominent in these narratives of independent womanhood, tied to an intersubjective ethic of maternal care that produces moral, and by implication also psychological and emotional, resilience—that is, strength—as a core attribute of the independent woman. This ethic of survival cannot be fully understood outside an appreciation of how racism and racist objectification has imperilled Black life, and the gendered ways in which generations of Black women have committed themselves to the defence and survival of families and communities. The ethic of overcoming, survival and 'getting over' that are pervasive in both Anglophone Caribbean and African American vernacular cultures can be found in the work of Black women novelists and womanist theologians, where it has come to denote 'spiritually empowered Black women who are committed to their survival, thriving, and liberation' (Baker-Fletcher 2006, 171).

Most commonly, as we have seen, it was mothers and grandmothers whom the women identified as having 'trained' them into these ideas, but aunts, older cousins and other female kin were also important socializers of girls. The possibility of single parenthood and just the burden of Black

motherhood in hostile social environments mean that some Caribbean immigrant mothers feel the need to 'push' their daughters to 'strive', as Carole put it:

I think we as parents tend to bring up our children equally, but as a Black mother and foster carer I do tend to feel that you are more protective of your girl children and you will push them because of the preconceived idea that if they become mothers, they'd have to (75 % of the time) bring up the children on their own. Therefore, they have to strive. (Carole)

Similarly, Alissa Trotz's research among Afro-Guyanese women in Guyana found that motherhood and employment are not viewed by women as mutually exclusive:

on the contrary, participation in income-earning activities was an inextricable aspect of women's mothering obligations. Employment was also singled out as one way of ensuring access to an impendent source of income. Linked to an awareness of male dominance it was identified as a critical means of achieving more egalitarian gender relations in the home. (Trotz 2002, 263)

Women who had been raised in the Caribbean spoke of the powerful influence and example of grandmothers who may have raised their children alone because their men had travelled away for short or long periods, seeking work in the town, on other islands or in South America, the USA or Britain. Then in their middle and old age these same women were left again raising grandchildren on behalf of daughters and sometimes sons who had in turn similarly emigrated in pursuit of employment or 'a better life'. The impact of migration means that families are dispersed, typically for post-war migration from the Caribbean to Britain, the USA and Canada. For the first generation of migrant women workers, this meant that the intergenerational support of grandmothers and older kin relatives was unavailable, although the intragenerational support of siblings and extended family members who had migrated to the same country helped to retain the effectiveness of the extended family. Therefore the culture of

the extended family has been unevenly passed on in the next generation in Britain and is largely dependent on the individual migration patterns within families. In addition the transition from mostly rural to urban living that migration involved, the kinds of housing and work available in cities, and finally the hegemonic status of the nuclear family in Britain have all contributed to the forms of households women could establish, as well as a diminution in the levels of contact and day-to-day mutual support that a mother could be afforded by networks of extended female and male kin:

The way I see the community at the moment, one of the big things I've noticed is, when I was growing up, I think the family links in the community were really really used; they were important. The extended family was important and I think it's becoming less and less, and I've seen more and more stress in the community. (Elizabeth)

Critiques of the Independent Black Woman

All of the women except one recognized that there were limitations and problems with the discourse of the strong and independent Black woman. The only woman who had an uncritical commitment to the ideal of the strong Black woman as defining of Black womanhood was Evelyn. The figure of the strong Black mother was central to her understanding of what was for her an idealized, almost mythical, sacred figure; one she associated with an older generation and which she feared was being lost in Britain. She spoke of hating to see women of her mother's generation cry because this profoundly destabilized her own sense of self and safety. Evelyn said she would prefer to see a man cry because Black women are supposed to be 'the rod. They are the strength. No! Oh God! Oh Jesus, I freak! Yes I would feel my world is crumbling because they are not supposed to cry.'

All of the other women were critical of this idea of the Black superwoman, seeing it as a discourse that often does not serve women's interests by producing a moral injunction against Black women showing vulnerability or seeking support. Although, like Erna Brodber (1986), they viewed mothering as a source of Black women's authority and power, the majority questioned the ways in which 'mother-work' could paradoxically become a source of oppression and a burden for Black women. Njeri, married with two children, questioned the idea that Black women

don't need nobody. We can take the whole world on our shoulders, and inside you're just, like, kind of falling apart. I think, in a way, it has served us, but in a way it hasn't served us, because we tend to, like, ignore our own needs. "We're strong Black women doing our thing out there", ... we forget we still need to nurture ourselves, we still need to make time for us. That it's okay to cry, yes. But, like, 'strong women don't cry.' "'Strong women get up at six, the crack of the dawn, and go to work, come home, do ..." You know what I mean? My mother brought me up, you know, she ran the show! A strong Black woman, she ran the show. And I grew up with that, thinking that if I didn't do certain things, I'd be failing the Black race, because I wasn't managing . . . The Black race, yes! All the Black women who have gone before and who've all done it. You know, We've all struggled and raised our children, and juggled and struggled. This word struggled. I don't want any more struggle. They struggled so that we don't have to struggle. And, like, for me, I'm struggling now, doing certain things, [so] that my children don't have to struggle. They'll have other struggles, yeah. But, like, what is so great about struggling, anyway? (Njeri)

What we can see is recognition of the complexity of the relations of power and powerlessness in which the mother-work of all women is structured. This reflects the 'double paradox' of gender relations (Momsen 2002, 45) in the Caribbean, where women's power in the home exists in cultural and social contexts that variously and unevenly privilege masculinity and male power while erasing, debasing or demonizing women's power. It is this double paradox that produces the patriarchal double bind at the heart of the figure of the independent Black woman as a highly governmental discourse, stretched between womanist practices of freedom and masculinist practices of rule. In the Caribbean, the apparent social autonomy of women there, often signified by single-headed households, particularly among the poor and lower middle classes, is often to varying degrees strongly constrained by what Momsen calls the 'patriarchy in absentia' (ibid., 48) of Caribbean societies. In other words,

matrilocal and matrifocal household arrangements exist within a social context where despite the regional diversity of class, language, religion and ethnicity within the Caribbean, 'there is an ideological unity of patriarchy, of female subordination and dependence' (ibid., 45), and where women's personal autonomy, signified by being heads of households and having an independent income, co-exists with domestic and state patriarchy. Similarly, the degree of economic autonomy that greater selfdetermination and independence rely on can be elusive for lower-class women, particularly in the marginalized economies of the Caribbean (Safa 1986). Things may be relatively better in the economically developed Western nations, but even in Britain, austerity measures and neoliberal globalization mean that access to well-paid reliable work that does not require excessive and unsocial working hours is becoming harder to come by (Fisher and Nandi 2015). Cuts in public spending and the overall economic decline since the global economic recession of 2008, while increasing poverty levels across and within all ethnic groups (including white), has largely served to intensify poverty in the four least well-off groups: Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African (ibid., 3).

The figure of the strong and independent Black woman can be an oppressive ideal, which forces women to be excessively overburdened with responsibilities to others without necessarily being able rely on others' sense of responsibility back towards them. For some women it was also seen as potentially enabling men and the patriarchal state to abdicate responsibility and accountability towards the rights of women and their children. In the context of a global colonial order, it can also silence Black women from speaking out against internalized racism, misogyny and violence within Black relationships and communities. So although the figure of the independent Black woman can be seen as fostering Black women's cultures of overcoming and survivalism, it was also be potentially oppressive (Wallace 2015; Hill Collins 1994), instituting an alternative injunction to survive without support regardless of the circumstances. As we saw in the example of Melissa's sister, when appropriated by sexism or misunderstood, this can produce a paradoxical form of communication in which being called an independent Woman, or being required to act independently, ceases to be an act of recognition of a woman's right to self-determination and instead becomes a refusal of both reciprocity and of the legitimacy of Black women's cultures of freedom.

Non-Western and non-White women's relationship to autonomy as an ideal are less securely routed through or rooted in liberal-colonial configurations of freedom. Their ideas of the family and interdependence are frequently not experienced as mutually exclusive of a commitment to women's rights to personal power and social autonomy (Griffiths 1992). Despite this, Griffeths argues that independence is a problem for women and the problem in her view has three aspects to it: (1) within Western conceptions of freedom, autonomy is a prized and desirable thing, but one that women either do not have or are afraid of having; (2) the masculinist imaginary that defines Western modernity represents independence and dependence as gendered opposites, masking their experiential and philosophical co-constitution; and (3) the structure of Western language does not readily provide a concept for representing the actual lived realities of mutual but often unequal interdependencies that define human existence. As we have seen in the narratives of independence presented by the women in this study, while independence is challenging, they neither fear it nor generally see it as opposed to any form of dependency. This suggests that we need to study particular groups of women in specific places with different sociohistorical and material relationships to modern freedom. However, their narratives would seem to agree with Griffeths' claim that there is a gap or incapacity in the available structures of language to easily provide a concept to represent what is occurring at the prediscursive level of the everyday lives of many women. As a result, 'the concepts of autonomy and independence do not fit our lived experience very well. The concepts need to be overhauled' (ibid., 354). For Griffeths, this overhauling 'must take into account the proper valuing of things that are often labelled as 'dependence'. That is, they need to be seen as part of the good human life' (ibid.). Griffeths does not offer a new lexicon for naming these other lived realities of independencein-interdependence, but she does task feminism with exposing the dissonance between the masculinist imaginary of freedom inscribed in hegemonic definitions of independence and autonomy. She also refers to the apparent contradictions and paradoxes that are contained within women's attempts to live freedom otherwise to how it is hegemonically represented or representable.

The next section examines how the women interviewed explained the alleged unequal achievements of Black Caribbean men and women in Britain.

Independence and Black Masculinity

A Black woman's feminized culture of independence and resistance was seen as empowering Black women with the confidence that they can overcome obstacles and succeed because they have seen and know of other Black women who have done so in the past. Sonia, a senior social work manager, described it as a belief that 'Something will work out. There will be an opening. When one window shuts . . . a door opens! . . . [Black women] have seen the evidence. So they can have the faith to trust the process. I am not sure if Black men have that concrete evidence to refer to'. While the women acknowledged the importance of positive female role models in passing on these qualities and values to Black girls, Carole wondered why Black boys often brought up by lone mothers, and often expressing disappointment in their fathers, failed to identify with their mothers and similarly acquire this culture of resistance and independence? Although Black mothers tended to inculcate values of hard work and independence in girls, she felt that they were increasingly now for the first time consciously thinking critically about how boys were being raised:

We are trying to get our men to be more responsible so I suppose we have to look at how we bring up our children and how we gear them towards education and fitting in, in the general public. Because even with my ex-husband, he tended to feel the world *owed* him something. And there's a lot of Black guys out there who feel that we're owed something. I think we as parents need to try to get that away off of our children. Get that out of their heads and say nobody owes us anything. We owe ourselves. That's how I tried to bring up my son—to be independent and to be self-sufficient. (Carole)

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Carole considered that Black men have a culture of independence, but it was the wrong kind. She considered the masculine culture of independence to be centrally about irresponsibility and autonomous individualism as opposed to a feminized culture of independence as responsibility and interconnectedness. She felt that what Black men needed to learn was the capacity to be less autonomously self-sufficient and more communally selfsufficient in the sense of being invested in their interdependence with women and their families. Where for girls the values and competencies of responsible independence and striving had 'been drummed into them from a very early age', she lamented that boys appear to have not acquired this spirit of independence from their mothers. In fact, several of the women considered that there was a masculine culture of victimhood among Black men that undermined the development of responsibility and encouraged a propensity towards excessively blaming others for their situation. Many considered this to be an important obstacle to Black men's advancement and a problem for the whole Black community. This in part echoes Michelle Wallace's argument in her study of the trope of the strong Black woman, when she suggests that the figure of the strong Black woman exists in relation to, and as the Other to, Black macho masculinity, both of which are complementary patriarchal constructions. If the former invests in an ethic of survival dependant on the indomitable and selfsacrificing Black superwoman, then, argues Wallace, the latter produces a masculine ethic of Black survival that is often at the expense of Black women and Black peoples' flourishing in the USA, since it has typically failed to articulate an autonomous vision of emancipatory futures not tied to the logics of US racism, patriarchy and capitalism. More broadly, Wallace criticizes a strand of African American political thought reflected in a range of Black nationalist discourses that privilege a hyperembodied and individualized machismo of the 'super black man' that uncritically assumes that Black liberation lies in a simple transference of white patriarchal power to Black men (Wallace 2015). As we will see in Chaps. 5 and 6, this view of Black liberation has its roots in liberal Western conceptions of the nation and nationalism, one that has had diverse articulations in different iterations of Black anti-racist, anti-colonial and civil rights discourses.

There are contested Black cultures of both patriarchy and masculinism that have emerged out of the history of enslavement, colonialism, racism

and subordinate citizenship that are not all, or equally, reducible to liberal patriarchy but which do reflect its influence as well as indigenous gender systems. The ways in which male power and powerlessness are understood as shaping differential gendered experiences of both racism and Black identity suggest that it is more useful to think in terms of cultures of masculinity or masculinism (Nurse 2004, 4). The introduction of the term 'masculinism' to denote the discursive and ideological nature of cultures of gender relations and masculinity is important for two reasons. First, the use of the term overcomes the problems of a universalizing concept of patriarchy by acknowledging that '[m]asculinity is not just a simple reflection of patriarchal power' (ibid., 12) but socially and historically contextualized, therefore diverse and mutable. Second, the term helps us to locate contemporary discourses and cultures of male privilege, power and authority within the trajectory of a global problematique in which sexism, modernity, capitalism and imperialism are the core features of Westernization and globalization (ibid., 4), and in which the coloniality of gender and the racialized ontology of modernity are mutually articulating.

Poor Boys and the Marginalized Black Man

Returning to where this chapter started, this section demonstrates the persistence of a longstanding governmental structure of gendered representation through which Black Caribbean and specifically Muslim Asian families and gender norms are represented in British public discourse as pathological and even dangerous to social cohesion and the security of the nation. However, the old model of Black family pathology based on a view of Black women as either downtrodden victims of Black men or feckless welfare mothers has been supplemented by a new model of Black and Muslim family and gender pathology, which perhaps is not so much new as the rearticulation of longstanding colonial discourses (see Chaps. 5 and 6). It is beyond the scope of this study to explore this in relation to

⁶ See Razak, Sherene H. 'Imperilled Muslim Women, Dangerous Muslim Men and Civilised Europeans: Legal and Social Responses to Forced Marriages.' *Feminist Legal Studies* 12: 129–174, 2004.

Asian families. In relation to Black, and especially Black Caribbean, families, this asserts that excessively independent and aspirational Black women are losing in 'a battle to raise their sons'. Black men are represented as still mainly absent from Black family life. However, rather than seeing this simply as a result of an irresponsible and promiscuous masculinity as in the past, it is being supplemented by a paradoxical view of Black gender relations and family life in which Black boys and men are victims of Black women's social empowerment, while Black women as victims of lone motherhood face 'an uphill struggle' to raise their boys into well-adjusted men.

If we take research and media reports at face value, it would appear that Black women—particularly women of Caribbean descent—have been the primary beneficiaries of equal opportunity policies since the 1980s. A number of government surveys and statistics appear to show that in Britain, Black-Caribbean women and girls are doing disproportionately well in some social indicators compared with Black Caribbean men, as well as in relation to some other groups of ethnic minority women. ⁷ Some figures seem to indicate that after Chinese and Indian women, Black Caribbean women's hourly income levels are highest of all other groups of women,8 whereas since the early 2000s, Black Caribbean men have been among the lowest (COSU 2003, 15) among men, and most likely along with Bengali and Pakistani men to be unemployed. In addition, in 2003 the proportion of Black Caribbean girls attaining five or more GCSEs (grade A*-C) was 40 % compared with only 25 % for their male counterparts (DfES 2005, 13). This mirrors the gender achievement gap across Black pupils of other ethnicities. 10 Media reports have highlighted figures reporting Black Caribbean women's levels of

⁷ For a comparison of differences between men and women by ethnicity, see 'Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market—Final Report' (The Cabinet Office Strategy Unit—COSU, March 2003). See also 'Ethnicity and Education: The Evidence on Minority Ethnic Pupils.' (DtES 2005); Hibbett 2002 Ethnic Minority Women in the UK; Lindley and Dale 2004 'Ethnic Differences in Women's Demographic, Family Characteristics and Economic Activity Profiles 1992 to 2002'.

⁸ This is associated with the fact that Black women are more likely than any other category of women to be in full-time rather than part-time work.

⁹ In 2000, unemployment rates for Black Caribbean women were 7 % compared with 25 % for Black Caribbean men (COSU 2003, 15).

¹⁰ Black as defined by the DfES includes the following subsets: White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, Black Caribbean, Black African, Any Other Black (DfES 2005).

professional and managerial employment, along with Indian and white women, have since 1999, 'experienced more rapid progress than others' (COSU 2003, 22).

At one point in the early 2000s a prevailing media response to these figures was to ask why Black Caribbean girls and women were doing so much better than Black Caribbean boys and men, and what the implications of this gender disparity for Black men's employability and social inclusion might be in the future. This is a very important concern, and while this has importantly produced initiatives to support the learning and educational achievement of Black boys, these statistics have also obscured the reality that Black women are disproportionately raising children alone, and are the most likely of all groups of women to be unemployed and receiving benefits, or as mothers engaged in full-time work (COSU 2003; Hibbett 2002; Lindley and Dale 2004). Furthermore, more recent research confounds the popular rhetoric that Black girls are overtaking Black boys in both academic and professional achievement. Research examining the pay outcomes for graduates confirms a gender differential in the income levels of graduates three-and-a-half years after graduation, with ethnic minority women (with the exception of Chinese and Indian graduates) earning 12-15 % less than white British women. In turn, Black Caribbean and Black African men were shown to be earning 19 % and 12 % less, respectively, than white British graduates. After accounting for a number of variables, Zwysen and Longhi found that the ethnic earning penalties for Black Caribbean and Black African men ceased to be statistically significant, while Black Caribbean and Pakistani women showed a statistically significant ethnic earning gap of 8-9 % (Zwysen and Longhi 2016, 20).

These figures indicate that the image of Black women's success and Black men's failure is too simplistic, flattening out the diverse lived experience of Black women and men, and minimizing the different gendered and classed vulnerabilities that Black men and women face and how this impacts the employment options and opportunities available to them. The fact is that Black African and Black Caribbean women, like all other categories of women, are overall earning less than their male counterparts within their own ethnic group, and all groups of women earn much less than white men. Is it too cynical to wonder if media responses

in part signal an uneasiness with the reversal of the 'normal' gender gap in which boys and men are expected 'traditionally' to excel socially and professionally above girls and women? Given that boys in all ethnic groups are educationally underperforming girls, is this part of the creeping anxiety about the 'feminization' of the public sphere?

The preoccupation with the underachievement of working-class White and all classes of Black Caribbean boys often obscures the reality that, as a group, pupils of Black Caribbean backgrounds—both male and female are experiencing 'considerable' underachievement levels compared with Asian and white pupils. Analyses in both the Black and the mainstream media have frequently sought explanations for this disparity within ethnic minority cultures and in particular Black Caribbean gender relations and family life. Educationalist Tony Sewell has led the way in advancing both a critique of Caribbean gender norms and family structures, and the specific gendered forms of discrimination faced by Black boys. Much less attention has been given to the different gendered experiences of Black and ethnic minority girls, boys, women and men within society. The way in which education policy has been used to question Black Caribbean single-parent, woman-headed households and non-patriarchal gender norms will be addressed later in this chapter's discussion, especially as far as it relies heavily on the suggestion that the social advancement of Black girls and women comes at the expense of Black boys.

The leading Black newspaper, *The Voice*, contributes to the repetition of this stereotypical representation that persistently finds expression in the media's misrepresentation of research data. An ONS research project on lone parenthood revealed that of the 1.767 million mothers in Britain raising children alone, at least 142,000 of them are black (Lettman and Richards 2015). The *Voice* headline accompanying this report asks, 'Can Single Mums Turn Boys into Men?' It then goes on to confound the question by stating that the research indicates that Black women successfully raise their boys in the main and that poverty is the key factor impacting the success of lone parenthood. The misleading headline

¹¹ This is in turn a function of the near impossibility of accessing reliable data analysis on race, ethnicity and gender outcomes in relation to educational attainment and social mobility without going directly to the raw data sources.

repeats a familiar way of presenting these issues—one that focuses on representing Black boys as victims of 'non-traditional' gender relations within Black families.

In reality, the situation has become increasingly complex as an overwhelming proportion of these births are now to white women (Fatherhood Institute 2015), who may or may not have the same historical crossclass experience of women being the head of the home, or the culture of women's independence developed in the Caribbean. Additionally, this view of the absent Black father is contradicted by a number of pieces of research that indicate that African Caribbean men in Britain, even when they do not reside with their children, are among the most involved fathers of all groups of men, including white fathers (Reynolds 2010; Fatherhood Institute 2010). There are real implications for children of not having contact with any parent, and the possibility of how girls may be impacted by the absence of a father figure seems oddly sidelined; just as is the impact of a man raising a son or daughter alone. However, the persistence of this way of framing the issue of the educational and social outcomes for Black Caribbean boys suggests that rather than being a simple reflection of reality, it may be yet another racialized gender trope serving particular purposes and needs. This narrative of African Caribbean family and gender norms has a long history extending back to British social policy discourses and is also replicated in US social representations of the African American family (Chap. 5). Across a transnational circuit of social policy discourses, Black women are stereotypically represented as being inadequate and flawed in their capacities as both mothers and wives, well-meaning and resilient women, yet possessing forms of strength and power that are deemed emasculating and incompatible with successful marriages and relationships, thus leaving them struggling as lone mothers to raise their children.

Another example of this narrative can be found in an article provocatively entitled 'Black Boys Are Too Feminised', in which Black British educator Tony Sewell argues that with 59 % of black Caribbean children being raised in lone-parent households compared with 22 % of white children, there are 'devastating consequences of absent fatherhood within the black community'. Key among these, Sewell implies, is the psychological damage being done to boys that is more pernicious than institutionalized racism in impacting the educational and life changes of Black

boys. This is an argument that has transnational traction, also appearing in debates in the Caribbean and the USA. This asserts that in the absence of male role models to guide them through adolescence, Black boys look to alternatives 'among dominant male figures, all too often found in gangs'. While this may be the reality for far too many individuals, Sewell offers no figures to support the assertion being made. He also seems quite at ease with the heteronormativity and sexism that underwrites his patriarchy when he says:

I now firmly believe that the main problem holding back black boys academically is their over-feminised upbringing [...] We have wasted years, and lives, looking in the wrong direction as to the causes of crime and education failure. We've had endless studies attempting to prove institutional racism—while all along our boys' psychological needs weren't met. (Sewell 2010)

In short, it is the 'absence' of Black fathers and Black men in general from the Black and Black mixed-race families, together with an *overfeminized* home environment, that is the source of Black boys' educational failure and criminality. Also, since the educational and life outcomes of Black girls appears to warrant no intervention, we can conclude that the absence of the Black father in the home has no impact on Black and Black mixed-race girls, but every impact on Black and Black mixed-heritage boys.

Sewell has been a leading figure in campaigns and policy efforts aimed at targeting and supporting the educational attainment of Black boys. As beneficial as any programme that provides additional resources to support pupil learning is, it is important to situate Sewell's arguments within a broader set of discussions, for his ideas can be linked to a range of debates nominally concerning boys' educational achievements in general, while actually being about working-class boys, and interestingly always racially marked working-class boys—,in particular white working-class boys and Black boys (presumed by virtue of race and ethnicity to be working class). In relation to the latter concerns about the educational and social advancement of Black boys, these invariably implicates both Black culture and Black families. These debates occur across overlapping international and

Black Atlantic circuits of concern and action, and therefore they require that we understand these concerns to be about much more than the attainment of African Caribbean boys in Britain. Rather, they concern both longstanding and more recent anxieties and tensions about gender relations in advanced Western societies, as well about the status of men and women and gender relations within the Black family in Western and former colonized nations. Euro-American feminists have argued that a growing anxiety has emerged in postpatriarchal Western nations, usually addressed in terms of some kind of crisis or concern about boys, men and masculinity (Francis 2006; Gordon and Hunter 1998). These concerns are variously expressed by their exponents in terms of postpatriarchal anxieties about the alleged negative effects perceived to have been caused to men and boys largely owing to the gains that women have made as a result of feminism and by the economic effects of neoliberal globalization. This has mostly been represented through various iterations of the crisis of men and masculinity discourse (Beynon 2002), and one of the key sites of its activity has been in the field of education, not only in Britain but across developed Western nations.

Becky Francis in 'Heroes or Zeroes? The Discursive Positioning of 'Underachieving Boys' in English Neoliberal Education Policy' (2006), provides a useful overview of this debate in education and how feminist educationalists have responded to it. She sees the introduction of school league tables in 1992 as one of the precipitating factors driving the concern about boys' achievement. These showed that girls were improving in maths and science at a rate much higher than boys and outperforming boys in all other subjects. Francis, like many feminists, sees the reporting of these statistics as often distorting the picture and giving the false impression that this 'gender gap' is new, when it has been around in slightly different forms since before the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988. Furthermore, feminists argue that it masks the fact that 'ethnicity and class' are more significant factors in educational attainment for girls, as well as boys. Third, they rely heavily on a set of discursive prepositions and ideological assumptions that prove impermeable to both feminist critique and statistical evidence (ibid., 188). In these and other debates within this field, the focus on ethnicity and class is uneven in how it distributes causality across ethnic cultures and explains

the heightened vulnerabilities of some ethnic minority communities to class disadvantage and its intersections with racism.

Feminists have named the media panic about boy's attainment as a moral panic. Moral panics alway has some degree of truth to them, which becomes amplified and distorted by sensationalist media reporting, instigating collusion between key social control institutions (S. Cohen 2002; C. Cohen 2010) such as educationalists, and 'moral entrepreneurs' (e.g. Sewell). As such, moral panics are also highly ideologically driven, usually conservative in orientation and work to reinforce societal norms viewed as under threat in some way. Moral panics are also highly ideological, serving particular interests and targeting specific identities and groups that are repeatedly seen as deviant and problematic, so the focus of the 'poor boys' discourse on white working-class and certain groups of ethnic minority boys (Muslim and Black boys) fits a well-established pattern. This, of course, invites us to reflect on the problems that working-class and non-white boys present to society in a neoliberal economy where the traditional forms of working-class industrial employment have declined and where the service economy is described as producing a 'feminization' of the workplace, which puts working-class white and ethnic minority boys in competition for a dwindling supply of non- and semiskilled, traditionally 'masculine' jobs; and where, in graduate- and professional-level jobs, Black and ethnic minority graduates face an 'ethnic penalty'—in both hiring and pay (Dolby et al. 2004). The feminization of the workplace is thus often viewed through the lens of its capacity to disadvantage men, which disregards the reality that the higher end of the key professions are dominated by the White middle and upper classes and men. This has led feminists to argue that the moral panic over the 'gender gap' in boys' achievement works to do three main things: (1) mask the ongoing problems faced by girls; (2) reinforce male privilege by demanding a greater focus and expenditure of education budgets on boys at the expense of girls; and (3) deflect 'attention from the large achievement gaps according to "race" and social class' (Francis 2006, 188).

Sewell's early interventions clearly reinforced the first two while countering the latter. However, while challenging the omission of race and class, his approach both undercuts and appropriates the third feminist critique. This is accomplished by offering a gender analysis of the situation of black

boys while advancing resolutely anti-feminist understandings of the issues at stake and ignoring the situation of Black girls. ¹² Caribbean feminist Eudine Barriteau has identified this strategy at work in the Anglophone Caribbean where, she says, many scholars and practitioners have shifted away from analysing relations of domination in women's lives to simultaneously addressing men and women without necessarily attending to issues of power or women's subjectivity at all (Barriteau 2003a, 43). In this way a focus on gender 'can now be used to erase women epistemologically, or to serve as an excuse for abandoning meaningful social action on the behalf of women' (ibid., 44). We can see this clearly at work in Sewell's appropriation of what Epstein identified as the 'poor boys' discourse.

The poor boys discourse is one of three discourses that Epstein identified in the 'gender gap' debate of the early 2000s. The first was the 'boys will be boys' discourse that celebrates particular representations of boys' masculinity viewed in terms of 'their resistance to a "feminine" school ethos of diligence and discipline', (ii) the poor boys discourse of boys' new disadvantage relative to girls. Second was the 'blaming schools' discourse that centred on standards and 'failing schools' (Francis 2006, 189). Francis argues that although the boys will be boys and 'school blaming' discourses have declined since then, the poor boys discourse has remained impervious to feminist critique and to the evidence of statistics. This has led feminist educationalists to regard the poor boys discourse as particularly pernicious because it 'often blamed women teachers, feminists, and indeed schoolgirls, for boys' apparent underachievement' (ibid.). To this list of blame and shame, Sewell added Black lone mothers, creating what we might call the 'poor Black boys' discourse.

The poor *Black* boys discourse within education policy debates is often framed in a way that minimizes the impact of the gendered articulations of societal racism and instead places primary responsibility for the educational underachievement of Black boys on the Black family, and specifically the 'absent' Black father, and the inadequate or 'overwhelmed' Black mother. One must add to this the large numbers of Black men in

¹² It should be noted that Sewell's organization Generating Genius has expanded beyond support for Black boys to include white working-class boys as well as girls, which begs the question: What did underachievement have to do with absent fathers and Black culture?

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Britain who have children with white women, thereby producing an emergent growing class-based critique of the capacity of working-class white lone mothers to raise Black boys. The poor Black boys discourse, like the mainstream poor boys agenda, disavows the effects of neoliberal economics, patriarchy, masculinism and racism on black pupils, Black families and ethnic minority communities, and it does so by mobilizing ideologically generated discourses of Black and working-class cultural pathology. Sewell's argument is consistent with the moral panic thesis advanced by feminist theorists of education, but this time reframed around Black boys as victims not of racism but of their own culture and parenting. In this move, Sewell squandered the opportunity for a nuanced debate about how to draw more effectively on the strengths of Black cultures and families, how to assist parents in acquiring the kinds of classbased knowledge and cultural capital that he recognizes as assisting their children in negotiating the educational system, and identifying the kinds of cultural social policy change in British society that might support all children's psychological and emotional development in order to survive and thrive in a postpatriarchal heteronormative racist and economically challenging environment, in and out of school. These challenges face Black and mixed-Black children regardless of their class background because, as Black British educationalist Nicola Rollock argues, whiteness is itself a form of embodied cultural and social capital that delegitimizes and reduces the available social capital of middle-class Black parents and their children in the education system (Rollock 2014, 448). Instead, Sewell trades this opportunity for easy clichés, and stereotypes of the absent Black father and the psychologically deprived black boy raised by an inadequate Black (of any class) or white (working-class) mother.

Sewell's work has been successful in securing his access to the centres of power where he has been able to influence important developments in education policy, funding and practice at the local and international levels. His success in doing so in part reflects how familiar and appealing to a white education system and how normative his approach was. The

¹³ As an educational consultant, Sewell has worked with the World Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London. http://www.generatinggenius.org.uk/people/tony-sewell/

fact that it released money that has gone into a range of good and important projects that have supported the attainment of Black boys does not take away the condescension shown to Black and white working-class parents of Black boys and girls, and the damage achieved by reinforcing bourgeois patriarchal stereotypes of Black gender and family pathology.

The poor boys discourse of contemporary Britain seems to be the latest iteration of the Caribbean Black male marginalizations thesis that claims that Caribbean women's economic and social autonomy and advancement in the years leading up to decolonization occurred at the expense of Caribbean men's familial marginalization and social disadvantage. The male marginalization thesis was developed by Errol Miller in The Marginalisation of the Black Male: Insights from the Development of the Teaching Profession (1986), and was subsequently elaborated and further conceptually defined in Men At Risk (1991). Anita Reddock presents a summary of Miller's thesis in which she acknowledges that the idea of marginality first emerged in the colonial period of the 1950s in discussions of the traditional matrilineal traditions of Caribbean families (Reddock 2003, 94). A striking feature of the marginalization thesis is both its longevity, having surfaced in the 1950s, and its transnationalism. The ideas that it represents about Black families and Black masculinities and femininities have ebbed and flowed within academic and popular writing on all sides of the Black Atlantic in the Caribbean, the USA and Britain.

Analysing mid-twentieth century Caribbean society, Miller argues that in colonial and postcolonial Caribbean societies, education has been a primary institution reproducing Black male marginalization. His argument is that the erstwhile white colonial establishment sought to constrain Black men's social mobility and access to power, and thereby stifle Black male militancy. He claims that the colonial authorities achieved this by using Black women as teachers to replace the old mission-based school system which was suspected of fuelling Black male militancy for greater political rights. Miller argues that teaching became a female-dominated profession as a deliberate strategy of the colonial system to concede a degree of social advantage to Blacks as a whole, while denying it to Black men in particular. In other words, 'the Black woman was used against the Black man . . . An accessory after the fact' (Miller quoted in Reddock

2003, 95). In short, this argument asserts that Caribbean slave and postemancipation colonial societies were white patriarchies in which Black men were denied access to a share of patriarchal power through slavery and colonial domination. Patriarchs, he argues, 'have always treated alien men as potential if not active enemies; this antagonistic relationship with alien men can be neutralised through patronage, clientship or vassalage or conquest and subordination' (Miller quoted in Reddock 2003, 96). Miller continues in this vein, saying that since independence from Britain, dominant groups of Caribbean men (defined by the colonial legacy of pigmentocracy) have continued to contain the power of subordinate men—that is, Black African Caribbean men—by allowing the advancement of women of both the dominant and the subordinate groups. We can summarize Miller's thesis as inferring that in a liberal Western racial state, elite White men can use gender equality as a ruse or political technology for keeping racially and ethnically subordinate groups of men in check. Education is only one of three areas of institutional life in which colonial liberalism, according to Miller, sought to promote Black women's autonomy and power at the expense of Caribbean men's disempowerment, the other two being the family and employment (Lindsay 2002, 56).

To some extent the women interviewed agreed with Miller's view that white patriarchy regarded Black men and masculinities as a greater threat to white hegemony than Black women. The overwhelming view was that the societal stereotypes and expectations of Black men and masculinity, together with gendered articulations of institutional racism, presented a significant challenge to Black boys and men, and this was seen by some as having as much or greater impact than anything within the Caribbean family. Mandisa, a single parent of a son and daughter, summed this up when she said:

There are issues about racism and how racism impacts upon Black men and Black women. If we accept that the society is capitalist and capitalism is about white men ruling, their counterpart is Black men. So what you do, you have enough obstacles in place that that never happens. So how Black men are trained in the home is one area. There is also the way that they are dealt with at school, their expectations and tolerance in the workplace, and there are more subliminal things that happen in society that impact upon

Black men and Black women. So I think it's not just about home, though I would say that that does play a part. (Mandisa)

This view explains Black male social marginalization relative to Black women, not as simply an effect of matrifocal family structure or women's social or familial empowerment but as also effected by the patriarchy of racialized capitalism hand-in-hand with white supremacy. Mandisa went on to express the view that in a white patriarchal supremacist society, the attributes viewed as normally valued and privileged in heteronormative masculinity, such as being direct and confrontational, are not acceptable when performed by Black boys and men, who in her view are excluded from the privileges of white masculine authority. However, she suggests that there are challenges for Black men and women in negotiating their racialized performativities of femininity and masculinity in white public spaces, arguing that unlike many Black women, Black men are often less willing (or sometimes less able) in their practices of the self in public spaces to adjust their performativity in order to 'negotiate' white power and authority regardless of its gendered embodiment. Mainstream white hegemony in Mandisa's view is less tolerant of direct challenges from Black men. 'Unless you are the top man you are not allowed to be that direct. So there are differences to how we negotiate and also how this society accepts what we do.' The figure of the 'top man' here is nonnegotiably White, but also residually classed, and hence is negotiable. so that although working-class masculinities frequently assume a share in white authority and supremacy, white women too can at times function as 'top men', accruing the authority of whiteness in complex interactivity with class to mitigate or compensate for the gender disempowerment. In this elite class, white women clearly would have an advantage over working-class white women. This insight is drawn from Mandisa's observation that Black men in the workplace are often required to adjust their gender performance to show due deference to the assumptions of white superiority held by white women, especially elite white women. This suggests that white, and especially elite white, women can often be unwittingly invested in the privileges of whiteness, such that White women's feminized entitlements to the privileges of whiteness can ideologically outrank non-white masculinity's claim on masculine power,

producing an expectation that racially subordinated groups of men as well as women should defer to the authority of elite whiteness from both men and women.

Mandisa's insights are supported theoretically by Caribbean historian Hilary Beckles when he argues that contemporary Black Caribbean masculinities need to be understood in terms of their historical location within colonial capitalism in which 'differentiated, marginalised, subordinated and stigmatised masculinities' (Beckles 1996, 2) struggled to develop an autonomous identity, 'driven largely by an intense concern for personal and collective survival and a general quest for power and its privileges' (ibid., 3). Mandisa's observations about the ways in which White superiority must be negotiated through the ways in which Black men and women manage their gender and racial performativity in public also finds theoretical support and elaboration in the research conducted by Nicola Rollock on the attitude of teachers towards Black students in a British state-run secondary school.

In 'Why Black Girls Don't Matter: Exploring How Race and Gender Shape Academic Success in an Inner City School' (2007), Rollock addresses how the poor Black boys discourse marginalizes Black girls, arguing that in the debates about the low academic attainment of Black pupils, Black girls have been silenced and marginalized.

As previously noted, comparisons of the achievement of Black girls that only compare them with Black boys overemphasize Black girls' success, at the expense of recognizing the significant gaps in Black Caribbean girls, educational attainment relative to Black African, and White male and female pupils (ibid., 197). The gist of Rollock's argument is that teachers in the inner-city school that she studied fused ethnicity and gender in their representations of students whom they assumed to be academically accomplished and capable of success. Consequently a situation existed in the school in which while 'to be Black is to represent an illegitimate embodied state', to be Black and female was less disadvantageous than being Black and male because attributes of femininity served 'to increase Black girls' legitimacy in the school which their ethnicity otherwise minimizes' (ibid. 200–201). Rollock does not dismiss or relegate the significance of this for Black boys but her analysis potentially unsettles approaches such as Sewell's that promote the poor Black boys discourse at

the expense of demonizing lone-parent Black families and overlooking Black girls' school experiences and achievement levels. Rollock's argument suggests that although Black girls have been rendered invisible behind the poor Black boys discourse, ironically, this invisibility has also shielded Black girls from the worst excesses of gendered-racist stereotypes of Black boys in general and Caribbean boys in particular:

Certain aspects of Black girls' embodied cultural capital, that is, their gender, as well as more dominant school discourses that unquestioningly situate the female body as academically predisposed, serve to increase Black girls' legitimacy in the school, minimize their surveillance compared to their Black male counterparts, and allow them to be included in school discourse as 'good pupils'. Black girls also do not pose the same level of threat and intimidation for female staff as do their male peers, but their ethnicity still ensures, as I experienced first-hand, their visibility. The visibility and negative meanings afforded to Blackness, magnified in the context of the uninterrogated invisibility of whiteness. (ibid.)

This is an extremely significant observation. It seems to confirm the interpretations that some of the women interviewed had made that Black masculinity was itself more heavily penalized and perceived as threatening to the authority of White masculinity in ways that Black femininity was not. Rollock's analysis also helps to explain how the culturally Eurocentric pathologization of Black femininities and masculinities works in the school context as a technology of racial governance, deploying the mutually articulating biopolitics of race, ethnicity and gender in the service of racial governmentality. It affirms the complex multiaxial operations of race, gender and ethnicity in constructing finely tuned modes of surveillance, discipline and governance of non-white bodies in the service of maintaining white supremacy as the invisible norm governing the allocation of prestige, value, recognition, rights and so on. I want to argue that in Rollock's findings we see the discrepant allocation of value and meaning to Black gender performativities in the classroom; one that renders the low attainment of Black boys both the effect of and functional to the discourse of white supremacy. Their hypervisibility as Black children in this sense precedes their low attainment. This is implied by official

OFSTED figures, which show that Black Caribbean children arrive in school at Key Stage 1 with high relative performance levels that start to decline in Key Stage 2, begin to tail of in Key Stage 4 and end up 'below that of most other ethnic groups at Key Stage 4' (OFSTED 2002). Rollocks invies us to consider how racialised gender steretypes are reflected in teacher attitudes and classroom behaviours that reproduce and verify the validity of societal racist stereotypes of inherent Black male inferiority. Conversely and perversely, to the extent that some Black girls possess attributes of legitimate femininity and conform to the expectations of female subordination to authority, they are afforded both a degree of invisibility as well as 'cover' from teacher racism.

Rollock is suggesting that the relative cloak of invisibility that femininity affords Black girls can enhance their passage through a hegemonically white society, yet also contribute to their marginalization in the debates about educational achievement. It is important to recognize that this invisibility derives its logic and functionality from the overall racial and ethnic hierarchies sustaining the gendered heterosexual matrix of white supremacy, from which both white males and white females can benefit, even if unevenly and with contradictions. 14 Some might protest that I have taken things too far, but hopefully the following interpretation of the significance of Rollock's work will demonstrate how her analysis enables a further clarification of the gender of coloniality building on Lugones' argument. To recap, Lugones argument (see Chap. 2) states that (1) race precedes gender as a category of colonial domination; (2) the colonial imposition of a Western masculine and white construction of the ideal human establishes White men as the standard by which all other human life would be measured; (3) by this standard, colonized males were judged as non-human; (4) colonized females were judged from the normative European male understanding of 'women' as the 'human inversion of men; (5) and it is on this basis that colonized people become gendered male and female, in total disregard of any pre-existing modes of

¹⁴ More research and analysis is needed in relation to how hegemonic Whiteness is articulated with or destabilized by transgendered and other non-heteronormative identities. Chapter 8 begins to explore these themes through the prism of Black popular culture, and a critical lens on heteronormative Blackness.

human organization. These lead to the conclusion that it is in their gendered racial being that Black men are rendered not man-like (where man and human are fused) and therefore not equally or fully human, or 'male', whereas 'colonized females are not understood as lacking because they were not men-like' (Lugones 2010, 745) but because they are racialized categories of the already subordinated category—woman.

Rollock's data suggests that modern racial subjection, although it is anterior to gendered subjection, cannot be separated from it; instead, it would be more accurate to understand racial domination as fulfilled in its gendering articulation. Black men are simultaneously included in the idealized category of male life but denied equal inclusion by race, thus their dehumanization is fully realized in the gendered formation of their racial and ethnicized categorization. Colonized women are also excluded from modern conceptions of life by race, and also by gender. However, Lugones may be wrong when she states, 'what was understood as the "feminization" of "colonized" men seems rather a gesture of humiliation, attributing to them sexual passivity under the threat of rape' (Lugones 2010). From this Lugones concludes in the distinction between the human and the non-human that sex stands alone. I am yet to be convinced by this argument. My objection lies in the narrow Lugones' sexual of definition of femininity and masculinity that her model assumes tied a sequential narrative of the relation of gender and sex. If gender is the allocation of social forms of differentiation on bodies perceived to be anatomically different on the basis of reproductive organs, she is right that the inscription of sexuality as the modern social regulation of desire enters as a third layer of social construction and power. However, femininity and masculinity are primarily floating signifiers of gender, not sexuality. Colonized men are first racialized, then gendered male, but feminized not in their sexuality but in their ontologically racialized difference from ideal masculinity/humanness. Moreover, since it is this mythology of white male supreme humanness that underwrites the assumption of Western authority, this means that the process of racialization instigates the dehumanization and disempowerment of Black men through their feminization, which in blocking their full masculinization as man produces their humiliation in feminization. That is not primarily in terms of sexuality, as Lugones argues, but in their gendered exclusion from the masculinity of formal political power. In short, femininity and masculinity are attributes of gender before they are attributes of sexuality, but once conjoined they are contingent and intersectional in their mutual inscriptions and articulations. 15 Thus the denial of women's authority derives from their gendered subjection, which for non-white women is further intensified by race. From here we can see how Black women's assumption of power and authority can be experienced as both an illegitimate usurpation of the masculinity and whiteness of power, and an injury to Black men's claims to full humanness, when those claims are advanced within the hegemonic terms of liberal humanism and its political and economic conceptions of M/man. Once the biopolitics of liberalism and its overdetermination of what it means to be human (Weheliye 2014; Wynter 2006) is reframed in these decolonial terms, it becomes easier to understand how the figure of the independent Black woman as a subjectivity rooted in Black women's self-defined, mutually reliant confrontations with race, gender, sexual and class oppression (Hill Collins) is such a contrary and transgressive practice of feminizing and decolonizing modern power.

The women in this study expressed an enduring sense of the continuity of Black Caribbean women's lives and history of struggle as Black women. The figure of the strong independent Black woman represented for them a Black woman's *tradition of freedom and survival*, shaping an important and prized understanding of what it means to be a Black woman; one they sought to pass on to their children, especially their daughters.

Cultures are replete with norms, but not all cultural norms are assigned the status of *tradition*. This means that we must consider the relations of power and contested interests that elevate a cultural habit, disposition or norm to a tradition because once established, traditions take on a rigid ahistorical character, becoming authoritative, legislative and disciplinary. Tradition, then, is a discursive representation, which though having the appearance of something solid and unchanging is highly mutable in its uses and effects. The cultural norm, or tradition as some of them put it, of independence, is one that the women interviewed regarded as acquired

¹⁵ Thus the sexual desires of gender-conforming or non-conforming individuals cannot be assumed by their gender performativity or identification.

through their mothers other female family and community members. They recognized this tradition as being contrary and adaptive to the new cultural and economic conditions encountered in Britain. For some of the women this adaptability could also be a weakness, rendering it vulnerable to dissipation through assimilation into British patriarchal norms of gender. In this regard, Black women's cultures of freedom may in many respects be structured by the prevailing problem-space of freedom that is extant in any sociohistorical context, and the methods that Black women deploy to evade liberal biopolitics persistent efforts to capture the meaning of freedom.

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5

Two Reports, One Empire: Race and Gender in British Post-War Social Welfare Discourse

This chapter is the first of two historical sociology chapters that use genealogy to historicize the meanings of freedom, Black British identity and Black womanhood presented in the previous chapters. As an ontology of the present, the aim of these two chapters is to identify the conjunctures informing the changing temporalities of what we have identified as liberalcolonial governmentality, as it has targeted and sought to shape African Caribbean women as both subjects of freedom and subjects of British liberal-colonial rule—that is, racial governmentality. These two chapters also reveal the double articulation of the colonial relation in which British ideas of freedom, race, gender and citizenship have been elaborated and reformed within a colonial circulation of power, interests and influence, in which the interests of the metropole and the colonies have been mutually dependant. The insights gained from this long view will then be used in the remaining chapters to assist in reframing our understanding of the present defined by neoliberal conceptions of freedom, and the postcolonial legacies of empire in contemporary multicultural Britain. This chapter addresses the post-war period of mass immigration of Caribbean people to Britain, focusing on the immigrant woman rather than the immigrant man, who for a long time was the central figure of the

immigrant in British migration discourse. The chapter explores the role of post-war social policy across the British Empire and within Britain, Reading the Moyne Report in the mid-twentieth-century articulations of patriarchal racial rule and British liberal nation-building, in which the status of women, gender relations and the family were central to modernizing welfare reforms and the management of 'race' at home and abroad.

The postpatriarchal liberal state in Britain and elsewhere has, through a combination of equality legislation, welfare benefits and tax reforms, institutionalized some of the gains of both anti-racism and feminism. This has taken the form of a range of anti-discrimination laws as well as public policy initiatives framed around ensuring equal citizenship for ethnic minority men and women and all. Since the 1970s the institutionalization of many of the demands of anti-racist and women's rights campaigns has occurred through equal opportunity practices, diversity initiatives and social welfare reforms tackling poverty and social exclusion. However, these gains have consistently been in tension with conservative and neoliberal agendas seeking to return to so-called 'traditional family values' and to rolling back the role of the state in the name of individual and market freedom. Regardless of these tensions the British welfare state has, wittingly or unwittingly, played a role in expanding women's positive freedoms by reducing some of the barriers that restricted women's choices and therefore their capacity to exercise personal freedom and enjoy greater access to social equality—for example, to leave an unhappy or abusive relationship and to retain greater freedom and self-determination by evading individual patriarchy—even if this did not allow them to fully escape state patriarchy. However, since the global economic downturn of 2008, Britain has witnessed the imposition of economic austerity measures. These have resulted in cuts in government spending across the board as well as increased unemployment. These cuts have had a major impact on the poor, who disproportionately include women, ethnic minority groups and the disabled. Numerous reports have highlighted how austerity policies have had a major impact on women. For example, the Fawcett Society's briefing paper 'Single Mothers, Singled Out', which examines the gender impact of the 2010-2015 tax and benefit changes, concludes that single women and lone mothers are the biggest losers as a result of the reforms (Fawcett Society 2011, 1). Many feminist gains are

being directly challenged and eroded in the name of economic auserity the demands of neoliberal economic accounting and political dogma. To address the significance of race in this situation, it is necessary to understand (1) how race and gender have been intimately entangled in British state responses to women in twentieth-century Britain; and (2) how these struggles have been intimately entwined in the macropolitics of international (race) relations, such that we might more usefully speak of the racial governance of both non-white and white women as the domestification or 'domestic politics of colonialism' (Stoler 1989, 636) and postcolonial racism. A key dimension of this involves the relationship between managing gender, families and population growth as key elements in maintaining a racial balance of power. This has been a central dilemma for white rule throughout the history of imperialism and colonialism, and I want to argue that this concern over the racial balance of power between White populations and the rest remains unevenly, residually imbedded in postcolonial British state race relations policies. A key dimension of this involves the entanglements of race, ethnicity, and gender in the management of family life at the level of specific nations—especially those either imagined as indigenously White, or under colonial White rule—on the one hand and the racial management of population growth as a key element in maintaining an international racial balance of power in favour of a global white minority on the other. Balancing the resulting tensions and contradictions this produces has been a central dilemma for liberal racial rule throughout the history of colonial governmentality and continues to articulate the concerns of postcolonial governmentality. These dilemmas of postcolonial racial rule can be detected in the discourses of race relations, multiculturalism, community cohesion, and national and global security that have continued to preoccupy Western postcolonial liberal racial states, such as the UK and the USA since the mid-twentieth century.

For much of the past 60 years there has generally been an academic division of labour in the study of race and ethnicity in Britain; between

¹ The discussions of this that follow will not address the intersectional politics of reproductive rights, support for the family through the taxation and welfare benefits system, and social policy discourses of 'population' because these have informed public debates about immigration in Britain, but this is an area of analysis that needs to be carried out.

British anthropologists of ethnicity and British sociologists of race, in which British anthropologists have largely ignored African Caribbean cultures, preferring to focus on Britain's Asian communities, perceived by those anthropologists as more conforming to the proper object of anthropological enquiry: organic communities with clear gender systems and kinship structures (Benson 1996, 54). Caribbean communities, on the other hand, understood as homogenously Black of African descent—despite the imprint of India, China and other places on Caribbean populations and identities—have largely been the objects of enquiry for sociologists of race, imagined through a cultural deficit paradigm of dysfunctional gender norms and families lacking organized kinship systems (ibid.). This has produced a prevailing British paradigm of race and ethnicity in which 'Asians have culture, West Indians have problems' (ibid., 47). Of course, implicit in this are orientalist assumptions of Asian cultural excess and primitivist assumptions of African-Caribbean cultural inferiority or lack.

It is worth clarifying once again how a range of racial and ethnic identity categories are being deployed here. This chapter uses shifting and contextually dependant deployments of Black identity, seeking to give analytical weight to the complexities of Black British identity, which has emerged through different experiences of minority citizenship, racialization and racism within Britain, and which are interrupted by transnational identifications with other places (Nigeria, Somalia, Jamaica, Pakistan, India, Black London etc.), family histories and historical relationships to empire (Hesse 2000a, b, 114). These complexities are often obscured by the binary 'all-people-of-colour' paradigm; one that has seldom been sufficient on its own, and increasingly (in Britain at least) naturalizes a consensus that may not always and in all places be appropriate.

Returning to the prevailing yet mutable British paradigms of race and ethnicity, we must note how, post 9/11, these are also increasingly religiously inflected in terms of the racialization and demonization of Islam (Abbas 2004). Discourses of cultural, civilizational and moral pathology continue to haunt more recent declarations of a postracial

² The problems posed for Asian communities were often perceived to be caused by the excess of cultural difference and its impact on Asian migrants' cultural adaption and integration into British social and cultural norms.

Britain, which proclaim that race has ceased to be a pertinent category of political analysis or that multiculturalism is a 'failed' and spent project. Where the former announces the success of liberal Britain's self-proclaimed innate tolerance and fairness (Lentin and Titley 2012, 2), the latter has been blamed by the ex-prime minister, David Cameron,³ for the lack of social cohesion in 'broken Britain' (Cameron 2011b). This accusation came in response to the English civil unrests of 2011 and just two months after Cameron delivered a speech at a European security conference, in which he denounced multiculturalism's alleged 'passive tolerance' of intolerable cultural differences 'that run counter to *our* values' (ibid., emphasis added). In an unusually direct deployment of racial discourse, he makes clear that the community whose moral authority and values are being undermined includes only white Europeans:

We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values. So when a white person holds objectionable views—racism, for example—we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices have come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious, frankly even fearful, to stand up to them. (Cameron 2011a)

Unravelling some of the political and social entanglements of Britain's colonial non-white Others in the making of a specifically British liberal national identity involves exposing what is repressed and connoted by this call for a return to a lost indigenous 'active muscular liberalism'—one that must now reassert itself at home and internationally. That is how this narrative of British liberalism is not only highly gendered, tied not merely to the emergence of nineteenth-century British bourgeois patriarchal democracy, but also inseparable from the twentieth-century ascendancy of a resolutely liberal white democratic British nationalism, centred on the family, women and race; one that is unintelligible outside its 'location in a larger imperial social formation' (Sinha 1995, 9). So to grasp what is at stake in more recent calls for the reinvigoration of an active muscular

³ David Cameron's speech at the Munich Security Conference, Saturday 5 February 2011. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference.

liberalism, as simultaneously the indigenous personality and identity of not only the British 'people' and nation but indelibly the West, they must be located within the changing conjunctural histories of British colonialism, white patriarchy and European imperialism.

Reconstructing Britishness: Motherhood, Work and Post-War Colonial Immigration.

This chapter unsettles the ways in which race, gender and the history of Black Britishness and Britishness itself can be framed and spoken of by examining two critical moments in the reform of British rule. These are (1) the reconstruction of the British Caribbean from colonial territories to independent self-governing nation-states within the New Commonwealth from the 1930s to the 1960s, as in part shaped by the West India Royal Commission Report (the Moyne Report); and (2) the post-war reconstruction of Britain from an imperial nation at war to a multicultural welfare state, as represented in The Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services (the Beveridge Report). What unites these transitional moments is how, in each, plans for state interventions in civil society and family life were also critical transnational moments in the circulation of British colonial liberal meanings and concerns regarding the reform of British racial rule and patriarchal nation-building, in both the metropole and its colonies. Both moments also represent significant transformational phases in British state policies for the racially articulated gendered management of labour; transformations habitually analysed as unconnected, which as this chapter argues often occur within historic conjunctures of power, influence and concern, also typically represented as politically and geographically disconnected, but which we will see have frequently been mutually informing if not interdependent.

British state policies towards women at home and towards women in the colonies demonstrate how the racialization of women's labour has been an essential component in British national and colonial governance. The significance of colonial women's migration in the elaboration of a racialized and gendered discourse of the British nation in the immediate post-war period has been noted by several writers (Brah 1996; Holdsworth and Dale 1997; Grosfoguel 1998; Webster 1998; Jones 2001; Holloway 2007). Avtar Brah has shown in relation to South Asian women how the settlement processes of diverse immigrant

populations have differently inserted them into the British nation. Drawing on the work of these scholars, this chapter takes forward their explorations of how the figures of ethnically and racially differentiated categories of New Commonwealth women immigrants were implicated and deployed in changing constructions of women's role in British society as mothers and workers.

Wendy Webster in *Imagining Home: Gender Race and National Identity, 1945–64* (1998) and in *Englishness and Empire 1939–1965* (Webster 2005) provides an extensive analysis of the discursive, lived and structural insertion of colonial Caribbean women's labour into the reconstruction of post-war British national identity. She highlights how in the immediate post-war period Irish and New Commonwealth immigrant women's labour mediated the tensions between state maternalist policies towards white British women and white feminist demands for women's rights for British women (Webster 1998, 2005). This chapter extends these insights by situating these developments within the wider frame of constitutional decolonization and the liberalization of racial rule.

The Beveridge Report, also known officially as Social Insurance and Allied Services Report, also known as the Beveridge Plan (Beveridge 1942), which shaped the post-war development of the British welfare state, had uneven consequences for women owing to the paradoxically 'restrictive and emancipating features' of its social policies (Jones 2001, 321). Rose Jones explains that these paradoxes arise from the attempt of the state at this time to use social policy to regulate women's behaviour and enforce particular normative ideals of femininity, family and marriage. She highlights the growth of maternalist policies, which sought to address female and child poverty by improving the quality and capacity of mothering (ibid., 322). Importantly for our argument, Jones links this preoccupation with mothering to the international political and economic situation: 'Maternalist arguments emerged in Britain at a time when public and official anxiety was growing over economic competition from Germany and the United States, over the strength of the British Empire, and over the declining birth rate and persistently high levels of infant mortality' (ibid., 323). So as the following will show, Beveridge's concerns for maternalism and family life reveal preoccupations not merely with the need for post-war national recovery but with how central to these

anxieties were state concerns regarding security and the management of British racial rule both at home and abroad.

Beveridge's plans for establishing a universal social insurance scheme was centred on the idea of universality and citizenship; everyone would contribute to, and everyone should benefit from, National Insurance as a common social good, thereby removing the stigmatization of the previous Poor Law system. Yet to contribute required that one should be working. Good citizenship thus revolved around participation in the labour market (ibid., 327). However, Jones points out that Beveridge assumed that the vast majority of women would marry and become dependent economically on their husbands, and that a woman's unpaid labour would be compensated for through her husband's social security contributions. Thus Beveridge made an explicit distinction between single and married women's productive and reproductive labour within the nation:

The attitude of the housewife to gainful employment outside the home [...] is not and should not be the same as that of the single woman. She has other duties ... in the next thirty years housewives as mothers have vital work to do in ensuring the adequate continuance of the British race and of British ideals in the world (Beveridge quoted in ibid., 328)

What is fascinating about this statement is what it reveals about the intimate connections within post-war social policy between domesticity, imperial nationhood, sexuality, race and gender. It is quite clear that producing more British babies was crucial for the domestic economy, but also producing more white British babies was equally critical in resisting a demographic threat at the level of both the post-war national recovery and international relations. Maintaining British dominion in the world required more white British babies, to resist an international demographic order that might advantage the numerically more populous non-white colonized world. Furthermore, when we read the Beveridge Report in the context of mid-twentieth-century international relations and racial politics, the ideological formation of the figurative British family as both patriarchal and white comes starkly into view. Not only do race and empire explicitly inform Beveridge's plans for the post-war reconstruction of the domestic British national family but, as the section

that examines the Moyne Report will show, the Beveridge Report was central to the imperial circulation of ideas about welfare and citizenship which framed not just domestic social policy but also British colonial welfare policy and state-decolonizing strategies across its empire (Seekings 2005, 52).

The post-war tension between the desire of the state to return the ideological White British woman into the patriarchal home and the need for women's labour 'sent out mixed messages to women about their role in the economy' (Holloway 2007, 187). At the same time it opened up opportunities for the working wife, and for middle-class feminist 'dual-role advocates' of the interwar and post-war periods. Where, prior to the war, domestic work had been the main source of employment for working-class women, the post-war decline of domestic service threatened the ideological and class distinctions between the work of the middle-class professional woman and that of the working-class working woman.

A key aspect of Beveridge's maternalism involved the institutionalization of a new social welfare category of the 'housewife', defined in the report as 'a married woman of working age' (Beveridge 1942, 10). So the housewife was defined by the new welfare state in terms of her marital status, which in turn also determined her status in relation to paid employment: she was the wife of an employed man. Therefore in social policy debates the 'housewife' was distinguishable from the 'working wife' largely only by the number of hours she spent away from her domestic work as wife and mother in the home. The social policy image of the working wife was someone in low-status unskilled employment outside the home, supplementing but peripheral to the domestic economy determined by the income of the male breadwinner. This image of the working wife was not in line with the agendas of professional working women, who sought to demonstrate their capacity to balance the role of wife and mother with professional careers that carried a social status not previously assigned to 'women's work'. In short, the fear for British middle-class women, argues Webster, was that the post-war state drive to return all women to the home and family might also undermine the status of professional women. So when Webster reports that dual-role advocates 'were particularly concerned to differentiate themselves from housewives, and in so doing they often assigned a primarily domestic

identity to other women' (Webster 1998, 135), we can see the extent to which it may have been important for British middle-class feminists to make clear distinctions between the housewife and the working woman (ibid., 136), relying on attributes with clear class connotations.

We therefore need to situate the arrival of Caribbean and other colonized women as workers within this context of British state maternalism. towards white women and the post-war rise in the demand for workingclass women to staff the expanding spheres of feminized occupations within nationalized industries and the welfare state, and to take up roles as nursing aides and domestic care workers (Anderson cited in McDowell 2013, 52), alongside newly feminized service sector roles, such as in the public transport system (Peach 1991). It was into these classed, as well as gendered, negotiations taking place over the dissonant figures of the professional woman the working wife and the housewife that the figure of the post-war Caribbean immigrant woman entered, highlighting the further dimension of race. For example, recruitment policies in relation to Caribbean and other New Commonwealth women workers was clear about the types of work they were to enter—largely on the lower rungs of already lower-paid female occupations in the newly established agencies of the welfare state, and nationalized industries such as health, transport and manufacturing—certainly not as clerical or professional workers (Webster 1998, 146). One example of this is how the recruitment of women from the Caribbean into the National Health Service in the 1950s attempted to siphon them into lower grades and lower-status nursing roles, such as State Enrolled Nurses rather than State Registered Nurses, mental health and geriatric care (ibid.), and encourage them to become cleaners or cooks (Jones 2001, 331; Spencer 1997, 42).

Another dimension to this is the role of ethnicity in British state maternalism. The transformation from an imperial to a postimperial British national identity involved the reinvigoration and elevation of Englishness (Webster 2005). Thus, as Webster argues, the recruitment of white Irish working-class women was also strategically implicated in the state maternalism towards white English women. Yet 'immigrant women in particular were disadvantaged because the official view towards them was that they were allowed in this country as workers. Consequently scant attention was paid to their domestic role' (Holloway 2007, 181). Here the

liberalization of welfare through the discourse of maternalism and the elevation of the working-class male breadwinner reorganizes the categories of both the British family and British motherhood, not only to denote whiteness but also to democratize and extend bourgeois patriarchy to the masses while connoting English liberalism as the normative moral identity of the (white) British people. In other words, the figurative (white) British mother of the 1950s and early 1960s and the non-white, non-English 'immigrant woman worker' emerge discursively, politically and sociologically as interdependent categories. Almost as an aside, Englishness also rearticulates its hegemonic hold over the meaning of Britishness through its colonization of idealized motherhood as the symbol of the nation.

So if British post-war state maternalism elevated white British women's domestic and mothering roles at the same time as the state increasingly needed colonized and working-class women's feminized labour in the new nationalized industries and service sectors of the welfare state (ibid., 180), then the history of the working through of this tension in the post-war nationalization and domestication of liberal racial rule in the remainder of the twentieth century involved the liberal reorganization rearticulation of regulatory categories of race, which were intimately co-produced with gender, class and nation. For if part of the task of the welfare state was to expand class equality and women's rights by enabling the working-class male breadwinner or lone parent post-war widow to take care of their family with dignity (Jenson and Sineau 2001, 8), then we need to also recognize how in the racially gendered politics of post-war citizenship an ethicized motherhood was deployed to symbolize and reassert the whiteness—and Englishness—of the national family. Englishness comes to symbolize the virtue of the liberal nation, despite imperial decline and the changes to British society and national identity associated with mass non-white immigration. That this occurred at the very moment when the pressures of racial management in the British Empire and postwar national reconstruction at home necessitated the importation of immigrant women as workers rather than as mothers was not accidental; rather, it demonstrates the reforms that liberalism had to make to accommodate changing domestic realties and the new international order resulting from the Second World War.

British debates regarding the presence of non-white colonial citizens throughout the early twentieth century reveal a fear of 'coloured' immigration from the New Commonwealth (Webster 2005, 150), and these are reflected in the Beveridge Report. This racial anxiety was both gendered and sexed, so that in the 1950s, when men constituted the mainstay of early post-war New Commonwealth immigrants, Black men's bodies were seen as a potential threat to the purity of white women and the British race (Christian 2008, 215; Webster 1998, 46). However, by the 1960s, after the numbers of women immigrants increased, it was Black women's alleged untamed fecundity that was increasingly being represented as a threat to British national identity (Webster 1998, 94). Furthermore, the problems caused for Caribbean women and families in balancing childcare, and the need and frequent desire to work full time, contributed to the pervasive representation of Caribbean gender relations, mothering and family life as both discrepant from the White British norm and pathological (Lawrence 1982). What this omission does is fail to consider the histories, traditions and aspirations of work, marriage and the family life that Black women brought with them from the Caribbean. However, Webster importantly identifies how work signified different things to immigrant women. Whereas for professional white women it signified individual aspirations and individualistic goals, which often placed their identities as wives and mothers in tension. Webster states that 'Caribbean women in particular—seen in terms of an incapacity for family life, especially through constructions of Black motherhood—used their employment for familial goals, reversing the way in which their construction as workers denied them a domestic or familial identity' (Webster 1998, 131, emphasis added). More work is needed to account for this assumption of Caribbean women's 'incapacity for family life' and to consider to the meanings and priorities motivating Caribbean women's migration, and how marriage, work and motherhood were entwined in this process.

We need to consider the meaning of work for Caribbean women not only in a British national context but in relation to how migration impacted the domestic identities of Caribbean women of different classes by reconfiguring all Caribbean women into a singular racially classed identity of the low-status 'coloured worker', which as we have noted was also gendered. Caribbean women came in large numbers with the

primary intention of engaging in waged work to aid family survival both 'back home' in the Caribbean and in Britain. Many also came to gain professional qualifications and personal advancement, such as the many women who wanted to train as nurses in the National Health Service. However, there is a deeper historical story to be told about Caribbean women's gendered history of work and family life that still remains to be more fully connected to their lives in Britain. To further trace the meanings of work, motherhood and marriage that Caribbean women brought with them to Britain requires attention to the histories of gender, work and family life in the Caribbean, and their imperial relationship to Britain and global capitalism. For in the absence of this, it is as if Black and other colonized women arrived in Britain as blank slates without any history as workers, women or British subjects.

Margaret Byron's research among first-generation immigrant women from the Caribbean island of Nevis refers to Caribbean women having developed in the Caribbean 'an aura of independence' (Byron 1998, 218) linked to 'strategies of survival' (ibid., 219) which she argues leads them to prioritize securing economic independence, even if they were married or in a stable conjugal relationship (ibid.). On this basis Byron challenges the academic view that all migrant women prioritize motherhood and domestic labour within the home over and above waged labour outside the home (ibid., 221). Caribbean women came to Britain after the Second World War expressly to undertake waged labour and not primarily as dependents of men (ibid., 222). It can be argued that their attitudes to work, marriage and motherhood were informed by the historical legacies of African cultural retentions and adaptions to enslavement, pre- and postemancipation colonial labour systems and the effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War on Caribbean economies. All of these factors shaped African-Caribbean women's cultures of work and family life, producing a deeply entrenched feminized culture of the working mother and wife and of female economic autonomy.

The figure of the Caribbean immigrant woman is absent from the Beveridge Report's explicit discourse. However, it is clear from its anxieties about how to balance Britain's needs for economic recovery (labour demands) and social recovery (white population increase) that she and other colonized women haunted these concerns. We have also observed

that the racially gendered and classed demands of British post-war reconstruction provided the important economic pull factors for Caribbean immigration to Britain. The next section explores how the dire economic conditions in the post-war Caribbean contributed the push factors behind Caribbean women's immigration to Britain as workers. What we discover is how the British Colonial Office's concerns about the management of racial rule abroad were also advanced through debates about gender relations and the family. This supports Susan Kingsley Kent's (1999) view that from the seventeenth to the late twentieth century, conflicts and debates occurring at the level of British state authority and concerning the liberal modern identity of the nation were at different historical moments represented through discussions about the family and gender relations; furthermore, that British metropolitan state formations were frequently also developed through ideologies of gender that at times were also racialized through local practicalities and the transcolonial and conjunctural circulation of ideas of imperial rule (ibid., 1999).

The Moyne Report: Women, Labour and Constitutional Decolonization in the British Caribbean

The beginning of the twentieth century through the interwar years of the 1930s represents the peak of British colonial rule in the Caribbean and British imperial might in the world (Stoler 1989, 651). From the 1940s, and particularly after 1945, this began to change as Britain entered into the gradual process of formal political decolonization. The next section focuses on a second moment of British liberal-state reform in which metropole and colony were drawn together in the imperial circulation of debates about welfare, and security in women, gender and the family again figured centrally. This is the period of 1934–1962, when social unrest in the Caribbean, the intensification of anti-imperial struggles across the colonized world and the changing post-war international political discourse on race precipitated the process of political decolonization by

Britain of its Caribbean and other territories. It also overlapped the period of mass immigration from 1948 to 1962, referred to in the previous section. This part of the discussion examines how the figure of the African Caribbean woman and gender relations within the colonial Caribbean were targeted and represented in British Colonial Office discourses and social reform policies. It argues that concerns about the status of women and the family were central to debates about how to address crises in colonial governance in the region. These principally had to do with how best to reorganize British rule in ways that would assuage anti-colonial resistance ahead of the orderly relinquishment of colonial power; maintain and bolster Britain's liberal modern self-identity; and also ensure British power and authority in the world. In this, social welfare was to be a central source of 'soft power' in a changing post-war international order.

In the Caribbean the Great Depression of the 1930s had led to a slump in the world demand for sugar and contributed to high levels of unemployment. In the past, Caribbean workers had been able to rely on temporary agricultural work in other parts of the Caribbean Basin and the Americas to offset seasonal and other fluctuations in employment at home. The worldwide economic decline of this period removed this safety net (Harrison 2011, 63) and exacerbated the pre-existing colonial conditions of poverty, so that in the 1930s unemployment and even malnutrition spread across the Caribbean and South America. In the British Caribbean this led to a prolonged period between 1934 and 1939 of labour unrest, hunger marches and rebellions against the colonial state. These came to a head between 1937 and 1939, culminating in major civil unrest across the whole of the British Caribbean and British Guyana. At its peak of these events, in 1937 and 1938, Britain stationed troop ships off several islands and deployed British troops to quell the unrest.

The rebellions of the 1930s were a 'response to persistent denials of political participation and desperate social deprivation' (ibid., 62). At this time no more than 10 % of the Caribbean population had a right to vote (Rush and Anne 2011, 70), so direct action and labour activism were the primary means by which the Caribbean population could assert their economic and political claims. These events sowed the seeds of both the Caribbean unionized labour movement and Caribbean anti-colonial nationalism. It is here in the formation of both movements that we find

once again concerns about gender relations and the status of women being deployed in social welfare reform debates, but now linked to Colonial Office deliberations over how to reform British colonial rule in the region. The specificities of local colonial state responses are particular to each Caribbean island, but it is possible to discern a general policy of the British Colonial Office towards these events, especially when we look at the contributions of the Moyne Report to the separation of constitutional (political) and labour (economic) policies.

In 1938, following the labour unrest, the British Government set up the West India Royal Commission, sending out a team of investigators to tour the whole of the British Caribbean to survey conditions and decide what actions needed to be taken. The *West India Royal Commission Report* (Colonial Office 1945), also known as the Moyne Report after its chairman, Walter Edward Guinness, Baron Moyne of Bury St. Edmunds, was the most important report on the West Indies in the post-war period and shaped colonial policy in the Caribbean through the 1940s and the granting of independence to the first Caribbean territories in 1962.

The Moyne Report 'exposed the deplorable conditions under which the people of the West Indies lived and worked: illiteracy, malnutrition, unsanitary environment, poor housing, exposure to contagious diseases and unsatisfactory maternal and childcare' (Hewitt 2002, 9). However, a surfeit of references in the report to the alleged promiscuity, ignorance and immorality of the Black population blamed the poverty and high infant mortality rate in the Caribbean not on the poverty and the inherently exploitative system of colonialism but on pathological Black families, promiscuous mothers and irresponsible fathers (Colonial Office 1945, 221). For example, the report cited illegitimacy rates of 60 % (ibid.). These are supported by the 1931 census in Trinidad, for example, which shows that legal marriages had increased from 21.3 % in 1901 to just 26.5 % by 1931 (Reddock 1994, 83). The report then went on to blame the dire social conditions in the Caribbean on high illegitimacy rates caused by the moral 'immaturity' of the Black population. Rejecting local submissions made to it that the unpopularity of marriage among

⁴ We should note that Hindu and Muslim marriages were not given legal status in Trinidad law until 1945.

African-Caribbeans was a legacy of the prohibition on slaves' marriages during slavery, the Moyne Report instead blamed the 'social evil' of illegitimacy and unmarried cohabitation on 'the absence of strong opposing public opinion among a people whose immature minds are ruled by their adult bodies' (Colonial Office 1945, 221, emphasis added). The remedy was a proposal for a battery of social welfare and educational provisions to not only address the dire conditions of the population but also to instil the attitudes and habits of 'proper' family life. The possibility that Caribbean men and women may have developed alternative or oppositional gender ideologies, in adaption to their lived realities as enslaved and later colonized 'free' colonized people within the social limitations of imperial capitalism and the post-emancipation Caribbean, was not even considered. In contrast, Reddock argues that Black Caribbean women developed their own philosophy of gender relations in which marriage was not appealing. While marriage was an unattainable ideal for many women, who viewed it as requiring signs of respectability that they could not afford, such as expensive weddings, receptions and a 'respectable house', many others regarded it as giving men legal authority over women, thus reducing women's autonomy and freedom to leave unhappy partnerships (Reddock 1994, 60).

That the labour rebellions of the 1930s contributed to both the growth of Caribbean trade unionism and the political parties that went on to shape Caribbean decolonial struggles of the 1940s and 1950s is widely accepted. What is less well established is how the social changes brought about by the Moyne Report impacted the sexual division of labour in the region and masculinized decolonial and nationalist politics. The contribution of Caribbean feminist scholars in bringing attention to women and gender in the Moyne Report is characterized by the different understandings of the report's significance found in two studies, one by Nigel Bolland (2001a) and the other by Rhoda Reddock (1994).

Bolland in *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean* characterized the thrust of the Moyne Report as one concerned with rehabilitating Caribbean colonies back into acquiescence and away from confrontation with the colonial rule through two primary mechanisms: first, the use of welfare reforms and public works programmes to assuage the poverty, poor living conditions and unemployment that had fuelled the rebellions;

and, second, the use of labour legislation and policies to encourage 'responsible trade unionism' and in so doing separate economic from political concerns (Bolland 2001a, 392). He offers an extensive discussion of how this involved the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) and its general secretary, Sir Walter Citrine, acting as agents of the colonial state, in shaping and controlling the development of trade unionism and labour reform in the Caribbean (Bolland 2001a, 213). Bolland shows how a number of interventions by the TUC sought to promote trade unionism, while simultaneously inhibiting its autonomous political development by requiring affiliation to the TUC and governance under its rules. This liberalization of Caribbean labour relations, argues Bolland, was a political strategy by the colonial state deployed to separate economic demands from political claims, and to mute the political claims of Caribbean peoples (Bolland 2001b, 392).

Bolland's account of the Moyne Report and Caribbean labour and politics does not address questions of gender. Effectively, this not only renders Caribbean women's involvement in trade unionism invisible (Bolles 2005, 90; French 2005, 38) but also masculinizes the categories of both 'worker' and 'politics'. Alternatively, Rhoda Reddock's account of both the labour rebellions and the Moyne Report convincingly argues for the centrality of gender relations and women in the civil unrest of the 1930s, the rise of the labour and nationalist movements, and the Moyne Report (Reddock 1994). She provides countless examples of women's active involvement in Black consciousness movements—especially the Garvey movement in the 1920s and 1930s—as well as organizing and participating in hunger marches, labour marches, strikes and the trade union movement of the 1930s (ibid., 133).

The significance of the Moyne Report for Reddock lies in how it systematically set about securing a sexual division of labour based on the separate spheres model and transforming Caribbean gender relations to fit a European norm. Joan French summarizes the Moyne Report as resting on three main pillars: social welfare reform, the creation of 'responsible trade unionism, and changes to Land Settlement reforms' (French 2005, 39). The centrality of the focus on women is apparent when we examine the three things which the Moyne Commission saw as basic to the solution of the problems [...] after 1938 and the implications for

women. They were: The status accorded women; the lack of family life; the absence of a well-defined program of social welfare. (ibid.)

Here we finally see the connection between the assumption of Caribbean immigrant women's incapacity for family life in British post-war social attitudes and the history of British racial rule in the Caribbean. The Moyne Report set out a social welfare regime expressly aimed at addressing the three pillars of reform through the intensification of efforts to domesticate the Black Caribbean woman. This in part took the form of changes in Caribbean labour regulations aimed at transforming women's participation in the labour market, and girls' educational and social welfare reforms aimed at improving the majority African-descended Caribbean family.

In 1946, Moyne's recommendations led to changes in census categories and measuring systems that removed many jobs done by women (e.g. domestic and shop work) out of the category of employed work and made them ineligible for inclusion in labour-force statistics. These were then accompanied by changes to the method for measuring unemployment. Instead of counting all those in the population seeking work, it shifted to a labour-force model, which counted only those considered part of the eligible labour force. This instantly removed large numbers of women from the unemployment figures and redefined them not as unemployed workers but as housewives. This recategorization of feminized occupations also rendered them ineligible for trade union membership. By these means the reforms of the Moyne Report became central to an orchestrated effort to manage the effects of high unemployment by removing large numbers of women from the labour force and reconstituting them as 'housewives.' One result of this domestication of women's labour meant that by the mid-1940s women's status within Caribbean unionism had been marginalized to a supportive role, as Caribbean men asserted their leadership of the unionized labour (Reddock 1994, 283), and subsequently of the anti-colonial movements.

Thus there is no contradiction between the Moyne Report's apparent liberalism and its paternalism because its view of women's ideal status was as respectable domesticated mother and wife, but also responsible middle-class citizen sharing in the civic running of the colony through Civil Service appointments and public office (Colonial Office 1945, 230).

Given that at this time few Caribbean rural peasant or urban workingclass women would have had the education to take up such positions, this implies that the women whom the Moyne Report envisaged for civic office were not the same ones who were the targets of the report's social welfare reforms aimed explicitly at dealing with Black women's 'lack of family life' (ibid., 220) but rather the mostly white and brown elite women, who through their work in charitable organizations, and the teaching and welfare professions, 'would train poor women to accept proper families [...] definitely nuclear—male breadwinner, non-earning wife and dependents' (French 2005, 40). Thus with the help of the funds released by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, which for the first time saw the colonial state take responsibility for welfare provision, these respectable women were to be the reformers of their mostly darker-skinned Black sisters, enabling the modernized and reformed African-Caribbean family 'to be the answer to the unemployment, the lack of wage-work and the land hunger of the masses, which the Moyne Commission identified as the main socio-economic problems facing the island[s]' (ibid.).

The centrality of gender, race and sex in the Moyne Report is further evidenced by the way it was saturated in a rhetoric of moral condemnation and shame that reflects the way in which twentieth-century British liberalism had come to bury and forget its inherently racialized ontology, in which racially defined and gendered categories of people were rendered ineligible for full admission into the category of citizenship, yet simultaneously targeted as subjects of British freedom through forms of moral and social governance tied no longer to a civilizing mission but, by the mid-twentieth century, to a modernizing one. The Moyne Report, in its disregard for Black women's cultures of family life and their ideas of gender, had no other way of understanding Black family life and Caribbean gender relations other than as morally sinful and socially pathological. This moral governmentality sought the internalization of colonialism's racialized regime, which everywhere 'took the form of asserting a distinct colonial morality, explicit in its reorientation to the racial and class markers of being European ... It instilled a notion of Homo Europeans for whom superior health, wealth and education were tied to racial endowments and a White Man's norm' (Stoler 2002, 64).

It was not until the mid-twentieth century in an emerging new era framed by the war on Nazi racism, and the challenges this presented to the legitimacy of European empires and an emerging Cold War landscape, that the British colonial state began to seriously invest the money to provide the social welfare provisions required to tackle the dire social conditions in its Caribbean colonies (French 2005). Rather than acknowledge the underinvestment in the social infrastructure needed to promote Caribbean, rather than British, interests, instead, as we have seen in the Moyne Report, the Colonial Office and its officials preferred to blame the precarious conditions of Black life in the Caribbean on the colonized populations themselves; so much so that in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Jamaica, infant mortality was criminalized based on the belief that ignorant mothers, 'unqualified midwives' (De Barros 2014, 59) and irresponsible 'sexually voracious' fathers without 'proper parental feeling' (ibid., 60) were deliberately condemning their children to early death. The social conditions that the Moyne Report identified in the 1930s were the direct consequence of the failure of colonial liberalism to seriously address the social factors impacting health, education and housing conditions for the previous 100 years since the abolition of slavery in 1838. But what it chose to do was demonize the traditional midwives, medicine-women, herbalists, Myalists and traditional healers on whom the population relied (Paton 2009; Sheller 1998). These negative representations of Caribbean midwives and medicine women in colonial discourse deployed public health discourses, domestic training and Christian morality to shame Black women into compliance with Eurocentric gender and family norms while withholding from them the social and economic means to attain them.

The Moyne Report is remarkable in the way in which it attempts to balance benevolence and control, maternalism and paternalism, and equality. We see this in its strong commitment to the promotion of marriage, women's rights and non-racialism, at the same time as promoting women's domestification and assiduously refusing to enter into a consideration of special provisions for East Indians on the grounds that

The future of this population is bound up with the West Indies . . . In the circumstances any measures which cause the East Indians to look upon

themselves, or to be looked upon, as a people apart will at once pave the way for inter-racial rivalries and jealousies and at the same time prejudice the proper handling of the many problems involving all the peoples of the West Indies. (Colonial Office 1945, 417)

In a society so ordered and governed along racial lines, this is an astonishing assertion. However, it is one which becomes more understandable once one acknowledges the political importance, both during and after the war, for Britain to be seen to be disavowing race as a legitimate category of political and social organization. In this regard, post-war British colonial and British metropolitan systems of racial rule were on a collision course.⁵ Within Britain, explicit forms of racial discrimination expressed a powerful government resistance to Black and Asian immigration to Britain, while colonial governors in the Caribbean were urging the Cabinet to permit immigration to Britain as a way of easing the high levels of unemployment there, which were threatening the stability of the colonial order (Spencer 1997, 39). Also at the international level, colonialism and the Colour Bar in Britain were appearing to be increasingly anomalous, following the shifts in the international climate of opinion on race following the war and the subsequent United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 1945. The disavowal of the significance of race in the Moyne Report contrasts with the view of the 1949 Royal Commission on Population in Britain, which in recognizing that Britain would need 140,000 extra labourers per year argued that this policy 'could only be welcome without reserve if the migrants were of good human stock and not prevented by their race or religion from intermarrying with the host population and becoming merged with it' (Home Office correspondence to the Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office 1954 cited in Spencer 1997, 72). The discourse of race and sex contained with the Home Office's fear of racial and religious intimacy is transparently revealed here and contrasts with the Colonial Office's rhetoric of non-racialism and universal rights. It is in the contradictory attitudes and positions of these two ministries that the dilemmas of

⁵ Although the report was completed in 1939, it was not published until 1945, although many of its recommendations had already been implemented by then.

colonialism and the pressure for decolonization are most acutely articulated.

Gender and Post-War Racial Settlement

Following the intensification of anti-colonial movements across the European empires from the 1930s onwards, the rise of Japanese power in the 1940s was seen by the Allied Powers as evidence of the dangers to come if the 'coloured races' gained power (Furedi 1998, 10). It was in this environment that the Atlantic Charter of 1941, drawn up by the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, and the US president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, committed allied governments to the goal of securing 'a future free of insecurity and poverty' (Seekings 2005, 52) for all. Post-war social policy, then, across the British Empire and within Britain, was centrally concerned with maintaining racial rule and Western capitalist hegemony through liberal national reconstruction policies that promoted the separate spheres model of the male breadwinner and domesticated wife as a key strategy of modernization-as-Westernization; even where the economic realities of global capitalism's demands for both colonized and white working-class women's labour inhibited its fulfilment. The template for this Western 'new deal' was provided by significant measures by both the Beveridge and Moyne reports. Both were crucial in shaping postwar reconstruction policies across the imperial reach of British influence and arguably the USA too. From New Zealand, to South Africa, India, Canada and the Caribbean, 'the early and mid-1940s were a period of extraordinary intellectual ferment, with ideas being carried around the world at great speed and with important consequences' (ibid., 50), and there is some excellent work detailing the attempts to inculcate European patriarchal gender ideology in, for example, India (Bannerji 2001; Sinha 1995). For not only was the British Colonial Office 'dazzled by Beveridge' (Lewis cited in Seekings 2005, 51), but the Moyne Report's proposals and its implementation also 'fed straight into colonial policy more widely. The British model of the municipal provision of social services would be applied to the colonies [...] in much the same way as reformers had already sought to raise up the British working class' (Seekings 2005, 53).

Reading the Moyne and Beveridge reports together highlights the double inscriptions of metropole and colony in the mid-twentieth-century articulations of patriarchal racial rule and British liberal nation-building, in which the status of women, gender relations and the family were central to modernizing welfare reforms aimed as much at the security of the liberal British state and Western hegemony as at the alleviation of poverty. In Britain the Beveridge Report operated in the service of a decolonizing British nationalism that, following the gender displacements of the war, sought to revive liberal patriarchy at home by returning the British 'housewife' to the marital home. Her principle role was to 'keep Britain white' by rebuilding the homogenous British national family. The figure of the colonized woman, on the other hand, although absent from the Beveridge Report, subsequently became—as a racialized category of female working class labour—central to resolving the tensions in the Beveridge Report between political and economic imperatives.

Turning to the Caribbean, it appears that the Moyne Report was caught in the transition from a racialized colonial gender order in which colonial morality is still residually functioning as a criterion for judging the colonized population's fitness for self-rule, and an emergent and pressing post-war universal rights discourse of racial equality. Its preoccupation with women's status presents the treatment of women as a yardstick for measuring the moral and political distance between different racialized families, and for establishing the degree to which Caribbean men had not yet attained the level of control over their women and families that would indicate readiness for full democratic citizenship and national sovereignty. The Moyne Report's rhetoric of gender rights could also signal how advanced European culture and civilization were in comparison with Caribbean cultures, at the same time as its disavowal of race as a legitimate basis of political rights claims could contain and assuage anti-colonial demands in the name of universal liberal sameness. Perhaps, with the benefit of hindsight, we can now view Moyne's assertion of non-racialism as an earlier colonial incarnation of contemporary neoliberal postracial liberal racial discourse.

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Discrepant Women, Imperial Patriarchies and (De)Colonizing Masculinities

[R]acialised understandings of free labour, civility, and concepts of person-hood were equally parts of humanism's legacy. Modern racial thinking and racialised ideas about gender and sexuality emerged in the contradiction between humanism's aspirations to universality and the needs of modern colonial regimes to manage work, reproduction and the social organisation of the colonised (Lisa Lowe, unpublished paper 2005)

This chapter continues the genealogy of colonial liberalism as it targeted Caribbean women and Caribbean gender relations. Moving back to the period of the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean, it highlights the transformation that emancipation required in the rhetoric, if not always the practice of racial rule. In particular, it addresses, first, how the imposition of colonial governmentality—or colonial liberalism—was central in the reform of racial rule and, second, how it relied on the deployment of new biopolitical rationalities of race and gender in the production of Caribbean taxonomies of freedom, in which Indian, African, Chinese and White populations were ascribed differential endowments of civility, measured largely in terms of colonial understandings of ethnicized gender and family arrangements. It is in this reforming moment of emancipation that we can

better understand the logics of colonial moral governmentality that the previous chapter identified in the Moyne Report. It is here that we can trace its elaboration within a critical conjuncture in British racial rule and liberalism, and how racialized conceptions of the different gender and family arrangements were deployed in managing the tensions between colonial rule and freedom.

A genealogical approach to history, accompanied by a close attention to politics of location and the geopolitics of knowledge, brings back into view and to analytical importance the 300 years of Caribbean women's enslaved, indentured and colonized labour within the British (Empire) nation and global capitalism in order to further unravel the political and historical intermeshing of the woman question and the race question, with the liberal problem of freedom—that is, the tension between the limits of government and the limits of individual freedom. Spanning a period of just over 100 years, this chapter focuses on the British abolition of slavery and the transformation of the Caribbean into nominally free societies under British colonial rule. This period represented a defining moment of both Britain's liberal national identity and Black Caribbean modern subjectivity. It spans the high point of the Abolitionist Movement from 1823, through the drawn-out process leading up to the Emancipation Declaration of 1 August 1838, the importation of Indian and Chinese men and women as indentured labour until 1917, the labour unrest that swept Britain's Caribbean territories in the 1930s and culminating in the report of the British West India Commission in 1942. The early nineteenth-century reconstruction of the British Caribbean will be analysed in its relation to liberalism as the primary political and philosophical discourse defining modernity following the various liberal revolutions in the USA, France and Haiti in the eighteenth century. This chapter argues that from formal emancipation in the nineteenth century to the beginning of the establishment of democratic self-government in the Caribbean in the post-Second World War era, concerns and debates regarding freedom and colonial rule were repeatedly represented and managed through mutually constitutive discourses of gender and race.

The Racial Taxonomies of Freedom

The abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean colonies between 1834 and 1838 was framed by the problem of how to end slavery and transform Britain's Caribbean territories from plantation economies based on slave labour to peasant societies based on wage labour. This required that the colonial states represented by the British Colonial Office in consultation with local interests represented principally by the planter class devise a strategy by which to transform Caribbean plantation slave economies into free societies, and the enslaved into free modern subjects, or as George Phillipos, a Baptist missionary, put it in 1834, into 'a new world ... surrounded by a new order of beings' (Phillipos quoted in Hall 2002, 180). The relative weight given to the different factors which influenced Britain's decision to end the slave trade in 1807 and abolish slavery finally in 1838 is contested but it is generally agreed that the two overriding factors were economic and moral. For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the abolition of slavery has been represented in popular and academic discourses as the triumph of humanitarianism prompted by moral considerations for the common humanity and right to freedom of all people. This moral explanation for the ending of slavery was only challenged in the twentieth century in the work of Eric Williams (1964), who argued that there were pressing economic factors that precipitated the end of slavery. Slavery as a method of production, particularly after the abolition of the slave trade, was becoming increasingly unprofitable by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ending of the slave trade had required slave owners to adapt the organization of plantation labour. Previously, slave masters could afford to literally work slaves until they dropped because importing new supplies of African labour was cheaper than maintaining and reproducing the slave population naturally (Reddock 1994; Holt 1992). Additionally, liberalism as an economic philosophy and practice was applying pressure to implement

¹ The Act of Abolition was passed in 1833 and became law in 1834. However, the system of 'Apprenticeship' was designed to effectively keep the Black population enslaved to their slave masters for another twelve years. However, uprisings forced the complete emancipation of slaves in 1838.

free trade arrangements and curtail the economic monopolies and advantages of West Indian planters. After 1807, efforts to reproduce and sustain the existing enslaved population through new working and living arrangements aimed at prompting childbirth and family life failed. This, together with continuing sporadic small- and large-scale slave rebellions and acts of sabotage (Beckles 1988), together with international trade competition, were making slavery increasingly economically disadvantageous.

Another important precipitating factor was the influence of the Age of Revolution in the eighteenth century that had seen liberal revolutions in the YUSA (1775–1781), France (1789–1799) and St. Domingue (1791–1803). These resulted in major political shifts in the name of liberty and humanism. The St. Domingue (now Haiti) Revolution had a huge impact on the region because it was the first rebellion of slaves and free coloured people to succeed in overturning slavery, establishing the first independent Black republic in the Americas. Remarkably it is also the one liberal revolution of this period that has largely been erased from popular historical memory, at least in Britain. This contrasts with the awareness of the Haitian Revolution instilled in planters and the colonial interests at the time and the fear that it might be a catalyst for the spread of insurrection among slaves on other islands. Planters in both North America and the Caribbean dreaded the spread of revolutionary spirit from Haiti to the rest of the Americas. This well-founded concern was a contributing factor precipitating the end of the slave trade and slavery itself.

Thomas Holt makes clear in his study of the transition from slavery to freedom that it was the nexus created by a number of developments that provided the conditions of possibility in which abolitionism as a social movement (based on a moral cause) and abolition as political colonial policy (born of economic pragmatism) became mutually effective in advancing bourgeois liberal ideology (Holt 1992, 23). In this way the needs of capitalism, Christian morality and liberal humanism become fused in the name of anti-slavery as evidence of Britain's Enlightenment commitment to progress and civilization. The 'rise of secular philosophies and evangelical religions stripped away slavery's governmental 'screening mechanisms', exposing it as merely a blatant power relationship sustained by the material greed of the master' (ibid., 24). It is clear that the moral

arguments against slavery also represented in part the ascendancy of bourgeois liberalism in Britain.

In Britain the Reform Act of 1823 introduced to the metropole a measure of property-based voting rights to the upper and middle classes and effectively contained the power of the landed aristocracy, replacing it with a regime of classical liberalism exemplified by individualism and laissez-faire capitalism. Thus we must also see abolition in the context of the emergence of bourgeois liberalism as the hegemonic political consciousness of the British state (Kingsley Kent 1999, 167). This was a state-led consciousness that the anti-slavery movement mobilized and popularized, and in so doing united a number of fractional interests in a common mass-based national cause: the abolition of slavery (Hall 2002). It united working-class Chartists who had been unhappy with the Reform Act's failure to grant universal male suffrage, the newly enfranchised middle classes, and male and female Christian evangelicals, known as Dissenters. Thus abolition harnessed the reforming and liberal zeal of diverse factions into the nationalist cause of shedding the old British identity based on an English aristocratic oligarchy to a new vision of Britain as a liberal imperial nation-state spreading the values of the Enlightenment and civilization across the globe. The implications of this in terms of the post-emancipation reconstruction of Caribbean societies and the transformation of an economic and social system based on slavery to one based on a wage labour system are key to understanding the entanglement of colonial and metropolitan developments and how gender relations and the family were central terrains through which liberal notions of freedom, personhood, individual morality and discipline (Holt 1992, 25) became part of the colonial project in the Caribbean.

The next section examines how discourses of Black womanhood are altered by the transition from slavery to wage labour. It addresses the contestations over power and authority that surrounded this transition in order to examine how Black-Caribbean women were targeted as subjects of freedom between 1834 and 1938. I shall focus on colonial policy in Jamaica. The reason for this is that Jamaica serves as both a specific case study and 'Jamaica of the mind' (Hall 2002, 174) served at this time as a powerful symbol of Britain's colonial relations. Its economic significance to Britain rendered it synonymous in the colonial and national imagination with the West Indies as a whole, such that what happened in Jamaica

'had a disproportionate impact on British colonial policy and on the formation of popular understandings of emancipation' (Paton 2004, 4). Furthermore, Jamaica and Jamaican culture have continued to be powerful symbols of post-war immigration and its impact on Britain national identity, and more recent developments within global popular culture (Lipsitz 1994). Historians of slavery have highlighted the significance of Jamaica (Hall 2000; Holt 1992), and Diana Paton notes that 'Jamaica . . . was uniquely influential within and beyond the British Empire . . . Jamaica provided the paradigmatic case for British observers imaging and later evaluating the emancipation process' (Paton 2004, 4).

Two of the important points of entanglement between abolition and the spread of bourgeois liberalism in the metropole and the colonies lies (1) in the intimate connections between state patriarchy at home and in the colonies; and (2) in the way that gender and sexuality became integral to the colonial relation and the imperatives of colonial governance (Stoler 1995, 2002). These two aspects—bourgeois liberalism and modern systems of rule based on the internalization of mentalities of governance—can be examined by looking at two things: the arguments against the power of the planter class, and the technologies and strategies deployed in attempts to govern the sexual and family relations of different parts of the colonized populations.

Colonial Liberalism versus the 'Effeminate' Aristocracy of the Planter Class

It is no coincidence that Britain in 1823 witnessed both the institutionalization of the bourgeois liberal state and the revival of the Abolitionist Movement. The political interests that had congealed in the period leading to limited property-based enfranchisement in 1823 and culminated in full adult male suffrage in Britain in the Reform Act of 1867 were exported and replicated, albeit in altered form, to the colonies, and they can be seen reflected in debates about how to reorganize white rule in Britain's Caribbean colonies after emancipation.

Susan Kingsley Kent's account of the close inter-relationship between changes in British state formation, the rise of classical liberalism and

gender ideology from the seventeenth to the twentieth century is a tour de force that enables recognition of the entanglement of metropole and colonies. She demonstrates how in the period leading up to the Reform Act, an alliance had been forged between Britain's working classes and the middle-class bourgeoisie against the power of the aristocracy and their system of personal patronage and corruption. In the struggles that took place, gender had been an important discourse through which aristocratic power could be both attacked and evaluated. Middle-class claims to power were substantiated in part by appeals to a discourse of gendered respectability as the sign of liberal virtues, which were contrasted with aristocratic hedonism, sexual debauchery and moral corruption (Kingsley Kent 1999, 155). Working-class radical support for parliamentary reform was betraved in the passing of the Reform Act, which imposed at the behest of the middle and upper classes a property-based franchise that most could not meet. Thus political rights within classical liberalism become identical with property rights. Subsequently, the working-class Chartist movement agitating for male enfranchisement increasingly deployed the ideal of bourgeois virtue and the rhetoric of domesticity as the foundation of their claims as 'respectable men' to a share of bourgeois liberty. The ideal of domesticity rested on the separate spheres' model in which women were the possession of husbands and fathers, and were confined to the private space of the family and domestic sphere. Men as owners of themselves and owners of women were to be charged with exercising power in the public sphere on behalf of women.

Similarly, in the Abolitionist Movement, planters were being described as despotic rulers who were both morally and sexually corrupted by their absolute power over their slaves (ibid., 92), and rendered debauched and lascivious by the heat of the tropics and their proximity and free access to enslaved and free Black women (Holt 1992, 93; Kingsley Kent 1999, 96). Abolitionists saw the West Indies as a place where, distanced from the influence of liberal respectability, planters developed both the excesses of the old aristocracy—that is, 'luxury, effeminacy and profligacy' (Fothergill cited in Kingsley Kent 1999, 92)—and, owing to their intimate proximity to 'natives', easily forgot their European manners, becoming creolized—that is, more like those they were supposed to be governing (Holt 1992): sensual, selfish and indolent. West Indian planters were perceived as being inclined

to sexual indulgence, immoral excess and displaying all the vices more suited to the ancien régime than the new enlightened political order. For abolitionists the image of the whip and the naked Black woman slave were potent symbols of the worst excesses of the planter's autocratic rule; an image that united ideas of race, sex, gender and disorder with ideas of freedom (Paton 2004). Black-Caribbean women were iconoclastically represented in abolitionist literature as 'chaste, modest victims of lustful brutal representatives of a vicious planter aristocracy whose commerce in human cargoes offended most upright, moral manly Britons and brought tears of pity to the eyes of compassionate British women' (Kingsley Kent 1999, 110)

The British Government's initial attempts to get the cooperation of Caribbean planters in advancing the new liberal national consciousness failed. A series of Amelioration Acts that were passed after 1823 had been intended to produce an adjustment in the organization of plantation societies after the end of the slave trade in 1807. The hope was that the need to sustain and reproduce a slave population now that new imports could not be relied on would lead planters to gradually adjust the organization of plantation life and gradually concede to a system of free labour. Persuading the planters to agree to abolition involved a battery of new legal provisions known as the Amelioration Acts, permitting a range of measures aimed at both easing the financial losses that planters feared and establishing fundamental changes to Jamaican society:

The planters were encouraged to move with all deliberate speed to prepare their slaves to join a free labour force. Slaves should be given religious instruction; marriages and families should be protected; physical coercion especially whipping, should be controlled if not abolished; and manumission should be encouraged (Holt 1992, 18)

A large part of the planters' resistance was expressed within the terms of classical liberalism—that is, emancipation threatened the loss of their rights in their own property (i.e. the slaves). Thus, on the one hand, amelioration involved softening the impact of emancipation on the planter by ensuring that he suffered no loss in profit or wealth, and, on the other, acculturating the enslaved into the mentalities and habits of a free labour force. Thus amelioration and acculturation represented a single process aimed at a gradual movement towards liberation (ibid., 19). The failure of planters

to concede to these changes led in 1831 to the Morant Bay slave rebellion, incorporating five parishes, involving thousands of slaves and lasting into January 1832. In response to the planters' recalcitrance, fears about the spread of rebellion and increased abolitionist demands, the Emancipation Act was passed in 1833 and enacted on 1 August 1834. However, in the continued spirit of acculturation, slaves were not to be liberated immediately but a system of apprenticeship was introduced which was planned to last for six years prior to the granting of full emancipation. The aim of apprenticeship was literally to give the newly emancipated population an apprenticeship in freedom. So though slavery was legally abolished, ex-slaves were to work for their masters in return for food, clothing, accommodation and medical care for a further six years. A proportion of the labouring week was to be set aside as 'Free Time', during which slaves were required to work for their masters for a wage. In addition the planters were given £20 million in compensation for the loss of their 'property' (ibid., 49). So, on the one hand, the planter's right to his property was to be safeguarded by compensating for his loss, and, on the other, slaves would be inducted into the habits of wage labour. In effect, slavery continued in all but name. Here is an example of the contradictions and hypocrisies of liberalism writ large. Emancipation was aimed at inducting slaves into the market economy as a disciplined free wage labourer not primarily as a free subject of political liberty. The apprentices of freedom were expected to acquire a sufficient sense of self-ownership and self-possession as would demonstrate their acquisition of the liberal virtues of self-discipline and respectability. These dispositions and qualities were those necessary to overcome what many planters viewed as the Negro's natural slothfulness, and to develop the habits of a disciplined wage labourer and virtuous husband or wife.

Freedom's Apprentices: Amelioration, Acculturation and the Family of Man

The primary mechanism by which this was to be done was through changes to the rules governing work, family life and education. This involved acculturation processes steeped in the ideals of Christianity, liberal governance and bourgeois patriarchy in which 'they would be free but only after being socialised to accept the internal discipline that ensured the survival of the existing social order' (ibid., 56). In Jamaica, contestations over power and authority in the period of emancipation between 1933 and 1865 were addressed in debates and policies, which fused preoccupations about labour with ideas of gender.

What split different factions of colonial power (planters, British Government, missionaries) were differences in opinion regarding what freedom for the enslaved Black population would mean and how it would be managed. Jamaican planters sought to block most attempts to reduce their personal control over the Black labouring population and their political control of the local assembly that governed Jamaica. The British colonial state represented by the Colonial Office and the governor was concerned to implement a policy of freedom based on the values of liberalism within a colonial regime—that is, maintaining white superiority and colonial authority through bourgeois liberal governance. In contrast the mostly Baptist missionaries wanted to liberate the Black population into Christian salvation and the universal family of man. In addition, population control was imperative in a society where the majority Black population was subjected to rule by a national assembly government by a small white planter elite and an even smaller membership of free coloureds. These political debates about freedom were reflected in state as well as church policies and practices towards Black families and Black women. In short, the reconstruction of Caribbean societies from slave-based economies to wage-labour economies involved also transforming the system of rule from imperial domination to a form of freedom that could satisfy British liberal nationalism's perception of itself and of emancipation as bringing a proportionate and manageable advance in freedom to the slaves.

In Jamaica the colonial state and the independent Baptist missions were largely unified through their common antagonistic relationship with the planter class, which continued to resist and obstruct attempts to fashion a new liberal colonial order, and to a lesser extent attempts by the nominally free population to secure greater social autonomy from white control. Church and state were often linked through the position that key policymakers held in both systems, and through the state's reliance on the Baptist missions to implement key social aspects of colonial policy, such as

schooling, religious education and the provision of medical care.² In many respects the missions and the colonial state represented by the Colonial Office and the governor forged a liberal civilizing alliance, particularly prior to the imposition of Crown Colony rule in Jamaica in 1865.

Shifts within British state power in England had involved changes to notions of selfhood and personhood whereby the imposition of the external coercion of the Crown was replaced by internalized forms of self-governance based on possessive individualism in which men exercised personal control over their own bodies (sexual and labouring), and political and economic responsibility over their wives and children within the privatized sphere of the home. Likewise the shift from planter domination to colonial freedom was aided by the efforts of the missionaries to convert Black men into husbands, and wage earners and Black women into wives. Although the goal of inculcating the values of bourgeois liberal domesticity and a Protestant ethic of labour and piety on the newly free was shared by the colonial state and the Baptist missions, their motivations were often informed by slightly different hierarchies of moral to economic values. The Colonial Office wished to appease planter power and maintain the efficient running of the economy, so measures such as removing women and children from a legal requirement to work on plantations were primarily intended to establish a gendered as well as a racialized system of wage labour. The bourgeois discourse of female domesticity was deployed to encourage marriage and family-based reproduction in the labouring population, at the same time as making women dependant on a male wage earner. It was considered that introducing the separate spheres of gender order would be one way of ensuring that the free male population would be forced by economic necessity to offer their labour to plantation owners (Holt 1992).³

The Christian missions, on the other hand, saw themselves as bearers of a Christian duty to eradicate the legacy of slavery and raise the newly emancipated 'immature' population into the state of Christian manhood

² The author of the Emancipation Act of 1833 was James Steven, the son of a prominent abolitionist family and a devout evangelical Christian (ibid., 48).

³ One of the biggest fears of the planters and the colonial state alike was that the freed population would refuse to continue to work on the plantations, thus ruining the colonial economy.

and freedom (Hall 2002). They also saw themselves as defenders of the vulnerable, newly emancipated 'children' in the *Family of Man* against the wilful exploitation of the planters. A primary way in which they aimed to do this was by establishing 'free villages' to counter planter interests which sought persistently to block attempts to achieve Black social and economic autonomy from the plantation. Baptist missionaries became active in purchasing land for the purposes of liberating apprentices from reliance on plantation owners for both work and housing (ibid., 117). Thus missions played an important role in establishing free villages of peasant farmers and communities of Christianized conjugal families. The missions' role in purchasing and setting up free villages demonstrates the processes of Westernization and religious conversion through which the newly emancipated were to be inducted into the Western freedoms of liberalism and Christianity, and their norms of gender and sexuality. A key area of this work was the promotion of marriage and Christian family life.

Marriage had been illegal among slaves for the bulk of slavery but had become legal in the years leading up to the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade as part of the plan to increase the natural reproduction of the slave population. After 1833, marriage was not merely encouraged but became a mark of being a free Black subject in which conversion and emancipation were fused (ibid.). Baptist missionaries shared the colonial ambition to establish bourgeois family norms and remove the power of the former slave master over both male and female slaves, while replacing it with Black male authority over Black women based on Christian marriage. For the missionaries, this involved reconstituting the Black man not merely as a wage labourer but also as an 'independent' husband and father with proprietorship over the intimate sphere of family life, while at the same time colonial Christian discourse positioned him as a 'child' within the liberal family of man, in need of tutelage and benign white paternal nurturance. In this regard the Baptists' vision of Black African-Caribbean freedom was wider than that of both planters and the colonial state, but no less gendered.

Manhood for them was associated with independence, the capacity of a man to stand on his own two feet to look after those who were properly dependent on him, his wife and children ... Slavery had produced an unnatural phenomenon: male slaves who were entirely dependent on their

masters, who could not, therefore, truly *be* men. Emancipation marked the moment at which they could cast off that dependence and learn to be men in the image of the middle-class Englishman. (Hall 2002, 124)

By these means, Black men were encouraged to become 'independent' of the plantation, and this independence was marked by ownership of a cottage with surrounding land on which his wife, now largely removed from wage labour, would raise crops for the family, while children—also increasingly withheld from field labour—were to be sent to the mission-run village school. However, governing strategies are not always fulfilled in practice or may produce unintended consequences, some of which can become harnessed in the cause of resistance or simply avoidance. This means that we have to address how the newly emancipated used their new powers of freedom to resist colonial state and religious governance.

Transforming slaves into a new type of subject, a subject of freedom, at the same time as they remained the objects of colonial rule, was 'simultaneously an act of westernisation and an act of resistance' to the absolute power of the planter class (Mintz quoted in Holt 1992, 149). Westernization was thus not simply a technology of governance but argues Holt, for newly emancipated populations it could also be deployed in the elaboration and exercise of their own visions of freedom. So, for example, removing the legal requirement that Black and Native American women must engage in field labouring (now considered by the colonial authorities as 'unfeminine') was deployed after emancipation by Black women in Jamaica to increasingly avoid wage labour and instead focus on growing 'female' crops grown on family-owned land or slave provision grounds. The intention of the colonial authorities and the Church was to encourage women into the domestic sphere of the household as dependants of male wage earners in the public sphere (Holt 1992, 170). Instead, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the overwhelming majority of

⁴ Newly emancipated slaves were soon able to purchase land with money accrued from selling their skilled trades and by selling crops grown on slave provision land during slavery and after. Provision grounds were poor areas of plantation land that during slavery had been set aside for slaves to grow food crops for their own subsistence. Slaves often used provision grounds to grow surplus crops, which they traded in towns to the free population of whites and free coloureds, or which they bartered.

Black women used this new freedom not only to continue growing food for family subsistence but also to amass autonomous income through the small-scale marketing of the crops. This enabled them to resist marriage and maintain their personal autonomy from male control by establishing shared networks of female-headed households (Holt 1992). For while some women aspired to the ideals of marriage and domesticity as a mark of prestige and status, this was not feasible or desirable for most Black women (Reddock 1994, 23). In resistance to the liberal ideology of separate spheres, as well as out of a pragmatism born out of the impossibility of the economically deprived Black man to maintain an 'angel in the house', Black women resisted the concerted efforts of Church and state to settle into conjugal families based on two married parents with children. For example, the St John's Parish register in Jamaica shows that between 1811 and 1835 there were hundreds of baptisms but not a single marriage (ibid.). Meanwhile, Mrs A.C. Carmichael, the wife of a planter who owned an estate in Trinidad in the early nineteenth century, observed that while long-term cohabitation was common, both men and women expressed reluctance to be tied to the expectations of bourgeois marriage, which defined the proper roles of wives and husbands.

In responding to the Methodist missionaries' criticisms that the planters were discouraging marriage, Mrs Carmichael suggested that the men often wanted more than one wife, while slave women saw marriage as a tie which forbad the wife from leaving the husband, and put her under his control and subject to his punishment (ibid.)

The irresolvable dilemma of liberalism as both a practice for the governing of freedom and as a practice of freedom is demonstrated by the way in which Christian marriage (as religious governmentality) could also itself be deployed as a practice of freedom to resist planter power. Aspiring to bourgeois family life could, as we have seen, also be a strategy of resistance. In the struggle between the differing conceptions of what freedom should mean, and between planters, the British Government, the Church and the newly emancipated, marriage and establishing an 'independent household' was welcomed by some Black men insofar as it represented a means by which freedmen could reconstitute themselves 'economically as men' (Holt 1992, 149). What was being sought was 'access to a lifestyle that would

allow them to retain both a sense of patrimony and a sense of self-respect' (ibid.).

Other ways in which the newly freed population resisted, evaded or simply adapted Westernization were through the persistent use of African-derived spiritual and religious practices, such as Myalism,⁵ obeah⁶ (Hall 2002, 151), the Africanization of Christianity through Ethiopianism⁷ and the continuation of the 'invisible' autonomous Black Christian churches that had been established behind the backs of European missionaries by the slaves. The history of slavery and postemancipation Caribbean societies is replete with examples of Africans' and indigenous Caribbean peoples' persistent attempts to escape, revolt or to sabotage the imperial systems of labour. This persistent culture of resistance demonstrates the slaves' consciousness of themselves as human beings with their own values and aspirations, different to those of the slave owners' (Campbell 1990, 1). This is a self-definitional ethos and consciousness of freedom that continued even after emancipation. It is clear that beyond the common goal of ending slavery, African-Caribbean and European abolitionism did not share the same vision of Black freedom (Beckles 1988). These contested visions of freedom did not disappear after emancipation, and if anything they grew stronger.

⁵ Myalism is an African religious tradition used to explain misfortune and illness. 'Myalists believed all misfortune stemmed from malicious forces embodied in the spirits of the dead and activated by the unfriendly. Myal men were the specialists who could identify the spirit causing the problem and exorcise it' (Hall 2002, 151), including bad spells inflicted through obeah.

⁶ Obeah combined traditional medicine practices with African beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft. The obeah man or woman was, like the traditional African witch doctor, both native healer and expert practitioner in the arts of witchcraft through the use of everyday objects as familiars through which their malign or beneficent influence was transmitted to someone.

⁷ Christianization exposed Africans in and outside Africa to the biblical references to Ethiopia. The symbolic significance of Ethiopia stems from Psalms 68:3: 'Princes will come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God'. Ethiopianism is a Black religious discourse in which Ethiopia has been a powerful symbol within African diaspora eschatology and anti-slavery, anti-colonial movements. From the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it spread through Christianized enslaved and colonized populations in the Anglophone regions of North America, the Caribbean and Africa (c.f. Morrison, Doreen (2014). Slavery's Heroes: George Liele and the Ethiopian Baptists of Jamaica 1783–1865, Kindle Edition); Barrett, Leonard E. The Rastafarians: The Dreadlocks of Jamaica. Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1977. African American missionaries from the Ethiopian Baptist Church were instrumental in spreading Ethiopianism across islands such as Jamaica (Morrison 2014).

Colonial Patriarchy and the 'Intimacies' of Racial Governmentality

The contradictions of emancipation in the name of liberalism, at the same time as the continuance of colonial domination, were reflected in the contradictory gender relations espoused by Colonial Office discourse. Emancipation was as much about labour as it was about freedom (Holt 1992; Reddock 1994; Paton 2004). This part of the discussion deals with the ways in which freedom and labour are governed through a specific categorization of bodies. It argues that as technologies of racial governmentality, these construct racist taxonomies of bodies in the service of maintaining white authority over labour and white hegemony over freedom:

By racial governmentality, we mean the political technologies that generate racial taxonomies for the purposes of colonial management of labour, reproduction, and social organization of the colonised population. As an analytic, it draws from Foucault's important concepts of governmentality, biopower, and power-knowledge to describe racial classifications not as a priori constructs that precede colonial relations, but as forms of racial subjection, management, and hierarchy that grow out of the colonial needs to divide and administer work, nature, and society (Lowe 2006)

Lisa Lowe describes the interconnectedness of race and gender as one of the many 'intimacies' and entanglements brought about by imperialism that introduced Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas into a global world system of economic and cultural flows. Her conceptualization of intimacies is very useful in enabling us to analyse how the continuum between freedom and colonial governance gets mapped onto and through the differential sexual and gender codifications of racially specified bodies. Her conceptualization of intimacies has three aspects to it. First, Lowe refers to intimacies as 'spatial adjacency, proximity or connection' (ibid.) by which men and women from Africa and Asia, and native Amerindian and Creole people, were forcibly taken into the service of slavery and indentureship, which went to enrich and enable the rise of bourgeois states in North America and Europe. Second, intimacy denotes personal, affective and sexual closeness or connection that these spatial proximities

facilitate or prohibit. Finally, intimacy can denote privacy—most commonly the privacy of conjugal relationship and the patriarchal household, through which the separate spheres ideology of gender roles was consolidated (ibid.). This conceptual framing of intimacies enables us to recognize not only the close cultural, economic and political connections between a series of symbolically and morally segregated yet economically and politically integrated racialized embodiments, experiences and states of being but also the connections between geographically remote, yet politically and economically intimate, places. It also reveals a periodization of multiculturalism different from the one contained in narratives of postcolonial globalization by reminding us of the longstanding interiority or intimacy of colonial society to Britain and British national identity. Furthermore, it provides a way for us to analyse how bourgeois liberalism set out to colonize the meaning of freedom through an apparently contradictory increase in racism—that is, how racism as racial governmentality in post-emancipation Caribbean societies was intensified through an expansion in the racialization of categories of labouring bodies and increased technologies for interiorizing of this marking within the souls of the colonized. The focus on intimacy draws attention to the specificities of how bourgeois patriarchy becomes conjoined with European colonial paternalism through technologies of racial governance.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Crown Colony rule had been established across Britain's Caribbean territories. This marked the end of all attempts to work through local national assemblies dominated by the planters. Black people's visions of freedom had placed a premium on the independent ownership of land, the development of a free peasantry in villages, and social and economic autonomy from the plantation system of labour, which was associated with slavery (Besson 1992, 201). This led to a flight from the plantations as former slaves resisted both wage labour and plantation work, which would keep them within the control of their previous slave masters. The emancipated populations abandoned the plantations in pursuit of their own visions of independence as self-sustaining peasantry growing their own crops for sale and subsistence, and establishing families on family grounds purchased or captured through squatter's rights claims. In response to this, almost immediately following emancipation a system of indentured labour was introduced

across the Caribbean in an effort to undercut the wage demands of the newly liberated Caribbean workers (Reddock 1994, 27).

Lowe looks at the figure of the Chinese woman within colonial discourse as represented in the documents of the Colonial Office of this time. She finds that the figure was deployed in colonial policies aimed at the management of labour, family and population, and moreover in the colonial governance of liberty. Representations of Chinese women as passive, domesticated and confined to the private sphere of the home were deployed prior to emancipation in debates concerning the racial differences between Chinese labour and 'Negro' slaves 'through imagining the Chinese as more assimilable to European ways' (Lowe 2006). After the ending of the slave trade in 1807, the Colonial Office debated a plan to replace Trinidad's slave labour with Chinese free labour. The reason for this was the anxiety raised by the Haitian Revolution of Black insurrection:

No measure would so effectively tend to provide a security against this danger, as that of introducing a free race of cultivators into our islands, who from habits and feelings could be kept distinct from the Negroes, and who from interest would be inseparably attached to the European proprietors (Colonial Office correspondence cited in Lowe, unpublished)

Thus, as Lowe notes, the Chinese were represented in colonial discourse as a kind of in-between 'buffer' category of workers and persons—a nominally free labour force but also racially distinct, and socially and racially distinguishable from both planters and slaves (Lowe 2006, 194). Lowe's reading of Colonial Office records is that the proximity of the Chinese to the Europeans was based in part on their perceived degree of civilization, in part discernible in the view of the Colonial Office from the position of women in Chinese culture and family structure. Lowe relates that in discussions within the Colonial Office between 1803 and 1807, a colonial perception of Chinese family reproduction was seen as a way of marking a racial difference between nominally 'Chinese free labour' and 'Negro slaves' by imagining the figure of Chinese sexuality as resembling the 'civility' of European marriage and family in an implicit contrast to the sexualized representations of the 'peculiar nature' of African and African-descended mulatto peoples (ibid., 198).

As already noted, by the 1850s the withdrawal of African men and women from field labour was posing a threat to production. This withdrawal was both a protest against low wages offered by planters, and a mark of Black social freedom and economic independence from the exploitative system of plantation labour. For example, Sewell records that into the 1850s, a plantation worker 'who lives on an estate is compelled to work for that estate, and no other, on peril of summary ejection, [...] He is still in a position of virtual slavery', leading Sewell to conclude that 'The instinct of self-interest—the faintest desire for independence—would prompt any one to reject such a bondage' (Sewell 1861, 4801–4803).

It was in this context that the importation of indentured labour from China and India was represented in the public rhetoric of the Colonial Office as a response to 'labour shortages' (West India Royal Commission 1945, 415). Lowe found within the Colonial Office papers of 1850–1860 that colonial administrators were making explicit racial comparisons between different racialized categories of workers, specifically the Chinese, the East Indians and African ex-slaves, in which the imaginary Chinese family continued to figure as a part of a racialized classification of labouring cultures. In both periods the racial differentiation of Africans, East and South Asians, and native Indians emerged as a colonial taxonomy that both managed and spatially distanced these groups from the cultural and political sphere within which 'freedom' was established for European subjects.

What Lowe discovered in Colonial Office papers of the time was that the Chinese were being imagined as closer to a liberal conception of personhood and bourgeois respectability, thus civility, defined in terms of male proprietorship in women, and female confinement within the domestic sphere. This contrasts with the view of Africans as devoid of proper gender values owing to innate lasciviousness and promiscuity, and East Indians as being compromised in their attitudes towards women by oriental despotism (Kingsley Kent 1999; Midgley 1998). In other words, the desirability of the Chinese as an intermediary class of free men was based on their possession of virtuous wives. The colonial management of sexuality, affect, marriage and family among native and mixed-race Americans, African slaves and Chinese indentured workers formed a central part of the microphysics of colonial rule (Lowe 2006).

The introduction of Chinese and Indian labour into the Caribbean after emancipation, then, was both to reinforce and to perpetuate a colonial ordering of labour based on race, while also introducing a racialized and gendered taxonomy of freedom that was intended to weaken the claims of the Black African population to equal rights. Lowe's careful and conceptually precise analysis demonstrates the intimate discursive connections between race, sex and gender in the proliferation of colonial freedom as instances of racial governmentality. What becomes clear is that racial governmentality is entangled in other biopolitical technologies of liberal rule. This offers a more precise conceptualization of the relationship of competing constructions and experiences of gender and sexuality within a European patriarchal regime that avoids the too common haste towards conceptual inflation (Miles 1989, 41–68) that afflicts some of the debates within Caribbean feminist theory, where the term 'patriarchy' is used to cover too varied a range of formations.

Caribbean feminists have embraced the concept of patriarchy and attempted to develop the work of African-American and postcolonial feminists regarding the relationship between patriarchy and colonial rule. Writing about early twentieth-century Trinidad, Patricia Mohammed addresses the complexities of gender in a society shaped by separate, yet also shared, cultures of gender (Mohammed 1995). As a result of the introduction of Indian indentured labour, Trinidad has the second highest ratio of Indian to African populations in the Caribbean after Guyana, where Indians are now in the majority. Mohammed argues that three different co-existent patriarchal systems developed in Trinidad in the colonial era: the dominant white patriarchy which controlled state power; the Creole patriarchy of the African and mixed Afro-Creoles (emerging from, and in relation to, the dominant white form); and Indian patriarchy operating within the Indian group. The Caribbean context produced new Indian gender identities and sexual behaviours that would not have been possible in the context of the Indian societies that they had left behind. It also positioned Indian men and women in an antagonistic relation to African Trinidadians within the colonial racial economy. For example, she states that Indian women could collude with Indian male dominance as a way of gaining strategic advantage in relation to Afro-Creole men, and thereby Afro-Creoles as a whole (ibid.).

Mohammed argues that the context of Trinidad at that time produced a new patriarchal contract both between the different racialized patriarchal systems and between women. Countering the idea of patriarchy as a force that simply oppresses, she argues that 'Both men and women [have] different sources of power in various areas of life and these are [...] negotiated each day in different spheres of interaction and at different levels' (ibid., 39). Across these levels—the individual and the institutional—the allocation of power between men and women is not identical, nor between different groups of men and women; rather, it is this dispersion of power across all levels of the social that makes possible negotiations across and within patriarchal formations. Mohammed refers to this as 'patriarchal bargaining' (cited in ibid., 27). While the patriarchal contract still influences women's gendered subjectivity and determines the prevailing ideology, women themselves 'strategize within a set of concrete constraints that reveal and define the blueprint of what I will term the patriarchal bargain of any given society, which may exhibit variations according to class, cast and ethnicity [and] are susceptible to historical transformations that open up new areas of struggle and negotiation of the relation between genders' (Kandiyoti cited in ibid., 27)

This analysis is very interesting as well as problematic. It asks us to take seriously the differences between gender systems, their relationships with each other and how specific hierarchies, affiliations, conflicts and negotiations enunciate particular and localized discursive fields in which power is unevenly articulated through race, gender and sex. Although Mohammed does not use the concept of governmentality, she seems to be thinking of patriarchy not merely as discipline (Bartky 1997) but as much a strategy of freedom as government. However, this is not completely clear because she does not explicitly conceptualize her use of the term 'patriarchy' here. In attempting to make patriarchy more historically and contextually accountable, Mohammed just contributes to the conceptual inflation of the concept that she is seeking to evade. The work of writers such as Lisa Lowe and Ann Laura Stoler invite us to be much more careful about how we deploy the term 'patriarchy', particularly in relation to the period of colonialism proper from the mid-nineteenth century into the interwar years of the twentieth century when European rule took on the more liberal and modern form of settled administrations through 'rationalized rule [and] bourgeois respectability' (Stoler 1989, 652) rather than simply domination. Since colonial rule was racially asymmetric and gender specific (ibid., 651), the ways in which medical, educational, labouring as well as penal policies targeted and penetrated the colonized populations through gendered racial classifications and prescriptions means that while different racialized groups may have retained importance aspects of pre-existing gender arrangements and ideologies, these cannot experientially or conceptually always be defined by the term 'patriarchy'.

A brief look at the ways in which the Indian woman figured in postemancipation labour arrangements confirms the implication within Lowe's argument that the management of gender formed a core dimension of the microphysics of colonial rule. Colonial rule in the Caribbean, especially from emancipation through to political independence in the twentieth century, was characterized by the tensions caused by the competing imperatives of economic government and biopolitical government (Dean 1999, 50)—in other words, a contradiction between liberalism as a moral and civilizing philosophy and liberalism as free market economics. In relation to the issue of gender, one of the persistent paradoxes that it produces is a tension between women's labour in the domestic sphere and women's labour in the economic sphere; between the discourse of female domesticity and the demands of the colonial economy for labour at the cheapest cost. As already stated, the importation of Indian indentured labour into the Caribbean was designed to depress wages and enable planters to assert their power over plantation labour (Reddock 1994, 27). At the same time, we have already noted that colonial policy in the nineteenth century was also heavily committed to presenting the humanitarian face of colonialism to appease British public opinion (Hall 2002). This gave rise to many tensions and contradictions for colonial governments as we see here in the instance of the handling of Indian indentured labour by the colonial government of Trinidad.

When Indian indentureship began in Trinidad in 1834, as in the case of the Chinese in Jamaica, very few women came. The planter's emphasis on labour discouraged the recruitment of women and the possibility of children. So while the colonial policy of both state and Church had been to foster the patriarchal family among the newly emancipated Black population, the demands of commerce favoured single Indian men as

indentured labourers. This created concerns from both the Anti-Slavery Society and the colonial government in India about 'the absence of provision to safeguard families that were left behind in India' (Reddock 1994, 43). On these grounds, in 1839 the British authorities in India stopped emigration to the Caribbean. To address this problem the Caribbean authorities agreed to increase the proportion of women. The problem that then arose was the 'kind of woman' who was being recruited. The majority of women who went to the Caribbean did not go as wives or dependents of men. By the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, only approximately 30 % of the women were accompanying wives. The remainder were mostly what the Colonial Office in 1917 described as 'the wrong kind of women'—that is, women from the 'non-moral classes' in India, low-caste women, unmarried pregnant women, 'widows and women who have run away from their husbands or been put away by them. A small percentage were ordinary prostitutes' (Colonial Office cited in ibid., 30):

These Indian women therefore, far from being docile, dependent, subordinate characters, were instead women whom social and economic circumstances had forced to become *independent* and take more control over their lives' (Reddock 1994, 3 emphasis added)

This independence was viewed as a major problem by both the Caribbean colonial authorities and Indian men. The low ratio of men to women in the early period of indenture made it easier for Indian women to leave their husbands and find more congenial partners if they were dissatisfied, and therefore to maintain more autonomy than would have been possible for them in India (ibid., 43). One result of this was that between 1872 and 1882 in Trinidad there was an increase in the murder of Indian women by Indian men, as men competed to control women (ibid., 34). This situation led Indian men to petition the Trinidad colonial government for the right to prosecute an unfaithful wife and her lover in court, with redress of financial compensation to the husband, or imprisonment of the lover and of the wife who refused to return home. Reddock concludes from this that what Indian men wanted from this was not divorce but preservation of their households. Another way of viewing this might be to see it in terms

of the will to preserve their property in women, for, as Reddock notes, this perspective positions women as objects of disputes between men (ibid., 32). Other ways in which the colonial government sought to reinforce Indian women's control by, and dependence on, Indian men while keeping them within the sphere of plantation labour include paying them lower wages than men and withholding their right to a free allocation of land after their period of indentureship was complete. Indian indentured labourers were entitled to either free passage back to India or a free allocation of land in the Caribbean if they did not wish to return. However, allocations of land were only made to Indian men, even though Indian women as indentured labourers should also have been entitled in their own right to free passage back to India. Therefore the only way in which a woman could benefit from the land-allocation policy was to attach herself to a man. It is clear from this description that although Indian men were able to maintain a great deal of personal power over Indian women, as well as socially sanctioned authority through the state, that traditional Indian patriarchy was not implanted wholesale into the Caribbean. Colonial attitudes towards Indian men and women reflected attitudes of Orientalism, which viewed Indian women as passive victims of despotic men, despite clear evidence to the contrary in the Caribbean.

It is possible to see in these examples of how African, Chinese and Indian gender and family arrangements are differentially targeted by colonial policy and practice, the imperatives of labour and the exigencies of everyday life in the Caribbean. It is also apparent that the gender and class specificities of colonial rule were intimately bonded to a racial taxonomy of the social environment that not only organized the public sphere of power, rule and labour but also, through the layers of intimacy outlined by Lowe above, sought to control the intimate 'private' spaces of

⁸ Although Indian men got their wish in the passing of the Indian Marriage and Divorce Ordinances of 1881 and 1899, none of this applied to Indian religious weddings that were not registered with the colonial state. Muslim and Hindu Indian marriages were not granted legal recognition in Trinidad until as late as 1936. This reluctance can be understood in terms of the desire to Christianize the Indian population.

⁹ It is beyond the scope of this study to examine colonial policy and practice towards the emancipated Native American population in places such as Guyana, or white families and women. Anne Stoler (2002) has addressed the latter in relation to Dutch Indonesia in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

family, sex and reproduction. For example, a range of practices aimed at preventing miscegenation between Indians and Africans sought to maintain the separation and isolation of Indian women away from African men in order to secure the reproduction of a racially distinct labour force. This means that systems of patriarchy that may have existed prior to contact and movement to the Americas were radically destabilized and reorganized in the new situation and were subservient to the needs of racial government and capitalism.

The extent to which racial rule brought different groups of people together but then sought to control the kinds of contact and intimacy they could have problematizes the loose application of the concept of patriarchy to describe the diverse cultures of male privilege and power that shaped post-emancipation Caribbean societies. Different groups within the Caribbean were arranged in a colonial hierarchy of sexual and gender respectability, linked to racial personhood and rights to freedom, and therefore political rights. Claiming one's rights to political self-rule became expressed within 'respectable' Caribbean nationalism of the 1940s and 1950s in terms of one's proprietorship in women. We are beginning now to connect the memory of slavery and the immediate postwar period of Caribbean immigration to Britain.

The discourse of the Moyne Report also reflects an emerging colonial response to rising nationalism and 'colour consciousness' in the Caribbean. Its preoccupation with women's status presents the treatment of women as a yardstick for measuring the moral and political distance between different racialized categories of Caribbean men and the degree to which Caribbean men as a whole were not yet fit for self-government. Their lack of readiness was to be inferred from the high levels of unmarried cohabitation and illegitimacy, which proved in the eyes of the Colonial Office that Caribbean men had not yet fully gained possession of their sexualized bodies or the social control of their women. In contrast its rhetoric of gender rights signalled how advanced European culture and civilization were in comparison with Caribbean Creole cultures.

Countering this view, Reddock argues that Black Caribbean women developed their own philosophy of gender relations in which marriage was not appealing. While marriage was an unattainable ideal for many women, who viewed it as requiring signs of respectability that they could not afford, such as expensive weddings, receptions and a 'respectable house', many others regarded it as giving men legal authority over women, thus reducing women's autonomy and freedom to leave (ibid., 60). Reddock cites the example of a couple who despite having had a long-term, stable conjugal union were forced by the wife of the plantation owner where they worked to marry. The woman protested to the plantation owner's wife:

I ain't neber go wid no odder man all dese years. Morgan treat me good cos he knows plenty o mens would be well glads for me to go to dem. If I marry he, he gwine know I cain't leave he by de law, so he gwine commence to treat me dif'rent. He gwine give me bad words and beat me. (Black plantation worker cited in ibid.)

Needless to say, they married and the woman's predictions came true. In contrast, within the Indian community, contact with the Indian Nationalist Movement in the 1940s helped to promote an ideal of Indian womanhood characterized by the qualities of the Hindu Goddess Sita—charity, devotion to husband, mistress of the house and motherhood (ibid., 61). Clearly there is a fit here between the values of colonial patriarchy and Indian gender systems, but I think it is incorrect and unhelpful to describe these practices as patriarchy as both Reddock and Mohammed do because this conflates the power of different groups of men with state and Church power within a given nation. This distinction is important in terms of having some precision in our conception of different levels and types of power.

This female plantation worker's attitude towards marriage tells us something about African Caribbean women's meanings of freedom. Their rejection of marriage, I want to suggest, amounts to a rejection of the assumption of female submission to male sovereignty within the privatized sphere of the patriarchal household. Here we see how African-Caribbean women's consciousness of freedom expressed through the refusal of the marriage contract indicates a lived and material awareness that British colonial liberty sought to transfer the protection of private property from White European men to African Caribbean men.

This African-Caribbean women's consciousness of freedom also enunciates a counterconception of personhood, for in classical nineteenth-century

liberal thought, women were not legally or morally persons but subordinate members of a patriarchal household. A woman's personhood and therefore her access to rights was achieved through her status as the possession of a man (Okin 1979, 249), such as her husband or her father. Having secured their freedom from slavery it is clear from the unpopularity of marriage that African Caribbean women were largely unwilling to give up the ownership of themselves that legal marriage implied. Insofar as liberal personhood within colonial governmentality was a subject of law, one might argue that the rejection of colonial liberalism's attempts to foster 'respectable and responsible' African Caribbean gender relations through marriage may have reflected not only the legacy of precolonial African family systems or the effects of slavery but also a disidentification with a colonial conception of Black freedom. In this the 'new ethnicities' of post-emancipation colonial liberty (African-, Indian- and Chinese Caribbean) can be viewed as specifically and strategically the new liberal articulations of the racialization of freedom.

This suggests that the weak integration of patriarchal marriage into Caribbean working-class cultures from emancipation to the mid-twentieth century at least may not have been so much moral weakness on the part of the African populations, as the racist rhetoric of the time asserted, but an effect of the absence of the material and political conditions of possibility in which the discourse of liberal patriarchy could be either politically or economically viable, or appealing to Black people. Put simply, under the restrictive terms of the colonial racialized social contract, what was the pay-off for African-Caribbean¹⁰ men and women when entering the sexual contract of marriage? One might even consider the refusal of marriage in favour of cohabitation and other modes of family life to be a form of resistance to the use of the institution of marriage as an instrument of colonial moral governmentality and social engineering aimed at morally inveigling black labour into the alleged 'freedoms' of the capitalist employment contract. Colonial liberalism's vision of Black freedom promised the

¹⁰ I specifically say African here because the experience of domination under slavery had largely eradicated pre-existing African clan-based gender philosophies and marriage practices, while Chinese and Indian contract labourers arrived with existing gender systems intact, even if these were subsequently abandoned, adapted or altered by the conditions of Caribbean society.

substitution of a coercive labour system with one based on a contract as the sign of a relationship freely entered into. However, this promise was extended through the promotion of 'liberal-Christian respectability' tied to a racialized sexual contract, without the accompanying benefits for the majority of colonized men to access the political and civil rights of the social contract, on which the liberal sexual contract is dependant.

Mills develops the concept of the racial contract to expose both the imperial amnesia that underwrites European political theory and the actuality of the racial exclusions inherent in the liberal social contract. The social contract is not merely a contract between men, thus constituting the sexual contract (Carole 1988). The social contract is also philosophically and in practice racialized, being a contract between 'just the people who count, the people who really are people' (Mills 2014, 134–135). Mills goes on to name the ideal people as 'we the white people' (ibid.), but it would be more accurate to say 'we the white male people'. If we return again to Lugones' account of the coloniality of gender, it certainly appears that in the colonial racial contract it is in their racialized masculinity as 'not-white-men' that Black men are denied the political rights of the (racialized) social contract, that would make acquiescence to the sexual contract politically-rather than morally-meaningful. A conjunctural history requires that we pay attention to the temporalities and geopolitical locations of liberalism. Therefore we must examine the realities of the nineteenth-century racial contract, and its articulations with the nineteenth-century bourgeois sexual contract, in order to recognize and acknowledge their intertextualities and mutual dependencies. In other words, one assumes the other; except that in the context of colonial governmentality in the British Caribbean, this relation was denied by the realities of racial rule and the demands of capitalism over the requirements of liberal social discourses. However, since, as Mills makes clear, it is only the racial contract that is real, 'apparent racist violations of the terms of the social contract in fact uphold the terms of the Racial Contract' (ibid., 138-139). Colonial racial governmentality in defining legal personhoodas whiteness-as-property-as-cultural European permeated coloniality 'throughout the polity from the apparatuses of government to the somatic' (Roberts 2015, 879-882). However, in the context of postemancipation social relations, the resulting racialized sexual contract

primarily supported capitalism's needs for the reproduction of a racially stable hierarchy of labour, while promising the majority of Black men only an indefinitely postponed promise of entitlements to participate in the social contract—at a later, unspecified date. The existence of property and poll tax requirements effectively disenfranchised all but a very few of the Brown 'mulatto' or 'Coloured' middle classes (Sewell 1861, 2231-2232; Kenny 2011, 196). The historical evidence confirms that imperial or racial patriarchy has involved racial, sexual and gender domination of many kinds. These include the globalization of Western gender constructions and norms through the process of conquest and colonial rule (Lugones 2007, 2008, 2010), the sexual exploitation and domination of Black women and men by white men, the racial-sexual imperatives of imperial capitalism and the imposition of white patriarchal sovereignty over Black masculinity (Beckles 1996). We see the evidence of this in the elaboration of the racist pathologization of Black sexualities (Craton 1979, 85), which have historically justified the sexual and reproductive exploitation of Black women and the use of extreme forms of control over the bodies of Black men.

In its purely extractive phase of slavery, imperial racial rule deployed race to colonize humanness and freedom through the production of racial hierarchies of human life, denying the capacity of Africans for reason and full self-ownership, and thereby justifying the lawfulness of enslavement. Then, in the transformation of racial rule from slavery to nominal freedom under colonial governmentality, the racial contract would exclude the overwhelming majority of propertyless newly emancipated men from the category of liberal citizenship, who were therefore ineligible for inclusion in the social contract between the state and 'the people' who count (white and Brown propertied men). Yet at the same time disenfranchised colonized men would still be required to act as 'responsible' persons—more accurately 'subpersons' (Mills 1997)—who would 'freely' consent to enter the economic contract of waged labour (to be really accurate we should say responsible men—or submen). Maintaining this delicate balancing act was to be achieved by the incursion of the state and its surrogates—such as the Church and missionary organizations into the intimate and private spaces of sexuality and the family life of the colonized and newly emancipated. In this way, civic virtue and Christian

morality could penetrate the private and intimate spheres of the colonized family, producing subjects of British colonial governmentality in the name of 'racial uplift' and the British liberal 'civilizing mission'. None of this in any way denies the important reforms from the old slave order that emancipation produced, or the investments that many newly emancipated African Caribbean men and women made in the institution of Christian marriage and respectability, since for many these became in themselves symbolic of their newly acquired freedoms. Nevertheless, the resistance of Black and Native American populations to enter into these new contractual relationships (marriage and wage labour) were important practices of freedom and self-making within and beyond the freedoms that colonial liberalism sought to impose. However, for the ruling elites and planter class, these autonomies were not interpreted as signs of the possibility of alternative conceptions or visions of freedom. Instead they were viewed by the planter class as further evidence of the inherent laziness and racial degeneracy of the African Caribbean population, and by the colonial state and the Christian missions as evidence of cultural and moral immaturity, and proof of the need for continuing and, indeed, intensified Christianizing and civilizing governance. Thus the introduction of indentured Chinese and Indian contract labour, as Lowe demonstrates, was not simply a matter of economic expediency but expresses the Colonial Office's investments in liberal ideals and assumptions about the family life and gender practices of differently racialized labouring populations. Indentureship must therefore be understood as also part of the elaboration of a racialized and gendered taxonomy of freedom.

The introduction of Chinese and, later, Indian indentured contract labourers as 'free labour' was likewise an instrumental use of the discourse of freedom at a historical moment when the practical meanings of the distinction between slavery and African-Creole freedom were still being worked out—by both the rulers and the ruled. This leads Lisa Lowe to conclude that

Modern hierarchies of race appear to have emerged in the contradiction between humanism's aspirations to universality and the needs of modern colonial regimes to manage work, reproduction, and the social organization of the colonized. (Lowe 2006, 204)

Despite sharing the assumption of European civilizational superiority, the agendas and practices of local colonial administrations, the Colonial Office and the Christian missionaries were often in conflict over the best practices for governing the conduct of colonial freedom in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, where they were united was in their shared interests in transforming Caribbean slaves and indentured labourers into free but colonized persons, civilized and willing wage labourers or (especially for the missions) an independent protopeasantry. In the context of British nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonialism, this involved advancing the economic and social values of nineteenth-century classical and bourgeois liberalism alongside state patriarchy at the same time as those values were constrained by liberalism's presumptive White Eurocentric hegemony.

It is clear that the biopolitical management of racialized bodies was fused with the management of sex and therefore gender. This confirms Bernasconi's argument (Chap. 2) that it is not the construction of sexuality and its management that marks the threshold of modernity as Foucault has argued (Foucault 1990) but rather race and sex, and more precisely miscegenation (Bernasconi 2010) —or as Lowe reframes it, the control of the intimacies of the four continents brought together by imperial capitalism. A key mechanism of rule by which this was to be achieved was through the construction of each Caribbean island as an individual racial state in which race was to shape the production of racially identifiable categories of labour, maintained and reproduced through forms of social and sexual segregation aimed at securing White rule by new liberal means. It is quite clear from both formal Colonial Office discourses and local colonial practices that 'racialised ideas of family reproduction became central to early-nineteenthcentury humanism and [...] that the racialised distribution of "freedom" was an equal part of this legacy' (Lowe 2006, 204).

In liberal patriarchy the sexual subordination of women in marriage is both required by and an effect of the social contract that generates liberal political orders (Brown 1995, 136). In other words, nineteenth-century liberal patriarchy rested on a social contract between propertied men and a sexual contract between men and women. Yet colonial states as racial states governed by restricting civil rights and, hampering the economic advancement needed to attain male political citizenship based on both

class *and* race. Is it in this contradiction that we find the seeds of the ethic of freedom so central to the ideal of the independent Black woman?

Rhonda Cobham has suggested that the figure of the strong and independent Black woman emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, intensifying between 1881 and 1921 as a result of the high unemployment rates in the region. These required the migration of thousands of Caribbean men to Panama and other parts of Central America as contract labourers building the Panama Canal or farm workers. As we have seen, and as will be further explored in the next chapter, the economic and social independence of the Black woman, signalled by the avoidance of marriage and the commitment to paid employment, has been both problematized and eulogized within Caribbean societies; the former particularly by colonial authorities (see the next two chapters) and the Church, but also increasingly in the twentieth century by the emerging Caribbean middle classes. We see evidence of this in the literary productions of the Jamaican middle class in the first half of the twentieth century (Cobham 1990, 197). Cobham argues that this literature displays a persistent anxiety among the Caribbean non-white middle classes over the failure of lower-class Caribbean women to conform to the gender and sexual mores of the dominant colonial system, a system in which the Black and Brown middle classes of Jamaica were highly invested as a mark of their own social mobility and cultural elevation. In the Jamaican novels of this period, Cobham highlights preoccupations with and concerns about the status of women in relation to the family and to work. Moreover, these are increasingly represented as specifically problems of the lower classes. A principle concern of the rising Jamaican middle classes—both male and female—was the economic and sexual independence of peasant and working-class Black women and their deviation from society's Anglophile patriarchal gender norms. Linked to this was a moral anxiety regarding the alleged sexual immorality and social 'opportunism' of Black women. In this regard, lower-class Black women were often represented in these texts as aggressive and unfeminine. These qualities were seen to be particularly evidenced by the willingness of lower-class darker-skinned Black women to defend themselves physically in any disagreement with 'man or woman', and the physical strength they displayed in heavy manual labour, in agricultural work, in sugar factories

and as stone-breakers, breaking rocks for road-building (ibid.). Cobham also finds evidence of more appreciative accounts of lower-class African-Jamaican women in which women's independence of spirit and capacity for hard work were viewed as positive attributes (ibid., 202), suggesting an ambivalence and tension even within critical middle-class literary thought.

If economic hardship and migration intensified the independence of lower-class Black women, then the emergence of a Black middle class from the 1920s increased the assimilation of bourgeois gender ideology among this growing class. In novels and poetry written in the 1920s and 1930s, Cobham finds that in relation to their own status, the middle-class Black and Brown women of this period were principally concerned about securing a respectable marriage and being a pious Christian wife. For women who failed to marry, the concern was to how to remain a chaste and respectable single woman. One can only imagine the social pressures this imposed on these women living in social contexts where sex outside marriage and illegitimacy were the norm in practice for both the colonized population and colonial white men, 11 yet where the formal discourses of colonial moral governmentality expended their greatest attention on the very public moral racial-shaming of the African-Caribbean population. The internalisation of colonial morality by the rising African Caribbean middle classes would have been acutely felt by aspirational African-Caribbean women w-ho faced the interdiscursive and intersectional regulatory powers of race, class, gender and skin-shade underpinning the distinctive Black-woman-shaming practices of both colonial and Afro-creole patriarchies. 12 It is in this context that illegitimacy and marriage come to signify

¹¹ As elsewhere in European empires one of the privileges of white colonial masculinity in the Caribbean was the unspoken sexual right of access of white men of all classes to colonized women as consenting and non-consenting sexual 'partners', and concubines. As the nineteenth century English plantation mistress Lady Nugent coyly noted in her journals of life in Jamaica, slavery allowed white men 'all the petty vices of little tyrants' (Nugent 1966, 146). So, colonial patriarchal morality turned a blind-eye to these vices, as long as these relationships remained outside of marriage and any resulting children, illegitimate.

¹²White women of all classes in the British Caribbean were also highly exposed to these intersectional dangers of woman-shaming, but the consequences of transgression could be very different depending on a white woman's class. As Jones (2007; 2016) has noted colonial patriarchy sought to regulate the sexuality of white women of all classes as a key strategy in the reproduction and defence of white hegemony and racial rule.

not just gender respectability but racial respectability and class status. However, the consequences and meanings were quite different for a white or high-status Brown man, for whom extramarital liaisons with lowerclass Black women and the fathering of illegitimate children did not threaten their social status or respectability necessarily, but rather could be a sign of their economic and socially privileged status. Arguably, for a lower-class dark-skinned woman, having a light-skinned illegitimate child with a Brown or White man could also be advantageous, whether or not the father acknowledged the child, as at a minimum the child might be able to access the social advantages of being light-skinned, or at best the father in 'owning the child'—that is, accepting paternity—might support the child and the woman's economic and social elevation. It is here that the significance that Bernasconi (ibid) places on the late eighteenth century scholarly debates about miscegenation (See Chap. 2) is unsettled by the mundane lived realities of miscegenation that underwrote the reproduction of the Caribbean region as a highly ethnically hybridized and diverse population. For although the introduction of Chinese and Indian indentured labourers intensified racial diversity in the postemancipation nineteenth century, the Caribbean racial caste system had been endemic throughout slavery. If we look at the concerns of middleclass African Caribbean men and women in the early twentieth century, it is clear that, by then, questions of miscegenation remained but had been reframed by the demands of freedom and respectability in which race, gender and sex were intertwined with questions of class and colour. As Cobham indicates, Caribbean literature of the early twentieth century frequently expressed concern about the number of educated middle-class dark-skinned (or in the local parlance 'Black') women unable to find 'suitable' marriage partners. Their dilemma resulted from the social pressure that Eurocentric bourgeois racial and gender respectability imposed on the society to equate social progress with 'racial uplift', and becoming culturally Anglicized and phenotypically 'less Black' (i.e. lighter in colour). The result of this was that middle-class Black men preferred to 'marry up' the colour/caste/class structure of colonial Jamaican pigmentocracy (ibid., 208), leading both aspirational African Caribbean middle-class men of all hues to shun darker-skinned Black women as being unsuitable marriage partners.

The context of the post-emancipation colonial Caribbean and the ongoing prevalence of cohabitation suggests that it was not commitment that women eschewed but the inference of marital bondage and the assumption of women's natural subservience to men within the patriarchal marriage contract. This, coupled with the economic realities of colonial and postcolonial societies produced - and still produces, intersecting and interdiscursively inflecting paradoxes in Caribbean gender relations. Likewise, the lowerclass African Caribbean man may also have found - and still find - the ideal of patriarchal marriage difficult to achieve or sustain owing to the gendered vagaries of racism and of colonial and postcolonial capitalism none of which have enabled him or his Black wife to materially or ideologically fulfil the norms of British bourgeois patriarchal gender ideology. In effect, different constituencies of African-Caribbean men could deploy the freedoms of colonial liberalism to negotiate their relationship to marriage, patriarchy and respectability by embracing or rejecting marriage. Where some may have viewed marriage as subjecting them to additional responsibilities towards dependant household members without a sufficiently rewarding increase in their social and economic power as men, entitled to a share in patriarchal power within civil society and state power, still others, as we have already noted, may have embraced patrimony as a sign of both their own and their wife's freedom from the domination of their old masters, the planter class. In either scenario, there remained the opportunity to continue to invest in the long-established sexual excesses of slave plantation society and white colonial patriarchy's informal culture of male sexual entitlement, extramarital sex and multiple concubinage. It is here that more work could be done to unpick the confluences and antagonisms between the legacies of West-African cultural retentions, such as polygamy and European gender norms in post-emancipation Caribbean gender systems.

This history is reflected in the contemporary 'double paradox' of gender relations (Momsen 2002, 45), in Caribbean cultures and societies, where women's power in the home exists in cultural and social contexts that variously and unevenly privilege masculinity and male power while erasing, debasing or demonizing women's power. The apparent social autonomy of women in the Caribbean, often signified by single-headed households, particularly among the poor and lower middle classes, is often strongly constrained by what Momsen calls the 'patriarchy in absentia'

(ibid., 48) of Caribbean societies. In other words, matrilocal and matrifocal household arrangements exist within a social context where, despite the regional diversity of class, language, religion and ethnicity within the Caribbean, 'there is an ideological unity of patriarchy, of female subordination and dependence' (ibid., 45). This produces Caribbean gender relations in the Caribbean as a double paradox where women's personal sovereignty, signified by being heads of households and having an independent income, co-exists with domestic and state patriarchy (ibid.). Although Momsen historicizes the development of patriarchal ideology in the Caribbean, linking it to the post-emancipation reconstruction of Caribbean societies in the late nineteen and twentieth centuries, she too quickly incorporates the uneven attachments of different classes and groups of Caribbean men to a single ideology of pan-Caribbean patriarchy, overlooking the culture of masculinism, one that is empowered by patriarchy while simultaneously not being fully contained within or captured by it. Thus the double paradox of Caribbean gender relations that Momsen identified in relation to women has a corollary in Caribbean men's contradictory relationship to patriarchy.

Whether the newly emancipated consciously rejected marriage for political and ethical reasons, or simply found it unattainable materially, the reality is that the conditions of slavery had seriously undermined the capacities of Caribbean men and women to retain and maintain unchanged pre-existing African or Native American cultures of gender relations. If slavery is understood as representing premodern forms of domination, we can recognize that slave masters could indeed rule their plantations like despotic monarchs if they wished, and thus their sovereignty could extend into the intimate spaces of enslaved bodies and family life. In this respect, European abolitionists had got it quite right. If the transition from feudalism to liberalism involved separating out the private domain of the family from the public domain of the state and civil society through 'the shrinking productive function of the household, the steady removal of production and exchange to the distinctly bounded realm of the economy' (Brown 1995, 137), then Caribbean colonial societies do not fit comfortably into this model of the emergence of modern freedom. Increasingly we are recognizing that the transition from premodern to modern

forms of power represents not so much a break as a transition (Paton 2004, 3), or even an ongoing repressed continuity (Brown 2001, 12).

If the separated spheres of the liberal social order are contractually reintegrated through the figure of the liberal man, who in consenting to the authority of the state (the social contract) is able to represent the interests of his household on behalf of women, who have similarly consented to their subordination to men in marriage (the sexual contract), how did this work in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Caribbean societies where colonized men were liberated from slavery and indentureship, only to be subjected to colonial governance and denied access to the hegemonically and therefore invisibly racialized, class and masculinized civil rights of colonial liberalism's social contract? I pose this question because I am interested in Wendy Brown's challenge to the pre-eminence of patriarchy in feminist explanations for women's subordination within liberal orders (Brown 1995, 137). I am interested for two main reasons: first, because of how her response enables us to better grasp the genealogy of Black women's relationship to modern freedom; and, second, because how Wendy Brown answers this question exposes an epistemological dilemma. She asks whether deploying an analysis of women's subordination based on nineteenth-century liberalism remains valid for analysing the contemporary situation of women in late modernity. This question is important because it forces a consideration of the explanatory limits of using the experience of Black and colonized women under the conditions of Caribbean emancipation or mid-twentieth century decolonization and immigration to analyse the contemporary experiences of Black British women. Pursuant to Brown giving a negative response to this question (which I will explain in due course), she then asks, given the weakened and diminished significance of patriarchy: How 'does a liberal discourse of generic personhood re-inscribe rather than emancipate us from male domination?' (ibid., 141). Examining the first question through the prism of Black and Other colonized women in the ninetieth century forces a radical interrogation of the second and underscores the epistemological imperatives of thinking narratives of modernity postcolonially.

Colonizing Freedom: Slaves, Contracted Persons and Equal Rights

Returning to the Moyne Report, we can now better understand it as a technology of racialized patriarchal liberalism, in which racial rule is reformed from within, in response to external pressures, without having to relinquish its hold on freedom. The decisive shift in colonial state power and policy in the mid-twentieth century, represented by the Moyne Report, expresses the continuation of the transition started in 1834 at the beginning of the amelioration period. This is the transition from extractive mercantile capitalism to productive decolonizing liberalism; from coercive systems of labour to modern labour laws, including the provision of worker representation through trade unions. That it took more than 100 years after the full abolition of slavery in 1838 for this to be achieved further demonstrates how recentring empire reveals quite a different temporality of modernity and liberalism from the self-congratulatory Anglocentric national narrative that presents 1804 and 1834 as unambiguously emblematic historical moments when Britain achieved the decisive extension of freedom, liberalism and tolerance across its vast empire.

In reality, it was only after the upheavals of the 1930s and the crisis caused by Caribbean resistance that British liberalism found itself again forced to respond. The Moyne Report represents colonial governmentality again reacting to a crisis in racial governance by reforming itself. It is in the face of mass civil unrest, Caribbean trade unionism and Caribbean nationalisms that the British colonial state finally invested in the creation of the kinds of social infrastructure that should have been put in place 100 years previously. It was from 1944 that universal suffrage finally began to be implemented, first in Jamaica and then gradually being extended to Britain's other Caribbean territories through the 1950s. Yet even here the advancement of political concessions and constitutional changes were 'always at a pace dictated by Britain' (Payne and Sutton 1984, 14). What we find following the Moyne Report is an adjustment in British colonial governmentality in the Caribbean. If the extension of decolonization is in part a strategic response to geopolitical concerns resulting from the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War,

alongside the waning profitability of empire, the extension of democracy in the British Caribbean and the possibility of national sovereignty and independence, was in colonial social policy towards the region, couched in terms of the culture and morality of the Caribbean population. In this process, the Caribbean elite and middle-class nationalism became deeply invested in advancing European gender respectability and patriarchy. This is the reform that constitutional decolonization required—one that increasingly replaced the discourse of contract (hidden behind a rhetoric of bourgeois respectability) with the language of rights. It could be argued that the liberal reforms of constitutional decolonization required the Caribbean higher classes to demonstrate their moral commitment to the sexual contract as a condition of being granted full access to the social contract of political rights. However, as we now know, the post-war international consensus against racism and promoting equal rights, represented by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, neither eradicated structural racism nor accomplished full cultural decolonization, so that cultural coloniality remains as the enduring legacy of Western imperial cultural Europeanization (Quijano 2007) of the world.

This cultural Europeanization is discernible in the Moyne Report's contradictory attitudes towards family life, gender and race. In order to recognize this it is necessary to understand (1) how its policies to promote women's domestification contrasted with a concern for improving 'women's status'; and (2) how its studied impartiality towards differently positioned racialized groups reflects not only the gendered ontology of liberalism that transcends its patriarchal moment (Brown 1995) but also the racialized ontology of liberal conceptions of personhood and freedom that become stretched to breaking point by their constitutional decolonizing moment. The implications of this for an analytics of liberal freedom are addressed in Chap. 9.

As noted in the previous chapter, in the immediate post-emancipation period the British colonial state was deeply concerned about the low rate of Black population growth and high rates of infant mortality, and these concerns surfaced again in the interwar years of the twentieth century but this time were expressed through a concern for Black motherhood, together with colonial representation of pathological Black Caribbean

sexual morality, gender arrangements and family life. Scientific discoveries in the mid- to late nineteenth century led to the causes of many diseases being discovered and produced institutional developments in relation to public health and tropical diseases that greatly impacted colonial responses to ill health (De Barros 2014, 41). When combined with social Darwinist ideas about race and class, this further contributed to colonial racial and metropolitan discourses of the moral and physical degeneracy of the colonized and the urban British poor alike (ibid., 42), often expressed in the racialization of the European poor. In both regions of British rule, concerns about reproduction among these populations pivoted on how to manage a series of competing concerns and interests, such as the need for cheap labour alongside Social Darwinian commitments to natural selection and survival of the fittest (ibid., 51), slave emancipation along with maintaining colonial rule, and advancing human equality while holding on to premodern forms of racial subjection. *Economic* liberalism and racial rule grated up against nineteenth century Britain's social liberalism, which shaped the emerging bourgeois democratic identity of British nationalism that preferred to think of Britain as patriarchal, tolerant and progressive socially as well as economically. Following Holt, Scott argues that this tension reflects the dual revolutions—'economic and political, Industrial and French—that are the defining co-ordinates of the long European nineteenth century [and] the defining coordinates of the new conception of individual freedom that emerged in this period' (Scott 2001, 8331-8333). It is this contradiction that Scott says is highlighted in Thomas Holt's history of the post-emancipation development of freedom; a contradiction centrally organized around 'the problem of the extension and containment of freedom' that for Holt is constitutive of liberalism and which he characterizes as the limit to the promise of freedom that race institutes. As the previous chapters indicate, this tension or problem of what needs to be named as colonial governmentalized freedom is not confined to the period of emancipation; rather, it repeats itself across different historical conjunctures in which racial rule and white supremacy are problematized from within liberalism by its own commitments to freedom and equality. However, as Scott makes clear (ibid), the problem of liberalism is not much its failure to fully deliver on the promises of freedom for the formerly colonized. Neither is the problem of liberalism simply about the contradictions caused by the tensions between the higher ideals of political liberalism (e.g. equality) and economic liberalism's attachments to racialized capitalism. Under the conditions of postcolonial late modern capitalism, lliberalism's internal contradictions over race and freedom express the uneven articulations of the changing *complicities* as well as contradictions occurring between political liberalism and economic liberalism. These complicities and contradictions that are produced in specific conjunctural moments and lead to new opportunities as well as problematisations, all of which need to be analysed in their particularities, generalities and in their *cultural articulations*. This chapter has used the example of Jamaican Dancehall culture to examine how the cultural logics of neoliberalism both express and mediate the contradictions, opportunistic complicities and problematisations of late modern global capitalism and postcolonial liberalism and work to both contest and secure the continuing coloniality of freedom.

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Beyond Racial Trauma: Remembering Bodies, Healing the Self

The previous two chapters highlighted how colonial liberalism deployed the biopolitics of race and gender in the production of taxonomies of freedom, in which Indian, African, Chinese and White populations were ascribed differential endowments of civility, measured largely in terms of colonial understandings of ethnicized gender and family arrangements. In these arrangements the colonially structured hierarchy of race, in which the African body represented the extreme baseline limit of humanity contrasted with whiteness as its pinnacle, was central to the logics of colonial governmentality. This chapter begins the process of returning to the present by using the example of the Sacred Woman African-centred women's healing and personal development programme to examine the complexities of the postcolonial politics of gender and Black representation, and how some Black British women have drawn on an African American women's healing programme in local practices of freedom aimed at addressing the local as well as diasporic realities of Black life. Through close textual analysis as well as the use of qualitative interviews with two women who have participated in the Sacred Woman programme, or similar African-centred women's programmes, this chapter sets out to understand the formal discourse of the scheme,

interweaving narratives from interviews showing how women have used it, and how it is interpreted by those women. The chapter will examine how the Black body is imagined and deployed strategically and non-strategically—in the untidy everyday tactics that some Black women use to empower themselves in struggles against the various individuals, groups, institutions and systems that they understand as blocking their path to autonomy, self-determination or freedom. These 'new' liberation struggles take place largely outside the old forms and arenas of politics, increasingly emerging at the level of the individual and acted out in the contours of the everyday, of the personal and on the body, producing a poetics and aesthetics of the self. By analysing how the racialized and gendered Black body is both represented and worked on in this programme, this chapter seeks to answer the following questions: What conceptions of personhood, freedom and the body are produced within the formal discourse of the programme? What is being problematized or brought into question? And what tells us about the problem-spaces to which these questions are a response? How might we use the discourse of the programme to identify the contemporary problem-spaces of the present to which it seeks to provide remedies and critiques?

The philosophical dualism of René Descartes in the seventeenth century helped to establish the modern Western understanding of what it means to be human. The rational mind was the basis of being human, while the body was merely the material addendum. Enlightenment biopolitical reasoning legitimized the idea that the capacity for reason was the natural attribute of the white European 'man of reason' and that non-Europeans, being defined by their bodies, were not capable of achieving full personhood.² Fanon rejects this vision of the ideal self that makes a disembodied (therefore invisibly white) European mind the subject of humanism and freedom, and erases Black humanness by reducing Blackness to an objectified embodiment. He does not reject

¹ Gayatri Spivak (1990), in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, introduces the concept of strategic essentialism to argue that there are moments when it might be necessary for members of oppressed groups to essentialize themselves, in order to resist oppression.

² Cf. Eze Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader. Wiley, 1997.

embodiment but rather asserts the embodiedness of existence. The *fact of Blackness* (Fanon 2008/1986) for him lies in the body not as a biological point of closure and permanence but as a productive and reactive existence in time and space.

Isn't it ironic then that official recognition of institutionalized racism as a condition of Asian and Black existence in Britain confirms and reproduces the embodied epidermal identity that Franz Fanon first named in Black Skin, White Mask (ibid., 112), while apparently detaching its visibility from any references to 'race'? The Macpherson Inquiry³ institutionalized and disseminated the term 'visible minorities' as the latest euphemism for people who are not white. It confirmed the privileged place of seeing difference, marking it on the body. Overlooking momentarily the masculine bias, Fanon wrote that the moment a black man is 'seen' by the colonizing European gaze, he becomes objectified; he no longer has control over his own bodily integrity in which ego and body are united. He ceases to exist for himself and instead he becomes objectified as 'a Black man': no longer a unified subject, merely a representational iconic body, which can be read in a transparent chain of signification; the black body reduced to stereotype and metaphor, signifying drugs, guns, sexual hedonism and so forth, depending on the time and place.

The perniciousness of this racial epidermal schema for Fanon (ibid., 111) is its power to penetrate the self-consciousness of the black-African, to alienate the black subject from his own experience of his body so that he comes to see himself through the dominant perspective of the legislative gaze of the Other; he learns to objectify himself. What else is implied by thinking of oneself as the 'visible minority' to an invisible majority? Yet the category 'visible minority' suggests that this alienated corporeality is not merely reducible to skin colour as a surface inscription of physiognomic difference. Although skin colour is the paramount sign of this visible Otherness in which body and subjectivity, visibility and invisibility are fused in a kind of permanent state of embattlement, being also a 'historical racial schema' (Mohanram 1999, 26), it is cultural and performative, revealed through clothing, speech, experience, culture, accents, all

³ See the Macpherson Report (1999) of the inquiry into the racist murder in South London in 1993 of Black teenager Stephen Lawrence at the hands of a group of white youths.

of which can function as secondary markers of a visible subordinate status as Citizen-Other. Visible minorities are not recognizable merely through racialization as an epidermal schema constituted through skin colour, texture of hair or other physiognomic markers; they are also embodied a second time through hair styles, clothing, comportment, movement of the body, dreadlocks, hoodies, hijabs and salwar kameez. In other words, racialization is not simply the 'representational process whereby social significance and therefore social relations are attached to biological (usually phenotypic) human features' (Miles 1989, 75). Styles and cultural practices metonymically linked to racialized bodies can become objectified and alienated from the selves that are lived through them and the bodies that animate them. By detaching 'race' from biological markers and reworking it through the cultural, the aesthetic and the body's performativity, black bodies can be simultaneously visible as citizens and objectified as Others. In this way, racism (as discredited false biology) is transcended, 'thus distancing cultural essentialism from many of the social and political criticisms that biological essentialism has received' (Lury 2002, 158).

The moment of coming into view as a black person is potentially inherently risky, for one risks becoming simultaneously 'hypervisible yet invisible' (Mohanram 1999, 26), always trapped by an identity, whether self-defined or not, anti-racist or racist, that threatens to reduce one to an essence or caricature of one's own or someone else's making. The struggle to transcend this contradiction has defined the history of Black cultural politics in Britain in the twentieth century. Stuart Hall has summarized this as the struggle of two sequential but overlapping moments. The first he defines as the struggle over the relations of representation (Hall 1996, 442), which seeks initially for recognition of the presence of Black people within the nation. This is resistance against the invisibility that comes when Britishness signifies only whiteness. Therefore the struggle over the

⁴ Racialization denotes any circumstance where the idea of 'race' is employed in discourse. Robert Miles defines it as the representational process in which social significance is assigned to biological human differences and used to group people together into social groups (Miles 1989, 75). Barker (1981) introduces the concept of 'new racism' to describe the processes by which racialization works through cultural rather than biological differences.

relations of representation also seeks recognition of one's value and dignity and opposes the pathological hypervisibility of racist stereotypes. This moment particularly characterizes the cultural politics of the post-war settlement of Blacks in Britain up to the early 1980s. The second phase in Black cultural politics is exemplified by struggles over the politics of representation (ibid.), which emerge when internal differences around gender, sexuality and class begin to weaken or unsettle 'black' as a composite racial category.

Academic and political debates have increasingly focused on this second moment and the kinds of cultural and political implication that flow from it. This has tended to shift analyses and discussions away from merely or primarily how Black cultural and political practices contest racism to how they deal with the internal politics of Black identity. Black identities, practices and discourses are increasingly framed within a dominant critical paradigm, which sets the terms on which politics of Black representation and criticism can be discussed. The extent to which Black cultural practices and representations offer new emancipatory possibilities 'beyond race' (Gilroy 2000) becomes a primary criterion for assessing their political and ethical merits. Black cultures and practices that can transcend racial categorizations by valorizing syncretism and hybridity are typically celebrated as making possible new anti-racist futures beyond the confines of 'race'. Cultural expressions that emphasize cultural or biological sameness, which can be shown to deny or suppress internal differences within and external similarities across racial categories, are dismissed as essentialist. The extent to which the former is effective in producing new postracial/non-racist or anti-racist futures is determined from their capacity to transcend fixed certainties around 'race' ethnicity, nation and so on, while the extent to which the latter reproduce racism can similarly be deduced from their essentialism. Less certain, however, is how effective this division is in understanding what such practices mean for those who deploy them, and the material and social conditions of racism to which they may be a response, or how such formations and practices may be internally differentiated and contested.

The Sacred Woman programme problematizes modern Black identities as they have been formed in the West, and in this questioning it

raises once again the problem of the meaning of Black freedom and the forms of Black existence that will nurture it. The programme seeks to counter what it identifies as the specific damaging effects of Western modernity by inviting Black women into practices of freedom that deploy tradition and the sacred to oppose modernity's disenchantment and secularization of Black life in particular and human life in general. The Sacred Woman programme is one of many life-coaching and selfdevelopment schemes specifically targeted at Black women that have appeared in recent years. From the popularity of books by Iyanla Vanzant (1993, 1998, 1999, 2001) to workshops run by a variety of Black trainers in Britain, many Black women have been embracing these tools as a vital resource of self-development and social empowerment. In the analysis that follows, I suggest that the Sacred Woman programme is concerned with the aesthetics of Black existence and freedom, and the states of mind, health, body and social relationships that ought to be considered as adequate signs of freedom for Black women. In order to introduce the programme I shall outline its general philosophical and ethical base, before describing the structure of the programme and some of its key techniques.

Afrocentrism and the Khamitic Nu(bian) Woman

The Sacred Woman programme was devised and written by Queen Afua, who describes herself as a herbalist, holistic health specialist and lay midwife. Khamitic-Nubian African-centred philosophy provides the core historical, religious, biomedical and philosophical knowledge base of the programme. In addition to this, it relies heavily on a variety of alternative therapies, such as yoga, numerology and herbalism. These are brought together to produce an educational, therapeutic and spiritual self-development programme. In this analysis I shall concentrate on the philosophical discourse of the scheme and how it is deployed in the construction of what I call a Khamitic melanin discourse of the body and history.

The stated core knowledge base of the programme is Khamitic-Nubian cosmology and philosophy. Although the training manual makes no direct reference to Molefi Kente Asante, its philosophy is clearly that of Afrocentrism as developed in his work (1990, 2001), which in turn relies heavily on the ideas of Chiek Anta Diop (1974) and Maulenga Karenga (1984, 1989). However, the main Afrocentric sources cited in the manual are Wallace Budge's 1895 translation of the Egyptian Book of The Dead and Karenga's translation of Selections from the Husia: Sacred Wisdom of Ancient Egypt (1984). The African-centred interpretation of ancient Egyptian cosmology expounds a philosophy of human existence and the body that regards the human body as a miniature universe, in which each part of the body is linked to one of the Egyptian deities or divine principles. Each principle governs a part of the body, and their influence can be brought to bear on it through rituals of supplication and homage. This Afrocentric theology is grounded in a homology in which all parts of the body are joined to each other and to the particular divine principles, associated with particular parts of the body in a spiritual exchange. In addition, one's lifestyle is regarded as a manifestation of the psychological, physiological and metaphysical processes of the body, which are themselves manifestations of cosmic spiritual processes (Gadalla 2003). Consequently, how one looks, behaves, thinks and so on are all expressions of one's level of spiritual development and Khamitic consciousness.

Afrocentrism bases its philosophy of African knowledge on Egyptian cosmology in order to offer an alternative representation of the history, cultures and people of Africa and its diaspora, which comments on, as it defies, the representation of humanity, world history and civilization that imperial Western modernity has constructed. The primary preoccupation of Afrocentric philosophy, then, is to challenge Eurocentric accounts of the world and specifically the status of Western modernity as the hegemonic time/space of normative reality (Asante 1990, 5) through the elaboration of an alternative theory of African history, existence and historical consciousness, in which a Black-African Egypt is the centre, and standpoint, of knowledge.

Reassigning Egypt's place in human history is a fundamental tenet of Afrocentrism. In this the work of Chiek Anta Diop is central. The main thesis of his work is a redefinition of the place of Egypt—or Khamit

(a pre-Grecian name for Egypt) —in African history in particular and in world history in general. Diop lays out extensive historical, archaeological and anthropological evidence to support the argument that the civilization of Egypt is Black African, is inseparable from a unified continental African culture (rather than classical Greek culture) and is the real origin of Western civilization. Diop argues that a redefinition of history is a prerequisite for the empowerment of an oppressed people's capacity to know themselves and to resist external aggression (Diop 1974, 214). This rediscovery of self involves developing an African historical consciousness through the recovery of the true African personality through a process of moral, historical and psychic re-education and transformation in which the African rejects the impositions of Western 'Black' subjectification and identities (ibid.).

Afrocentricity as a theory and paradigm was developed in the USA in the 1960s by African American scholar Molefe Asante at the height of the social movements of the second half of the twentieth century and in the emergence of the first Black studies and African American studies programmes there. Although Afrocentricity as a theory has been fully elaborated by Asante and Ama Mazama (Mazuma 2002), at a vernacular level the word 'Afrocentric' is also widely used as an adjective to refer to a number of Black cultural and religious movements, such as the Black Power movement, and particularly a range of African-derived religions in the Americas such as Myalism, Rastafari, Vodun and Orisha.⁵ These political or religiocultural movements do not necessarily subscribe to the formal philosophy of Afrocentricity. However, insofar as they share normative Afrocentric values and outlooks, such as a 'Back to Africa' cultural aesthetic and political orientation, a critique of the West and a rejection of white Western global hegemony, the advancement of forms of knowledge (both sacred and secular) from Black African and African diaspora perspectives and the development of an African consciousness, they may be described as Afrocentric. This has produced some blurring and confusion because the term is now often used merely descriptively, as already noted, and it can refer to movements and even personal attitudes

⁵ See *African American Religious Cultures* by Stephen C. Finley and Torin Alexander. Santa Barbara CA: 2009.

that differ as much as they have shared tenets. Cokley's research among African Americans in the USA indicates that Afrocentrism (as opposed to Afrocentricity) constitutes a diffused set of values and beliefs about ethnic and racial identity amounting therefore to a 'racialised ethnic identity [...] characterized by anti-White attitudes, beliefs about Afrocentrism, a belief in the natural ability of Blacks, a strong ethnic identity, and negative endorsement of multiculturalist inclusive attitudes' (Cokley 2005, 523). Aspects of the philosophy of Afrocentricity have in some ways become so culturally diffused and intermingled with a range of other values and ethics that apart from the committed adherents to Afrocentricity, the definition of the term 'Afrocentric' (or 'Africentric') for many people is very ill-defined, meaning that it can denote many things from pan-Africanism, through Black nationalism and even to anti-White ethnocentrism.

This rejection of modern Black identities is also reflected in the reclaiming of precolonial names as well as the reconstruction of English words in order to produce an alternative semantics paradigm. Examples found in the programme are the term 'Afrakan' to denote African descendants, as a way of rejecting the supremacy of the English language. Similarly, Afrocentrism reclaims African terms such as 'Khamit' for Egypt and 'Nubian' for Africans. Terms such as 'Black' and especially 'Negro' are discarded as Western impositions, which obfuscate African reality (Asante 1990, 134). This semantic revision reflects the overall homology of values within Afrocentricity focused on recentring the dislocations in African being and worldview produced by the imperial interruption of Africa and African peoples. This recentring—as signified in the word Afrocentricity—is philosophical, epistemological, psychological and cultural. Its telos is a revolution in Black thinking and 'a constructural adjustment to black disorientation, decenteredness, and lack of agency' (Asante 2009). Thus Afrocentricity seeks to invert the geopolitics of knowledge by challenging Western Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment epistemological claims to disembodied impartiality and therefore universalism.

The debates concerning the origins and status of Egyptian civilization have been exhaustively addressed elsewhere (Bernal 1987, 1991; Lefkowitz 1996; Appiah 1997; Howe 1998; van Binsbergen 1996), and

the veracity or otherwise of the science on which the Sacred Woman programme is built is not my primary concern here. Of interest is how a variety of Afrocentric belief systems and knowledges are brought together and applied within the programme to raise particular problems, to which it then provides solutions: (1) produce an ethical and aesthetic programme of self-transformation and creativity in which biology and history are fused in a poetics of African-diaspora femininity and subjectivity; (2) reject the Cartesian dualism of Western modern subjectivity, at the same time as inscribing an alternative *biohistory* (Foucault 1990; Burkitt 1999) of modernity; and (3) show how the formal discourse of the programme, that by any reckoning would fail the 'hybridity—good, essentialism—bad' test, is disorganized and adapted through the processes of transculturation that occur as it flows through the African diaspora.

The Sacred Woman Programme: Liberating the Black Woman

The structure of the Sacred Woman programme is a nine-stage developmental process for 'healing the feminine mind, body and spirit'. The nine stages or 'gateways' that one must pass through to reach true womanhood all involve a range of techniques aimed at healing and liberating women of African descent through a programme of education, consciousness-raising, self-healing and spiritual development. In fact there are ten gateways: there is a prerequisite 'Gateway 0' that one must pass through in order to gain access to the others. The purpose or teleology of liberation is to empower each participant to be healthier and more effective in her identity as an African woman/goddess—as partner, mother and healer of the African family and community, and ultimately all of humanity. The aim of the governmental practices ultimately is not simply personal but universal well-being and harmony, so that all humanity enter into the state of Ma'at. Queen Afua's book, Sacred Woman, 'is a reminder from the universe that you possess the innate power to create transformation and change—personally, communally and globally' (Afua 2000, 3). It targets women of African descent in the diaspora, especially African-American

women, and aims to connect them to what she says is the ancestral philosophy and way of life in ancient Egypt from which Black people have become forcibly alienated through the effects of racism—that is, Nubian- Khamitic philosophy. However, in its universalism, the responsibility of the African who has achieved Ma'at liberation is to use the innate power that Black people possess to bring others to Ma'at consciousness and spiritual harmony also.

Importantly, Ma'at is not only a principle of being; it is a central goddess in the ancient Egyptian pantheon. She personifies 'all the elements of cosmic harmony as established by the creator-god at the beginning of time—including Truth, Justice and Moral Integrity'. Ma'at was a very important goddess who validated the authority of the pharaohs to govern. Thus, symbolically, Ma'at in Afrocentric theology is a powerful symbolization of both the authority of African woman and the interdependency of male and female. The word 'Ma'at' also translates as 'right', 'true', 'genuine', 'upright', 'righteous' and 'unalterable' (Budge 1913, 185). In the Sacred Woman programme, Ma'at presents both an ideal figure of African femininity and empowerment before the degradations of conquest and enslavement, and the ideal state of not just feminine but human being. Achieving Ma'at is the path to liberation of one's authentic Khamitic feminine self. This involves, in the first instance. becoming conscious of oneself as a damaged spirit inhabiting the disenchanted and wounded body and subjectivity of the modern Western Black subject. This is the deontology of the programme, the ethical substance that needs to be worked on in order for it to achieve transformational healing. The teleology or goal of the programme is the re-establishment of nature's harmonious reintegration or reunification of the human and the divine within one universal law represented by the principle of Ma'at, which is embodied by the Goddess Ma'at in Egyptian cosmology. Thus the ethical subject who requires the practices of liberation advanced by the programme is the unconscious modern African subject, in need of healing physically, spiritually and socially from the effects of Western modernity. Restoring the African subject's natural balance involves reunifying the split between mind and body, the individual and the universal, produced by Western philosophy and conquest. This involves rediscovering and re-entering the 'spiritual traditions

of ancient Khamit—the Mother of Northern Egyptian culture' (Afua 2000, 5) by overcoming ignorance (ibid., 7) and thereby achieving Nubian Afrakan-Khamitic consciousness and harmony—*Ma'at*. The gateway to Khamitic consciousness and *Ma'at* is through both knowledge of the body and embodied knowledge of an 'ancestral memory' (ibid., 14) written in and on the body.

The problem of the wounded and unconscious modern African subject being battered by Western modernity is the deontological target of the programme. Deontology addresses 'who we are when we are governed in such a manner, our "mode of subjection" or the governable or ethical subject' (Dean 1999, 26). This existential problem of Africans living in the mortified flesh of Black subjectivity under Western racial governmentality was accepted by both of the women interviewed who had used the programme. The two women were Njeri and Mandisa. Both were university graduates in their mid-30s. Njeri was married with three children and Mandisa was a single parent to two children. Both women had adopted African names. The problems that had brought each of them to the programme were personal and political. Both had turned to the Sacred Woman programme at moments of crisis in their lives. For Njeri it was the early death of a close cousin and for Mandisa it was finding herself for the second time in her life a new mother estranged from the father of her child. Both women spoke about feeling that they were not coping, not managing their lives as they should. Their reasons for choosing an Afrocentric programme reflected a strong sense of themselves as women with particular needs as Black women. Both strongly identified with the ideal of the strong Black woman, so the sense of not coping threatened their self-perceptions as well as their social identities among their Caribbean peers—not merely as capable women but as Black women with a responsibility to themselves, their children and the wider community. Thus failure to manage themselves and their lives competently would, as Njeri said, not only be letting themselves down but also 'I'd be failing the Black race, because I wasn't managing ... The Black race, yes! All the Black women who have gone before.' Therefore working on the self was an aspect of political consciousness-raising and self-empowerment in order to effect change around them:

You have to work on yourself, because healing begins with self. You cannot build a bridge without yourself. At the same time the ideology—if everyone is working on their self, really working on their self, we wouldn't have half the troubles we have. The system would be different. It is because we allow ourselves to be ruled by anger, greed, jealously, hatred and racism and all the other things, that is why we have the systems we have. If you change your own internal system to one of purification, peace, cooperation, living in harmony with the natural laws then that would be effective in the policies. So it's like it's hard to separate one from the other. (Njeri)

The programme's capacity to speak to specific personal and emotional experiences, at the same time as connecting the personal to wider political concerns to do with being Black in a hegemonically white world and to racism, had a particular appeal to these women. The programme sets out to heal the self through a racialized discourse of nature, an embodied spirituality and consciousness of self, in order to release women's capacity to 'naturally' and spiritually heal their individual as well as collective racialized wounds as Black women, thereby releasing their social power to act powerfully for change. The political aspect of the programme lies in its challenge to Western modernity's constructions of history, freedom and Black personhood. Yet its responses to these political questions are largely therapeutic and self-directed. Here the concept of self is consistent with the intersubjective maternal personhood that we identified in the discourse of the independent woman. By teaching Black women how to get back to their natural selves through developing a new Khamitic, or at least African-centred, consciousness of self, the Sacred Woman programme sets out to enable them to resist submission to Eurocentrism and to be more empowered in their relationships and lives. The normativity of Western gender constructs and, in particular, heteronormativity underwrites the programme's discourse of the 'natural' Black body, as will become clear.

The Sacred Gateways to Self-Knowledge

Each of the gateways offers a set of regimes which Queen Afua calls 'spiritual exercises' (Afua 2000, 28). Each represents a complex care regime, targeting different aspects of the self and its relationship to the body, self and others. These include bathing, altar and libation rituals, prayers, chanting, affirmations, breathing and meditation exercises, dietary observances and daily journal writing. The most intensive and detailed is the Sacred Womb Gateway, which is the introductory gateway that must be passed through in order to proceed onto the programme. The final gateway is the Sacred Initiation Gateway. All the other gateways can be undertaken in whatever order each participant finds appropriate to her needs. Rather than go through each gateway in detail, a brief summary will indicate the primary target of each and how it is pursued. The primary discourses outlined above are repeated with fairly equal distribution across each gateway. I shall then move on to a more detailed presentation and analysis of the Sacred Womb Gateway.

Gateway 0: Sacred Womb

This focuses on renewal of the womb as 'the natural foundation of our self-discovery and recovery' (ibid.). It targets the whole body in a holistic programme of self-awareness in which the body, spirit and consciousness are administered to.

Gateway 1: Sacred Words

This focuses on communication and cognitive awareness. 'Sacred Word teaches us how to use speech to elevate, not injure our spirit . . . You will learn how to elevate the language you use' (ibid.).

Gateway 2: Sacred Food

'Sacred Foods will give you the ability to eat and assimilate food and ideas that heal' (ibid., 160). This part of the programme addresses eating and weight disorders, nutrition, and the social aspects of food preparation and consumption, together with the rights and responsibilities of women as feeders of other people.

Gateway 3: Sacred Movement

This acts directly on the body in terms of posture and movement in order to harmonize body, mind and spirit. 'Sacred Movement revitalizes the physical body and teaches us how to spiritualise matter' (ibid., 184). Key exercises are yoga, spiritual rituals and dance.

Gateway 4: Sacred Beauty

This addresses skin and hair care, cosmetic procedures, dress, etiquette and sexuality in order to harmonize the inner and outer body and release spiritual energy. 'Sacred Beauty embraces the divine aesthetic of harmony within and without ... through the Khamitic Nubian spiritual path' (ibid., 216).

Gateway 5: Sacred Space

This addresses the aesthetic and physical aspects of the home, hygiene, the use of colour, aromas and the positioning of objects to enhance a harmonious environment. 'Sacred Space will assist you in bringing your home and work space into divine clean order that will create balance and harmony within and throughout your life' (ibid., 248).

Gateway 6: Sacred Healing

This teaches women how to use intuitive knowledge and natural healing methods together with herbal remedies to heal their mind, body and spirit (ibid., 260).

Gateway 7: Sacred Relationships

This 'eliminates toxic, dysfunctional relationships that destroy life and creates and supports cleansed, honest and harmonious relationships that energize one's life' (ibid., 322). It does this through techniques which seek to explore and change one's inner relationship of self to self, and to others, especially other women.

Gateway 8: Sacred Union

This builds on the previous one and focuses on intimacy, sexuality and marriage, and it is the only gateway that includes exercises for men. Here the idealized Black subject is inscribed in heteronormativity as the singular expression of a liberated Black subjectivity.

Gateway 9: The Sacred Initiation

This initiates the successful adherent of the programme into the Khamitic community, marked by adopting a new African name.

Each gateway largely repeats and consolidates the same rituals and regimes laid out in Gateway 0. Additional techniques target the particular focal point of that gateway, and the divine principle or deity associated with that part of the body. Through this vast array of practices one is invited to transform oneself from a Negro to an Afrakan, from a pathological identity and way of life to a free person. Freedom is achieved and maintained through the work one does on oneself, for 'If one expects to sort out freedom and move from a dead to an alive existence, one must

have the courage and be willing to sacrifice one's old worn out non-effective self' (ibid., 3).

Bearing Slavery, Feminizing Freedom

The Sacred Woman programme provides health education through the provision of diagrams and information regarding the structures and processes of the human body and psyche. It offers a diagnostic and therapeutic discourse of the Afrakan body, offering explanations for the causes and appropriate cures for a variety of physical and emotional ailments. Queen Afua, in setting out to correct and manage what she regards as the pathological inauthentic identities, bodies and modes of existence of Black people within Western modernity, asserts that

Afrakan people in America and the Caribbean and various parts of the world are in a state of physical, cultural, and social pathology. This pathological identity and lifestyle is the result of Diaspora Afrikans' enforced separation from Africa and from their traditional culture and religion. Slavery, racism and imperialism have produced incomprehensible trauma, carried through our blood into the present day. (ibid., 126)

Therefore the aim of the Sacred Woman programme is the recuperation of what it regards as the authentic premodern Afrakan consciousness and personhood. Transformation and liberation involve an ontological recovery of self through care of the body and spirit. Failure to follow the programme's prescriptions for liberation and health leaves you in a 'toxic' state of existential, spiritual and physical pathology, a 'non-effective self' suffering all manner of somatic symptoms of your soul's distress.

Queen Afua deploys melanin to establish her authority to guide and instruct initiates when she states, 'I have been blessed to pick up where I left off thousands of years ago, because knowledge of self is in my DNA, in my melanin' (ibid.). Just as melanin is posited as the essence of the Afrakan body and emotionality within the ethical regime of Queen

⁶ Queen Afua: Mission Statement. http://www.blacknet.co.uk/sacredwoman/mission.htm on 20 July 2002.

Afua, so the womb is the centre of the Afrakan woman's being and virtue. In numbering the Sacred Womb Gateway 0, the womb is represented as the zero-sum of Afrakan woman's being. Gateway 0 aims to raise Black women's consciousness through 'womb enlightenment' (ibid., 33). Womb enlightenment 'promotes the ability to contact true femininity through grounding in the female organs; the integration of the feminine with the female sexual and biological self' (ibid., 31). The womb secures the Afrakan woman to her symbolic value and social identity—creator/ mother. This also affects her biological, emotional and social functioning. Although the womb physically and symbolically is the centre of an Afrakan woman's power, it is also the site where the emotionality produced by melanin makes her most vulnerable. Queen Afua says that since opening her Heal Thyself Centre in New York in the early 1980s, she has 'discovered first hand' that African women 'are holding 400 years of pain, abuse, secrets, rape, incest, anger and resentment in our wombs'. The impact of this for Black communities, she continues, is potentially catastrophic because the Black woman is the mother of the nation, and ultimately humanity, and is responsible for its well-being (ibid., 75). Therefore care of self is a prerequisite for care for others, and for exercising personal agency and social power. This requires bringing to the surface the deep embodied memory of these womb traumas.

Two important exercises in Gateway 0 involve journal recordings and confession. Women are asked to produce a Womb Work Journal in which participants are to record reflections on their wombs, and the histories and stories of their wombs; the pleasures, the abuses, the sexual relationships, miscarriages and abortions, and so on (ibid., 44). Queen Afua counsels women, in producing this journal, to avoid putting their minds above their bodies (ibid., 43) and instead let their wombs speak to them. 'As we enter into the depths of our wombs, we will discover that our womb remembers and is prepared to speak to us of every fear and joy' (ibid., 44).

The second exercise involves forming a Sacred Circle with other women in which each woman shares with the group the insights she has

⁷ Queen Afua Interview with Angie La Mar on *The Women's Room* Choice FM 107.1 London 2000. Transcript available at http://www.blacknet.co.uk/sacredwoman/ladiesroom.htm on 20 July 2002.

gained through her Womb Work Journal. As each woman takes turns to tell her womb story, the rest of the group recite a chant called 'I Cry a River of Tears That Heal'. One verse of this chant is

I am an Afrakan Woman, crying out my pain, screaming and retching Rivers of Tears from generation to generation. My tears boil up from the bile of plantation slave life here in America the Beautiful. Here, where institutionalised sex factories were brutally imposed upon a stolen people. (ibid., 57)

We can understand this exercise as attempting to work directly on the pain and shame that slavery and racism imposed on Black women. As we saw in the previous chapter, the efforts of colonial morality to civilize the Black Caribbean women by training her into modes of life and femininity that her impoverished condition within colonial rule simply could not make possible involved inculcating in her forms of conscience that would encourage her to blame herself for these failings rather than the structural conditions of Caribbean colonial society. These are the mechanisms by which women acquire a 'learned engendered attunement to shame' (Bartky 1990, 95). However, the specific embarrassments and humiliations that Black Caribbean and African-American women have become attuned to are not identical to those of other categories of women, though many are the same. For although women's learned attunement to shame, may be universal, since the category 'woman' is neither homogenous nor universal, it is important to identify and describe the specific local contexts, purposes and technologies of woman-shaming as well as the diverse yet globally connected geo-political governing regimes and temporalities that may articulate them.

It is recognized by health professionals on both sides of the Atlantic that African-Caribbean and African American women have three times the level of uterine fibroids as white women, and that these present at a younger age, with larger fibroids and with more severe symptoms (Jolley 2009, 45; Stewart et al. 2013), affecting their quality of life, reproductivity and relationships. The factors contributing to uterine fibroids are not fully known, but recent studies have revealed that

Vitamin D deficiency can have a significant effect on their size and number (NIH 2012; Sabry et al. 2013). In the Sacred Woman programme, Queen Afua explains this prevalence in terms of the scar tissue left by slavery and racism that can be worked on and healed by practising the techniques and regimes laid out in the Sacred Womb Gateway. She assures Black women that by doing so they can rediscover the natural state of their wombs that their ancestors once possessed in Africa, when Africa first gave birth to humanity. It is this DNA-melanin encoded memory of Africa that must be discovered and released through exercises that attempt to fuse contemporary experience and historical memory. It is through such acts of performative remembering that the programme sets out to facilitate the internalization of what it refers to as Afrakan-Nubian consciousness in which 'mind, body and spirit' are unified in Ma'at harmony.

African-American women's wombs have indeed been a site of intense social and political struggle concerning the right of Black women since enslavement to control their bodies and their reproductive capacities. Loretta Ross (1993), in an analysis of African-American women's experience of abortion and reproductive rights from 1800 to 1970, offers a harrowing account of African-American women's health experiences. In the slave economy the Black woman's womb was a source of profit and labour for the slave owner. Ross outlines the practices by which enslaved women would seek to both control their own fertility and resist the alienation of their sexual bodies by the economic system of slavery, in which the prime value of a Black woman was as a 'breeder woman'. This included various means of preventing pregnancy and inducing abortions as pragmatic acts of resistance to slavery (ibid., 144). In the Caribbean, infanticide was one way in which an enslaved woman could refuse to pass on the 'uterine legacy' (Bush 1990, 137) by which the slave status was passed on through the maternal line.⁸ Infanticide and abortions in this context became practices in which the enslaved African woman could seek

⁸ The slave status was legally passed on through the mother, as the law governing slave societies did not allow slaves to marry or recognize paternity in slaves as a significant social or legal status (Gutman 1976).

to liberate her hyphenated subjectivity as *slave-woman*, shackled to an alienated and objectified body, in which her own womb and its creative potential was itself the source of her inherently feminized and racialized dishonouring.

In the post-slavery Americas, Black women's procreativity has been no less the target of white racist and Black sexist power. African American women's activism around reproductive and women's rights in the twentieth century has contended with issues such as forced sterilization under the influence of the eugenics movement prior to the Second World War; the anti-birth control lobby within masculinist Black nationalist discourses since the 1960s; contemporary public policy initiatives which target, pathologize and then penalize Black women's reproductivity through the stereotype of the 'welfare mother'; inadequate public health provision for uninsured poor people; and the misogyny and violence that can be found within certain elements of Black urban communities and are expressed in some forms of popular music (Ross 1993).

In targeting the womb as the centre of Black women's subjectivity and social power, we can see an attempt to address the situated historical and contemporary experiences of Black femininity within the history of the Americas. However, while Queen Afua acknowledges the statistical evidence regarding the health outcomes for African-American women, her explanation and remedy lies not in society but in contemporary Black women's relationships to their bodies and to history. In an interview in London with the Black-British comedian and radio presenter Angie La Mar, Queen Afua was asked to explain what 'womb wellness' means. She responded:

I have seen thousands of women over the years who have come to see me for different health-related problems. What they all have in common, approximately ninety percent of them, is some kind of womb affliction, whether it was incest, or rape or they were in a relationship which was sexually abusive, whether they did not take good care of themselves or they went from one relationship to the next trying to find a blessing but instead received hurt and pain, so they ended up having some form of womb trauma.⁹

⁹ Sacred Woman: *Ladies' Room* interview, p. 2.

In a disturbing conflation of rape, bad relationship choices and 'not taking care of oneself', Queen Afua seems to make individual Black women solely responsible for overcoming the effects of poverty, racism, sexism and male violence. Yet it is important to recognize that the Sacred Woman programme is acknowledging and responding to the situation of many women of African descent across the African diaspora, where female-headed households are prevalent (Senior 1991) and women have accepted the responsibility of earning, rearing children, maintaining the home and taking care of the general well-being of the community. In many African diaspora cultures, as in most others, motherhood is a paradoxical condition because it is the 'gateway' to honour and adulthood status, but simultaneously to an increased vulnerability to poverty, sexism and racism (Noble 2000, 161). In this regard it could be argued that the programme seeks to revalorize Black women's reproductive and caring labour, which structures and governs the lived experience of so many Black women, in order to transform it into a source of power rather than victimization. Njeri felt that an important aspect of the programme was that it could help women to overcome internalized racism and its effects on the Black family and Black relationships:

The programme does help to address internalised racism because Black people living in this society, [and] in America we do take on board so much rubbish; we do internalize it [...] and it's really trying to break that cycle and it needs the Queen Afua programme. It's also about the mother/daughter, mother/son relationship trying to create a more foundation grounding loving; for the husbands to love their women's womb and for the woman to respect and love the womb and pass it on to the son. It's a whole dynamic circle thing. For me it's got to start with someone, and as women are more generally more receptive and more creative, let's work through women. (Njeri)

In the programme's manual, the Afrakan women's reproductivity is offered as the site and source of her empowerment. This view of Black women's reproductivity offers a direct challenge to shame and debasement that slavery, patriarchy and Western gender ideologies have imposed on the Black body of both genders. In the powerful Womb Circle

exercise, we see, first, the naming of the historical trauma of rape, sexual exploitation and the specifically feminized forms of dishonouring that racism and sexism inflict on Black women's bodies. Second, Queen Afua locates the scars of this experience deep in the womb of the contemporary Afrakan woman 'that damaged them down to their DNA' (Afua 2000, 57). This embodied memory of contemporary and historical trauma is brought on, she claims, by the sensitivity and vulnerability produced by the effects of melanin that all humans share, but which Black women, because of their higher levels of melanin, are especially vulnerable to. The recent discoveries regarding the effects of vitamin D deficiency on the prevalence of uterine fibroids in Black women in the West goes some way to supporting the programme's overall depiction of the self-alienated suffering Black woman's body, that under the conditions of diasporic exile within modernity resides in both unnatural places and in an unnatural existential condition. Through the painful and moving Womb Circle exercise, this history of Black women's suffering is reified and thereby rendered accessible to Black women's personal agency. It becomes personal, manageable and available to therapeutic intervention, creating the possibility of not just health but also self-empowerment.

Such self-affirming practices centred on the Black body's historical and contemporary sufferings are a key aspect of Afrocentric anti-racist self-care practices. Just as Ladelle McWhorter recognizes in relation to some feminist woman-affirming practices, these are important in overturning racist debasements and oppression of Black people and challenging internalized racism. Like feminist woman-affirming practices, these enable Black individuals to rid themselves of their internalization of racial governmentality in the form of 'oppressive bodily comportments and self-images' (McWhorter 2004, 148) and to 'imagine and build new ways to act, to see ourselves, and to relate to others and the world around us' (ibid.)—in short, to reinvent the Black self. However, just as McWhorter feared in relation to feminism, these practices can too easily lapse into a search for an internal truth about the nature or essence of Black or African being. In the prescriptions and demands of the Sacred Woman programme, we see how practices of freedom can quickly become transformed into new disciplinary practices enforcing, in this instance, a heteronormative Afrocentric governmentality and closure. This is

particularly the case in relation to the ways in which melanin is deployed in the programme to construct a bioethical Afrakan subject.

Khamitic Ethnobiology: Melanin, Trauma and the Biopolitics of Remembering Bodies

In the Sacred Woman programme, melanin is cited as the primary structuring ontogenetic property and biological mechanism within the human body—its defining and master DNA marker. Beyond this, no explanation is offered for what DNA or melanin are. Instead we are only told of the effects of melanin on the African body and consciousness (and by implication its lack in White people). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to evaluate adequately the scientific evidence for the properties assigned to melanin by the programme. However, the uncontroversial properties of melanin are that it is an important biochemical substance that gives the colour to the skin as well other organs of the body, both visible and non-visible (Nicolaus 2005). It is also a substance that affects a number of important biochemical functions within the body. As we shall see, many of the claims made about melanin in the programme reflect a melanin discourse or melanin theory within Afrocentrism that has been widely disseminated within the USA and globally. The term 'melanin discourse' is preferred here to signal the inadequate evidential base or scientific sources offered by the programme to support its scientific claims for melanin, which are in any case as much spiritual and philosophical as they are scientific. A further problem in determining the validity of melanin discourse lies in the fact that both its proponents and its critics are invariably non-scientists, 10 being mostly historians and cultural and social theorists, and very few of the scientific research papers on melanin

¹⁰ See Cress Wesling, Francis. The Isis Papers: The Keys to the Colors, Chicago: Third World Press: 1994; Ortiz de Montellano, B. R. 'Afrocentric Pseudoscience: The Miseducation of African Americans'. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences (New York Academy of Sciences) 17 December 2006, 775: 561–572; Marvin Harris Theories of Culture in Postmodern Times, especially ch. 9 'Confronting Ethnomania' California: Altimira Press, 1999. pp. 11–130.

are accessible for most lay persons. ¹¹ In the space for speculation and partiality that this opens up, it has become impossible to determine the facts with any reliability. Therefore to me, as a cultural and social scientist, it seems more useful to address the meanings and the uses of melanin discourse for those who subscribe to it. The popularity of melanin discourse is expanding as more people across the African diaspora, especially in the West, access it via the internet and Black community organizations, which run workshops like the Sacred Woman programme. In the absence of clear evidence, much of the melanin discourse involves speculating about the facts regarding melanin and inflating them with diverse Afrocentric ideas and beliefs, together with unevenly accurate representations of historical data. In this situation it becomes an onerous task to sift out fact from mythology, or to break through the tautology of melanin discourse that in challenging the hubris of Eurocentrism with an equal portion of Afrocentric hubris renders debate almost impossible.

Within the Sacred Woman programme, melanin is conceived as being at the interface of the inner body (soul/spirit) and the outer body (skin colour/social identity). Queen Afua says that melanin is the transmitter of the 'natural' emotionality of the Afrakan, which in its damaged state of unconsciousness is at risk of a terrifying assortment of somatic responses to the pain of racism, sexism and existence within the West:

Melanin plays a contributing factor to our ill health... The stronger your melanin, the more you will hold emotions and chemical toxins. When it is time to let go other races with less melanin can release these things more easily, but our melanin holds on to all that.' (Afua 2005)

This implies that being African, and in particular being a dark-skinned African, is inherently risky, for in the absence of a proper awareness of this relationship of self to the body, the Afrakan subject is in a state of bodily unconsciousness, leaving them vulnerable to a variety of the perils of racist

¹¹ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melanin; Nicolaus B. J. (2005). 'A Critical Review of the Function of Neuromelanin and an Attempt to Provide a Unified Theory'. Med. Hypotheses 65 (4): 791–796.

modernity. Through these mechanisms the programme establishes a bioethical relation between self and the body that is racialized. It also feminizes this racialized subjectivity through particular practices of the self, which seek to naturalize and authorize a particular construction of 'true Afrakan womanhood'. It does this by asserting that the Afrakan woman's body 'naturally' produces particular needs, which, if left unattended (owing to ignorance or indiscipline), produce psychological, emotional and physical ailments. In short, lack of self-knowledge makes you sick and keeps you oppressed. However, the programme seeks to distance itself from the rationalities of Western scientific discourse, and to challenge its hegemony through an ethics of a spiritually charged embodiment as a legitimate site of knowing. In denouncing the racial bodily schema of Western modernity, the programme presents an implicit critique of humanism as a Eurocentric inscription of life that can never liberate the Black subject of modernity but instead produces fissures and discontinuities in the 'proper' or 'truthful' relationship between the body, memory and the self. In this fractured state of disembodied and self-alienated consciousness the programme suggests that the African descendant in the West cannot experience real and effective freedom. Therefore liberation requires knowledge of the body and its spiritual powers. In this regard the programme offers an alternative biopolitics of the Black body to the secular hedonism found in some elements of contemporary Black popular music, such as dancehall and hip-hop (Gilroy 1994). It also retains a Black nationalist investment in gender respectability while seeking to detach feminine respectability from its reliance on Eurocentric constructions of morality, gender and an erotic disinvestment in the spirituality of the sexual and reproductive body. Through an Afrocentric axiological reinscription it disinvests from those pervasive commodified or Eurocentric representations of Black femininity and female sexuality, and sets out to reinvest the Black body with more spiritual and historically accountable meanings.

The ways in which Mandisa and Njeri responded to the discourse of melanin was often contradictory. Both agreed that melanin held special properties that in some way defined the ontology of Blackness but were also environmentally conditioned. However, Mandisa was more reserved in her attachment to melanin, saying that she was not 'fundamentalist'

about it because she had come to learn that white people also have melanin in their bodies. However, Mandisa did feel that there were deeply embedded racial memories that could be recalled through meditation. As an example of this, she recounted an experience during a retreat in Devon to celebrate African Remembrance Day. She recalled that Devon was chosen as the place to visit on this day because it was there that some bones had been found which at that point were believed by the authorities to those of slaves who had escaped from a slave ship travelling from St Lucia and had been washed up on the shore. During a meditation session at the retreat, many of the women had experienced very traumatic regressions that she thought might have been connected to the power of melanin, and she herself had 'called up' the figure of a very young girl. She reports that the girl spoke to her, saying:

'Why are you disturbing us?' And for me it was a horrific experience because I felt like, I hadn't been prepared and I had disturbed something that had been still for a long time and I didn't know what to do with it [...] So I think there are racial memories and they can be tapped into in the environment that is about that happening. (Mandisa)

While Mandisa was willing to subscribe to the idea that racial memories could be stored in the body, she was not sure if this was caused by melanin. Similarly, Njeri described herself as 'comfortable' with the idea that the body could store memories but was less confident about whether it was as a result of melanin. Nevertheless, she had no difficulty in accepting that melanin produced particularly natural biologic needs and spiritual inclinations, but was unable to be very specific about what or how.

The kinds of knowledge or remembering being articulated through the role assigned to melanin can be explored through the literature on trauma and posttraumatic shock syndrome. Allen Young (1996) describes the

¹² It is likely that Mandisa was referring to the 1796 shipwreck in Rapparee Cove, Ilfracombe, of a ship carrying enslaved Africans from St. Lucia to Bristol. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1319739/Devon-in-three-way-battle-over-bones-of-shipwrecked-slaves.html. Accessed 16 June 2016.

processes by which a relationship is established between physical trauma and mental trauma in posttraumatic stress disorder. A transferral circuitry is set up between physical trauma and the mental and emotional memory of trauma. This circuit is established by analogy and genealogy. Analogy establishes a psychological connection by transferring images, emotions and words located in one space (the external body/the world) into another (the interior of the body). Genealogy establishes a historical connection where the memory of an event triggers neurological reactions in the body that become learned and instinctive triggers producing instinctive fears (ibid., 89-91). Applying this model to the Sacred Woman programme, we can see first, how harmful and painful experiences in the world (racism and sexism) are transferred to the inner space of the body. Second, the collective memory of slavery and the personal memory of past individual experiences of racism and sexism are explained as the 'triggers' which instigate the instinctive reactions of melanin, producing particular pathological effects on the body, mind and spirit: 'Memories are acquired ontogenetically, through the organism's own experience of pain and they are acquired phylogenetically through inherited fears' (ibid., 91). This insight is helpful because it enables a way of understanding how the memoropolitics of the Sacred Woman's ethical regime invests in melanin as the master gene structuring Afrakan ontology. Ontogenetically, melanin is the mechanism and substance by which the Black female body, mind and spirit are rendered vulnerable to the traumatizing effects of contemporary racism and sexism. Phylogenetically, melanin is offered as the transmitter of the traumatic as well as redemptive legacy of African history. In this way the programme establishes a psychogenetic model of cultural transmission and historical knowledge. It is melanin that is seen to connect the diverse ontogenetic experiences of contemporary racistsexist abuse to the phylogenetically embodied memory of the historical trauma of slavery and colonialism that unites Africans in the diaspora within a single structure of being. In articulating this performative, embodied 'memory-politics' (ibid., 89), the Sacred Woman programme constructs a theory of Afrakan subjectivity in which melanin is the transcendental marker of Afrakan being and identity.

Queen Afua's history of Afrakan selfhood is anthropological and archaeological rather than genealogical, being much more in line with Diop's archaeology of the African personality. Both proceed using a historical method that seeks to shed the layers of 'western falsification' in order to reveal the 'true' Egypto-Nubian origins of all African cultures and peoples (Diop 1974, 214). Yet Queen Afua also departs from key aspects of Diop's model of African historical consciousness. Diop does not locate an African historical consciousness in the body but in the cultural and psychic invariants, which he argues are passed on from generation to generation through cultural traits and values, and 'supportive' historically situated social structures (ibid., 218). For him the African personality or consciousness is historically and linguistically produced. It is both transcendental and contextualized by the constitutive cultural co-ordinates of a pan-African (rather than Afrocentric or pan-African) spatial-temporal horizon or reality. It is the recuperation of this historical consciousness through culture and knowledge that Diop argues can secure the African self against the onslaughts of history and Western cultural aggression (ibid.). He uses melanin solely to biologically authenticate the Black African identity of Egyptians and to reject the longstanding racist Europeanization and denial of the Black presence in the making of Egyptian civilization. Diop does not ascribe to melanin any culturetransmitting properties (ibid., 247) or transcendentalism, clarifying, 'We have never invoked any peculiar genius or special aptitudes of the Black race to explain why it was the first to attain civilisation' (ibid., 252). Yet the preoccupation with Afro-Egypt civilization claims in both positions reproduces a narrow Western conception of civilization that continues to place Africa south of the Sahara largely outside the history of human civilization.

'Natural' Bodies in Unnatural Places

In the programme the racial ecology of modern Black existence within the West is closely aligned to a discourse of 'naturalness' that promotes the idea that living within the West is in some way unnatural for Black people, and therefore harmful psychologically for the self and physically

for the body, thus a threat to both social and personal freedom. The basic truth claim of the programme is that what is 'naturally' good for the Black body is getting closer to 'natural African' traditional practices. The discourse of nature in the Sacred Woman programme seeks to invoke an ethical Black personhood rooted in Afrocentric spiritual beliefs, and an Afrocentric science of the Black body. Rediscovery of this knowledge of the Black body as a spiritual and ethical entity becomes an important form of rejection of internalization of racism in the form of racialized gendered and class modes of shaming Black women. The alternative philosophy of nature in the Sacred Woman practices offers women a holistic set of sacred rituals to counter the alienation of body and mind through which liberal biopolitics has proceeded. Yet this embodied ontology of natural Black subjectivity and identity is paradoxically entangled in constructions of African tradition and modernity that simultaneously enunciate a racialized poetics of a tradition as countermodernity, which nevertheless remains inscribed in and by the coloniality of gender that underwrites the modern Western heteronormative binary gender order.

The discourse of the Sacred Woman programme is anti-modern insofar as it is a mode of problematizing the conditions of existence under which many Black people live within Western modernity. In its concern for the Black body, it also expresses an alternative Black modern perspective on the 'two fundamentally modern concepts' of self-preservation and selfownership (Tierney 1999, 233), reading them against the grain of their naturalization as a property of Whiteness, and reclaiming them as the natural ontology of being human. The programme is also countermodern insofar as it deploys discourses of tradition to reconfigure ideas of the body, freedom and Black racialization in ways that run counter to their normalization within Western modern conceptions. However, I want to suggest that its mode of problematizing modernity, and the way in which it frames how Black subjectivity and Black freedom can be healed through its detailed practices of the self, are not only very modern but also reflect the contemporary cultural hegemony of neoliberalism, in terms both of the problems it produces for Black populations and its individualized conceptions of freedom tied to notions of self-mastery and responsibilitization. As much as its sacred discourse draws on longstanding African-centred and African-derived Black religious practices to address the lived and embodied effects of racism and sexism, it is also informed by the economic and cultural effects of neoliberalism.

In social contexts where neoliberalism has reduced the role of the state in promoting social democratic goals of equality and social justice (Salisbury 2006), the responsibility for ensuring a good life, has been increasingly devolved to the individual, who must therefore take on the responsibility for equipping themselves with the reflexive self-knowledge and capacities to maximize their *natural* potential and negotiate a successful life amid the insecurities and choices of late modernity's risk society (Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). What the Sacred Woman programme reminds us is that Western modernity instituted Black life (in contrast to premodern African life) as ontologically 'at risk', and inherently imperilled by the coloniality of modernity. The Sacred Woman programme thus fuses what it sees as traditional sacred and contemporary *natural* therapeutic discourses and practices self-improvement and self-surveillance, as tools for individual and collective liberation. Ideas of self-ownership inform the very contemporary preoccupations with health and fitness in which autonomy and freedom are measured by each person's capacity to demonstrate self-ownership by controlling and shaping their bodies and the bodies presentation. Selfownership is linked to self-preservation by the individual's acceptance of their responsibility for preserving a healthy and prolonged life through a well-managed lifestyle, and generally to do all that it takes to maximize their capacities in pursuit of autonomy and self-actualization:

At this level the concepts of self-ownership and self-preservation shape individuals to follow certain routines in their behaviour, to treat their bodies in specific ways, to organise their time in a particular fashion. In performing theses routines, individuals participate in the collection and dissemination of that knowledge of individual's bodies and groups of bodies, which . . . is endemic to modernity. (Tierney 1993).

These ideas of self-ownership and self-preservation are threaded throughout the Sacred Woman programme's exhortations to take responsibility for one's body and life, and the imperative of preserving one's *natural* true self and reality. Yet—and here's the twist—the Sacred

Woman programme deploys Afrocentric knowledge to redirect and oppose the Eurocentric forms of racial governmentality (Hesse 2000b, 2; Goldberg 2002, 110), both scientific and historical (Goldberg 2002), that define modernity's racist biopolitics, not in order to evade racialization but to reclaim it, and in so doing reclaim self-ownership within the racialized gender logics of the modern. This takes us to the second function of self-ownership and self-preservation in modernity, which is in fact anterior, historically to the first—that is, their constitutive function within modern ideas of politics and private property. (Tierney 1993)

The historical denial or reduction of the non-European's capacity for rationality within Enlightenment and colonial discourses served to naturalize the claim that African women could claim neither sovereignty nor ownership of their own bodies, nor their bodies' productive capacities, which were the prerequisites of freedom. On this basis, the African had no claim on the right to freedom, thus justifying slavery. Similarly, the cultural assertion that diverse non-European 'natives and savages' lived in varying states of nature (Hobbes 1651; Locke 1690) meant that they were denied the natural law of self-preservation that was regarded as being due to civil (ized) societies, justifying imperial conquest and colonialism. So while the biotherapeutics of the programme are closely linked to modern disciplines and practices in which freedom involves 'the modern responsibility for self-preservation' (Tierney 1999, 249), its Khamitic regime of self-care is a practice of freedom that in its moment of emergence reproduces governmentality in the form of the heteronormative policing of Blackness and 'authentic' Black freedom.

One is compelled to recognize the programme's deep attachment to the very contemporary neoliberal and modern modes of thinking it that seeks to disavow and shed. We can understand the Womb Circle exercise as a powerful practice through which Queen Afua invites Black women to reclaim the sovereignty over their reproductive bodies that slavery denied, and to reject the legacy of shame that she sees as deeply sedimented in the bodies and minds of modern Black people. In the racialized taxonomy of early Enlightenment thought, Black enslaved populations were considered to be governed by their bodies and not eligible for full liberal personhood. On these grounds the Black enslaved populations were excluded from the

category of persons who were able to exercise sovereignty over their bodies. Just as enslaved women struggled to regain sovereignty over their bodies by refusing to pass on the enslaved status through their womb, or by maintaining a feminized culture of mothering and mother work in defiance of slavery's unrelenting denial of maternal and familial bonds, similarly we can view the Sacred Woman programme as updating that intersubjective feminized ethic through a naturalized Afrocentric personhood grounded in an active dialogic body-mind relation. I will return to say more about this later. Even after emancipation, freedom for the Black subjects of modernity was racialized and gendered. Liberation into a patriarchal liberal colonial contract, as the previous chapter showed, involved ideologically, if not necessarily practically, empowering Black men within the private sphere of the domestic sphere of the family, but denying them the patriarchal entitlements of political power in the public realm. This, discursively, was to be at the expense of Black women's denial of freedom and disempowerment in both the private and the public spheres as non-whites and as women.

Biopower refers to the rationalization of life and the body that emerges within modernity. It is a modern mode of governance which deploys technologies for disciplining the body and securing the docility and integration of citizens into the efficient social and economic running of society (Foucault 1990, 141). Biopower can be contrasted with biohistory, which describes the interaction between life and the processes of history (Foucault cited in Burkitt 1999, 15). In Bodies of Thought-Embodiment, Identity, and Modernity, Ian Burkitt (1999), in challenging the splitting off of the body and subjectivity within modern humanism, argues for the mutual interdependence of mind and body in human nature (ibid., 17). Not only are mind and body in mutual interaction and therefore both responsive to changes in either, but the body also exists in time and space. Thus the human body develops in relation to environmental conditions, which are also constituted in historical and cultural processes (ibid., 16). He calls this interaction 'biohistory', and the body is the very axis on which biohistory turns (ibid.). Thus Burkitt argues that 'life is a relation that can only be sustained as an ecology, as a series of interrelationships between different life forms and between these life forms and the environment', in interaction with the relations of social history (ibid.).

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If we understand biohistory, then, to refer to the matrix of combined biological, social and cultural processes, social relations and discourses historically produced over time and space, we can suggest that the Sacred Woman programme engages the biopolitics of modernity as a deeply racialized ecology. However, its recognition of this biohistory sits uncomfortably alongside its melanin-induced phylogenetic and ontogenetic property that it posits as the substance of Black subjectivity. In this sense, melanin is configured paradoxically and as itself paradoxical. The mutual interdependency of mind, body and the social environment in which the body lives, and is inscribed, means that the body can be worked on to harness melanin's potency in the service of self-care and selfdetermination. Melanin also renders the Black embodied subject vulnerable in its pliability by the interactive forces of biohistory. The capacity to both destroy and heal the Black embodied subject for the programme lies in this malleability, yet this malleability is not infinite (Burkitt 1999, 17) because the capacity of biohistory to shape the body through cultural processes (biopower) is limited by the material ontogenetic facticity of Black subjectivity. For just as a 'body can be worked too hard, placed under too much stress' (ibid.), likewise for Queen Afua, melanin/Blackness both enables and limits the capacities of Africans in the diaspora to deal with the racial trauma of modernity. Regardless of the properties assigned to melanin, it is important to recognize that what the programme seeks to do is assist Black women to overcome what it argues is the damaging toxicity of the modern Black subject's existence in the racialized modernity—in the name of freedom. In this regard, the programme shares Fanon's concern in Black Skin, White Mask about the phenomenological self-alienation that results from the existential condition of being Black/Black being in a White world, where one's consciousness of self as a being in time and space is always interrupted by the gaze of the White Other. Like Fanon, Queen Afua the way in which racism as an ontological condition of Black existence induces objectification, nullification and ultimately selfalienation under the weight of western conceptions of the human (Fanon, 2008, 83). Fanon, despite being a psychologist, might take issue with the individualized therapeutics of the Sacred Woman programme, as much as he might appreciate its analysis of the phenomenology of Black existence under the weight of Western civilization. In

particular, he might object to the ways in which it places the emphasis for overcoming a range of socially induced and structured ills, such as racism and sexism on the individual, because for him 'the black man's alienation is not an individual question. Beside phylogeny and ontogeny stands sociogeny' (ibid., 4)—in other words, the biohistorical formation of the subject in which environment, society and biochemical processes of life are interactive and mutually inflecting.

Colonial Biohistories and Transnational Landscapes of Memory

Despite its African-centred assurances, the Sacred Woman programme highlights the complexities of Black identity at the beginning of the twenty-first century and reminds us that the politics of identity and racialized embodiment have never been identical across the global landscape of either colonial or postcolonial Black modernity (Gilroy 1993). Almost all of the women whom I interviewed in London who use spiritual development and life-coaching resources turned out to be middle-class university-educated professional women. All of them expressed a strong commitment to personal success and self-empowerment, as well as to ideals of social justice and anti-racism. The ways in which these women spoke about themselves as Black women explicitly fused embodied sensibilities that drew on transnational networks of experiences (their own or other women's) in the Caribbean, Africa, the USA and Europe, as well as representations of Black women in local British and global media. All of the women interviewed considered appearance and comportment as potent symbols and elements in embodied aesthetics and poetics of identity which could elicit both potentially racist reactions from white people and negative political or personal judgements from other Black people. For women who had used the Sacred Woman programme, comportment and style were regarded as significant markers of one's political and social identification with Blackness and/or anti-racism, requiring conscious management and manipulation. This view was shared by many of the women who were not familiar with Afrocentrism.

However, some of these other women saw freedom in terms of liberation from the assumption that their political consciousness and social identifications could simply be read from racially encoded modes of dress and self-presentation. Style and disposition were also used actively and unpredictably to contest a variety of Black identifications and racist stereotypes. Being Black and 'staying Black' was central to their attempts to shape their own identities and advance in British society. Staying Black was viewed by the women as an important mechanism for resisting hegemonic white/middle-class incorporation. In this situation, staying Black was often closely associated with refusing the invitation to disidentify with Blackness and the Black working class, and to collude with a symbolically 'white' middle-class identity that was considered if not racist then at least Eurocentric.

Where aspects of the programme could be useful for the personal agendas of individual women, they adopted and adapted them; where they were not, they were discarded. One participant in a Sacred Woman workshop in London told me of her experiences when she attended some workshops in the USA. She said she became aware that the women among whom the programme was popular in the USA seemed very different from its constituency in Britain. She reported that many of the women in the US workshop were from very educationally and economically disadvantaged situations, having experienced extreme levels of poverty within segregated US ghettos, high levels of domestic violence and sexual abuse. She contrasted this with the higher class and educational background of women she knew to participate in African-centred movements in Britain and Jamaica. She described them as women who were politically engaged, often with present or past links with Rastafari, who were attracted by the pan-Africanist and African-centred base of the Sacred Woman and other similar workshops but did not necessarily accept all aspects of the programme's philosophy, instead taking the elements that were useful and relevant to them personally and politically, and ignoring those that were not. Her account of the differences she encountered between London and New York illustrates what can happen when transnational cultural forms are translated into and by new contexts.

Despite the surface appearances of similarities and equivalences between Black urban experiences in the USA and Britain, there are significant differences between specific locations of the African diaspora.

Black cultural practices have similarities and differences as they circulate through the global networks of the African diaspora. To understand the different contexts in which the Sacred Woman programme is translated and localized within the experiences of being a Black women in Britain, it is helpful to reflect on the different *colonial biohistories* of people of African descent in the USA and Britain. Britain's relationship with slavery and with its colonized reserve labour force took place at a distance, at the other end of the world, whereas the USA's took place on its own soil—in other words, external colonialism and internal colonialism (Lemelle 1997, 142). The effects of these two colonial experiences on the contemporary positioning of each nation's racialized ethnic minority populations within the nation and national imaginary are rarely foregrounded. Racial segregation as an element of colonial governance occurred culturally, socially and psychically inside the US nation. It was tangible, visible and routinely reinforced through brute acts of segregation and violence. Certainly until the mid-twentieth century, African-American experience and identity were stable, with very limited degrees of diversity resulting from the forms of structural and social separation and legal segregation that pertained there. Sidney Lemelle takes the view that this structural marginality informs the persistence of a unified culture of resistance across all classes of African-Americans (ibid.). Consequently, a popular view among many people on both sides of the Atlantic is that race and racism persist as the defining marker of difference in the USA.

On the other hand, Britain, despite its imperial history, has managed to hold on to an innocent sense of itself as a self-contained 'island nation.' This, in addition to sheer distance, enabled indigenous British people to remain largely sealed off from the day-to-day brutish realities of colonial racism and British racial rule. Within Britain it was decolonization and the post-war mass migration of people from the New Commonwealth that brought the majority of British people finally into close proximity with their erstwhile non-White colonial subjects. Unlike in the USA, the image of a racialized segregated black substratum across all levels of society is not so smoothly accomplished in Britain, where black Britishness is more visibly and audibly hybridized and differentiated by intersections of country of origin, culture, language, patterns of settlement and religion. Moreover, in Britain, race is strongly articulated through class in such a way as to throw Britain's racialized ethnic minorities and the white urban

working classes together in complex networks of social and institutional proximity. These have produced antagonistic as well as ecstatic encounters and relationships, which have evolved a specifically working-class 'urban' culture of multiculturalism that is simultaneously celebrated and fretted over. The underside of this urban multiculturalism is the uncomfortable reality that the British class structure also bears the traces of the colonial caste systems in which social advancement was often predicated on the display of delicately racially encoded class distinctions, dispositionally encoded on the body, its stylization and comportment as the observable markers of economic status. The coloniality of class finds contemporary expression in a postcolonial articulation of 'diversity and inclusion' talk that deploys the liberal discourse of diversity to maintain the hegemony of cultural Whiteness expressed in classed terms. In this way, diversity talk becomes a discourse of 'respectable differences-those forms of differences that can be incorporated into the national body. Diversity can thus be used not only to displace attention from material inequalities but also to aestheticize equality, such that only those who have the right kind of body can participate in its appeal' (Ahmed 2012, 151).

In the context of Britain, for some women, oppositional Black-selfassertiveness, as the day-to-day re-enactment and re-creation of Black subjectivity as practice of freedom beyond the biopolitical strategies of the postcolonial racial state, can involve the capacity to hold your ground against coercive racialization's seductive liberal manifestations, and so avoid being alienated from one's own subjectivity and its embodied experiences and knowledge. Biohistory shapes the existential conditions of possibility for the ethical self-knowing subject both *externally*, through structuring the social conditions of existence for human bodies-, and internally, through the interchange between social experiences, identity and the interactivities of physiological and psychological processes shaping subjectivity. Consequently, the modern Black self emerges as a being that resides within the parameters of one's biopolitical formation without being reducible to it, being also constituted in the fleshy and spiritual excesses of Black existence that exceed the Black-racialized subject's debasement by Eurocentric Humanism's judgement that one was/is 'not quite human enough'. In escaping this governmentalization of life, the Sacred Woman programme aims to revivify the sociogenically mortified embodied spirit-flesh of existence in Black. This can mean refusing the invitation to enter into an invisibly racialized (therefore white), gendered and classed middle-class 13 conformity as the condition of being recognized (as equally human and an equal citizen). The women who had participated in the Sacred Woman programme pick their way between the minefield of its racial essentialism and the libertarian social constructionism of liberalism's raced racelessness, to insist on the fact of Blackness as a space from which to both recognize self and resist racist subjection. To do otherwise would be to misread 'reality', as several of the women in this study repeatedly suggested and so as Caribbean philosopher Sylvia Wynter has argued to mistake the map for the territory (Wynter 2006)—that is, to be incorporated into a generic map of the human that can never be the site of emancipation because there Blackness is fixed in its structural location as the opposite of whiteness and cannot exist for itself. Merely inversing this relation, as many Afrocentrists do, compounds the mistake in accepting the Western, liberal conception of the human as an accurate representation of what it means to be human, when this is in fact 'only a function (a map), if an indispensable one, of the enacted institutionalization of our present genre of the human, Man and its governing sociogenic code (the territory), as defined in the ethno-class or western bourgeois biocentric descriptive statement of the human on the model of a natural organism'. This is a model of the human that 'overrepresents its ethnic and class-specific descriptive statement of the human as if it were that of the human itself' (ibid., 115). Wynter goes on to argue that this posits a dilemma at the heart of Black freedom that attempts to contest this sociogenic map of the human. The dilemma is not one between essentializing or non-essentializing Blackness

but rather of the fact that one *cannot* revalorize oneself in terms of one's racial blackness and therefore of one's biological characteristics, however inversely so, given that it is precisely the biocentric nature of the sociogenic code of our present genre of being human that imperatively calls for the devalorization of the characteristic of blackness as well as of the Bantu-type physiognomy—in the same way as it calls, dialectically, for the overvalorization of the characteristic of whiteness and of the Indo-European physiognomy. (ibid.)

¹³ Such concerns are often entwined with the desire to be regarded as respectable, which for women of all identities is often bound up with interconnected themes of gender, class, sexuality and 'race'. See Patricia Hill-Collins (2004), Beverly Skeggs (1997) and Denise Noble (2000).

However, Wynter's assumption that from 'Africa until today' gender roles have been mapped onto 'biologically determined anatomical differences between male and female in the specification of gendered sociogenic genres of life' reinscribes the colonial map of gender dimorphism that Oyěwùmí (1997) and Lugones (2008) reject. Nevertheless, Wynter's rereading of the 'race problem' as the 'white problem' in the Western construction of the human can be localized to consider the ways in which successive state-led racial management projects (assimilation, multiculturalism, diversity, inclusion etc.) have deployed liberal citizenship to nationalize the universal sociogenic principle of humanness as whiteness/maleness/heteronormativity. This also explains why, for many of the women interviewed, Black embodiment (as an ethical or aesthetic performativity) was often strategically deployed in refusing or even mocking hegemonic assumptions, within the map of the nation and the human, of what Blackness, woman and Britishness could signify.

The Sacred Woman programme's reinvestment in and revalorization of the body signals a revolt against liberal conceptions of freedom and the human. However., the melanin ethnobiologism of the Sacred Woman programme's formal discourse disregards internal difference and disallows external difference, so it appears to offer little space for dialogue or mutuality that might speak across the internal differences within Black identity or external differences beyond it. Thus the programme can offer little to expand feminist visions of intercommunicative subjectivity in which women of different racialized or deracialized identities might share and join to address their different and similar experiences of suffering and being human. Its intraracial ethic speaks only to the homogenously racialized self and its other similarly racialized others. Furthermore, the programme's rejection of modernity inhibits it from recognizing its own complicity and embeddedness in the late-modern times we are in. Advanced late-modern liberal rule is no longer exercised only or primarily through the state or its authorities but instead governs increasingly through the 'regulated choices of individual citizens, now construed as subjects of choices and aspirations to self-actualization and self-fulfilment'. Thus the problem-space of freedom that emerges within the programme is structured by the power/knowledge regime of neoliberalism in which 'Individuals are to be governed through their freedom ... as members of heterogeneous communities of allegiance, as

"community" emerges as a new way of conceptualizing and administering moral relations amongst persons' (Rose 1996, 41). The prescriptions and practices advanced in the programme invite Black women to participate in the collection and propagation of that biopolitical knowledge that is endemic to modernity (Tierney 1999, 233) in the self-reflexive, responsibilitized and privatized self-government that is central to lateliberal freedom. Hence, despite its appeals to tradition, the programme reveals itself to be paradoxically deeply entangled in the modern, simultaneously problematizing the racial and racist logics of Western modernity and their effects, while also articulating in its enunciative modalities the governmentalities of advanced neoliberal rule and the interrogative rehistoricizing and postcolonial poetics of a specific articulation of African diaspora countermodernity.

By paying attention to what are presented as the specific (though not necessarily always unique) needs of Black women, the Sacred Woman programme articulates and responds to issues raised by Fanon in Black Skin, White Mask (2008/1986): What is the lived experience of being Black, which he failed to consider when he wrote that 'the Negro suffers in his body quite differently than the white man' (ibid., 138)? That, of course, is how the Black woman might suffer quite differently in her body. However, in asking what it is like to be Black, Fanon does not subsume Black women into his account of Black men but, in admitting 'I know nothing about her' (ibid., 180), he acknowledges that there is a gendered dimension to Black self-alienation and Black consciousness. This chapter, in taking seriously the Sacred Woman programme, its deontology and its mode of problematization, has been able to name some of the ways in which the Black woman suffers in her body that are quite different from the Black man, and how the programme insists on modernity's accountability for the traumatic biohistorical formation of the Black woman as modern subject. In this reading of the Sacred Woman programme the Black woman's body is brought in as a witness to racism and the collective historicity and materiality of Black women's existence. From this perspective, Black embodied consciousness appears as an organizing biocultural nexus through which diasporic circuits of personal and shared experiences, histories and narratives of the self converge in ways that deny the possibility of final closure but also insist on the embodied nature of existence/consciousness as a complex biodiscursive sociogenic being in space and time. Reclaiming the importance of Black embodiment is risky but does invite attention to the conditions in which emancipatory visions cannot afford to collude with an idea of freedom that assumes that the aesthetic erasure of bodies can be achieved 'without damaging the overall integrity of a person, his status as a unitary whole' (Gardiner 1979, 31) and that liberty can be detached from the structuring effects of one's embodied social experiences. In attending to the spiritual needs of the Black woman's body, the Sacred Woman programme attempts to address this problem of freedom, in the same moment as it institutes this freedom in paradoxically very *Afrocentric* modes of resolutely *neoliberal* forms of governmentality. The next chapter takes up this theme of Black articulations of neoliberalism by examining secular uses of the body in secular practices of freedom.

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Taking Liberties with Neoliberalism: Compliance and Refusal

From slavery to the present, religion and music have been central locations for the creation of a Black public sphere in which oppositional and alternative meanings and knowledges of self, politics and society have been created, disseminated and transmitted. The previous chapter analysed a contemporary example of how some Black women have used religion and the sacred to redefine the meaning of what it means to be human and to be free. It argued that the discourse of freedom that underwrites the logic of the Sacred Woman programme is defined by the contemporary hegemony of liberalism as it has come to define the available meanings of post-civil rights/postcolonial freedom for African diaspora populations. This chapter builds on this recognition of the neoliberal hegemon that governs the postcolonial conditions and meanings of freedom, and it moves on to analyse how this is articulated with more profane practices of freedom in which the Black body is deployed in Black popular culture.

Black music within the countermodernity of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993) has been the site of both profane and sacred discourses of freedom, selfhood and resistance to racism and Westernization. Music has facilitated an anti-modern Black modernism (ibid., 73) in which the horizon of

modernity as the ground of reason was interrogated and reconfigured from the point of view of those in/visible insiders (Mohanram 1999, 26), always positioned, initially outside then subsequently on the margins of liberal humanism, yet crucial to its claims to universalism. Black music has deployed orality, sound and the body to challenge the hegemony of the scribal, the visual and reason as the basis of modern self-understanding and knowledge. In the absence of political rights, music constituted an African diaspora public sphere in which the cultural was the means of politics long before either postcolonial or poststructuralist theories problematized cultural representation as a site of colonial power and contested social constructions (Scott 1999, 14).

Hip-hop, and to a lesser extent Jamaican Dancehall, music cultures currently enjoy commanding positions in global popular music markets. Should we regard the influence of Black popular music and African diaspora cultures and styles on the nation and popular cultures of developed Western nations as signalling the successful completion of decolonization and therefore the 'postracial' identity of the neoliberal present? Does the mainstreaming of a variety of Black and other decolonized cultural products indicate the triumph of anti-racist democratic politics in transforming Blackness from a marker of inferiority to a signifier of style, success and freedom? Does the syncretism of hip-hop and other popular music cultures usher in a future beyond race (Gilroy 2000)? Currently, visions of possible futures where race no longer defines social relations are accompanied by moral panics concerning the influence of popular culture on the morality of young people and the impact of multiculturalism on the nation. In Britain, particular attention has been paid to the pernicious impact of so-called 'Yardie gun culture' (Davison 1997), homophobic Jamaican 'murder music' (Tatchell 2004) and the 'corrupting' influence of hip-hop gangster culture on the inner cities of the country.

First, if the cultural logics of transnationalism concern the ways in which inequalities and oppression are not just embedded in economic and political structures of states but also disseminated at the level of culture (Ong 1999, 4), this suggests that Black popular music needs to be critiqued and analysed not just as a site of resistance (Stolzoff 2000; Cooper 2004) but also as a technology of late modern government. But

under the conditions of neoliberal globalization, what forms does this take? Second, if mass-mediated popular culture is a technology for the government of contemporary neoliberal freedoms, what conceptions of freedom are imagined, promoted or contested and how? This chapter seeks to answer these questions through an analysis of circulation of Jamaican Dancehall music as it flows through the overlapping and increasingly mutually dependent cultural circuits of Jamaican transnationality, discrepant diasporas and neoliberal globalization.

Reggae dancehall music within the context of Jamaican society has been closely bound up with the moral and political legacies of colonialism and effects of postcolonial economic and social relations on Jamaican culture and society. But reggae is not just a local Jamaican culture; it is also a transnational culture of the Caribbean and African diasporas, and now increasingly part of mass-global popular culture. If Dancehall is a subversive discourse of freedom and subcultural resistance to hegemonic legislative national and Eurocentric culture in Jamaica, what is the 'work' that it is doing in other contexts? How does it 'work' and why? If the Dancehall vernacular constitutes a slack parole escaping the authority of omniscient culture (Cooper 1993, 141), what versions of legislative culture is it seeking to evade and what rationalities of government do its practices of freedom negotiate in London? What new problematizations and practices of freedom does Dancehall culture enunciate—if it does—as it circulates across different locations of the transnational Caribbean, and as it flows into the different and unequal tributaries of power that map the overlapping global circuits of the African diaspora and mass global culture?

Black popular music, for the women I interviewed, was defined largely by the currently most popular forms of music by Black artists (e.g. hip-hop, garage, Dancehall and R 'n' B) within the local British and global media (e.g. legal local and national radio stations, terrestrial and non-terrestrial television stations and national music charts). It also included the subordinated cultural circuits of music production and consumption defined and shaped by local formal and informal networks (e.g. local DJs, clubs, music played in the home and on pirate radio stations), and the music of the mainly, though not exclusively, English-speaking Caribbean diaspora

(e.g. reggae, soca, zouk etc.). This traces the Black Atlantic locations of the African diaspora (e.g. Britain, the USA, Jamaica and the wider Caribbean region). Among the women interviewed, it was clear that Black popular music was viewed as having an extremely powerful impact on not just young Black people but also the wider society's attitudes towards Black people and the place of Black culture within British national identity and culture.

All of the women viewed popular music as contradictory in its effects and therefore posing dilemmas concerning how we should understand the status and power of music as a form of Black cultural expression and as an indicator of the state of racial politics. On the one hand, several saw the sheer weight of Black visibility within popular music as a very positive change since their youth. This was particularly so in relation to the greater mainstream accessibility of Black music in general but particularly Caribbean musical forms, such as reggae and soca. Sonia contrasted this with the excitement she experienced in the 1970s as a new émigré from Trinidad via the USA when she found a Desmond Dekkar album in a record shop that was otherwise devoid of Caribbean music:

Wow! This is great, being able to find it! [Laughs]. Being able to play it. It was like a unique thing . . . it wasn't something you heard on the radio. It was something I chanced upon so that I could play it in my bed-sit. It was like my link.

Many viewed the prominent position of Black representations in the media as a sign of progress in terms of Black people's greater inclusion into British society. Linette, born and raised in Manchester, said that when growing up in the 1980s, 'mainstream' (i.e. 'white') stations such as BBC Radio One were increasingly playing a wider variety of Black music, but this was mainly African-American music. To hear reggae one had to tune into Black pirate radio stations, of which there were very few in Manchester. It

¹ Zouk is a form of dance music found in the French Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique and is now widespread in those Anglophone Caribbean islands that at one time in their colonial past have been under French control. So it is popular in islands such as St. Lucia and Dominica, which retain a strong cultural link with the Francophone Caribbean through their French-derived Creole languages. 'Zouk' is a Creole word for party.

was only on coming to London that Linette recalled hearing Reggae on mainstream radio stations, and even then what little reggae was aired was presented by white DJs:

When I came down here to London, Tony Blackburn had a regular spot . . . Yes, so in terms of a Black presenter playing Black music to a Black audience when I was growing up that wasn't my experience. So it's Tony Blackburn, a white man who usually played soul music. It was Rodigan, a white man again playing Reggae. And if I wanted to hear the music I liked to hear, you would have to play it yourself or go to a party . . . and so the younger generation, people growing up now, their experience is different. There are so many legal radio stations that can play a variety of [Black music]. (Linette)

This is a very representative response in terms of recognizing and appreciating that there has been significant growth in Black representation in terms of both content and presenters in the British media. Despite this, all of those who spoke about the impact of this increased Black presence within mainstream national and global media also raised a series of consistent concerns about it. These can be summed up as being about the types and limited range of representation that were most prevalent, and the impact of those representations—particularly on young Black people in Britain in shaping dominant meanings around Black British identity and, finally, the role of the media in hegemonizing constructions of Blackness. For example, two women considered that the range of types of Black and ethnic minority women in particular were broader in terms of skin shade and body shape, and so more inclusive of the diversity of Black women:

The thing is, seeing these videos with a variety of complexions warms my heart because at least they are not all white or not all blond. Yes, I feel we are moving in the right direction and I see dark shades. Some of them have fuller figures, not all of them. They are not all bony stick insects—[...] you can see the variety of women's shape. Yes, there's a variety of colours and I think it's a good thing. (Linette)

On the other hand, Maria viewed many of the ways in which Black people are represented in popular music videos as racist, yet as opportunities that could be used to the benefit of Black people: Black is exotic. It is something [white people] can dip your toes in. It's the zeitgeist, the avant-garde, isn't it? . . . Black people aren't 'in'. I don't know . . . I hope for the day, but I don't know . . . But hey! I've got it! I'll flaunt it! I've got natural rhythm! Whey hey! I make fun of it. (Maria)

This suggests a view that certain aspects of Black vernacular culture fulfil a postmodern desire for Otherness in which Black cultures signify newness, the cutting edge or simply more cultural variety for consumption. Harris has called this a postmodernist valorization of difference as a metautopian imaginary which privileges 'now' as the moment in which all our dreams are, or can, be fulfilled, 'not in the sense that now is the best of all possible worlds, but in the sense that now holds the possibility of heterogeneity...' (Harris 1998, 33). This heterogeneity, in being collapsed into the temporality and spatiality of a knowable and therefore manageable culture of the 'urban present', says Harris, transforms the contested and unknowable differences of otherness into a known multicultural wholeness or community. The trope of the city and the marketing category of urban culture into which global media companies have increasingly assigned Black popular music is a good example of this. Yet alongside this recommodification of Black bodies there is also a genuine openness to heterogeneity—rather than 'difference'—that is willing to do the hard work of critical dis/identification and the critique of white privilege. But, let's face it, this is generally the exception that proves the (white) rule.

All of the women interviewed expressed concerns about the narrow range of Black visibilities within the media and specifically the hypersexualized images of Black women in music videos. They had very clear ideas about the impact of these stereotypes on young Black Britons, especially those of Caribbean descent. Sonia, a social services manager with two teenage boys, remarked:

Yes. So I would think that even if we are in the media I am not convinced that it is in a positive way. I think it is in an exploitative way! And I think maybe we need to take some of that back and I suppose we are responsible, but I think that if we look at Hip-Hop, for example [sighs], maybe that's what the marketing people think will sell records, I don't know, and so it's a way for these artistes to make money and they go along with it. But what does it do for us as a group of people? I don't think very much. (Sonia)

Like Maria, Sonia implied that the limited ways in which Black people are permitted visibility and agency within the local British and global culture industries is largely shaped and controlled by powerful decisionmakers within those industries. While respondents valued the greater inclusion of Black artistes and the expanded opportunities for some individuals to achieve success and greater personal financial freedom, they were worried that this was mainly on the terms dictated by powerful white commercial interests and not by Black artistes and audiences. Generally, respondents saw the narrow representations of Black people as just the continuance of longstanding racist stereotypes, or, as Patricia Hill-Collins calls it, 'past-in-the-present-racism' (Hill-Collins 2004, 84) through which old stereotypes of Black bodies, Black life and Black sexualities are recast in new, often apparently more valorized, images, but which mask the reproduction of the same old racism. Elizabeth saw this very narrow range of media images as directly aimed at disempowering and subjugating Black people in Britain and the USA:

They are not representing anything else . . . They want to have this one type of Blackness, and when you look at the type of Black women and the way they are being represented and how they are behaving, that's what they want to see. I think that is what our children are picking up. (Elizabeth)

Elizabeth expressed a common concern that 'one type of Blackness', a standardized branded form, was being promoted as the only terms by which one can be visible, included and accorded value within neoliberalism's voracious appetite for 'difference'. The arena of popular culture was viewed as simultaneously desiring and holding out the promise of Black equal inclusion into a common culture defined as both national (multicultural Britain) and international (global culture). At the same time, several interviewees considered that the terms of inclusion, though expanded from the overt forms of media exclusion and racism of the mid- to late twentieth century, still reproduce old stereotypes of Black hypersexuality, violent masculinity and Black women's exoticism. Thus the very saturation of these images across the popular field was seen to produce highly contradictory effects that they feared many young Black people were often ill equipped to critique or resist. Consequently, younger

Black Britons were often perceived by these women of the generation of Black Britons that came into adolescence and adulthood in the 1970s and 1980s as being at risk of consuming these powerful Black images uncritically, and accepting media-led definitions of Black culture and identity:

I do think that the media is portraying one type of Blackness. Because they don't want the next generation to grow up with the notion that they can be a powerful force in society. 'Know your place and this is your place . . . making music.' When you speak to young people who are disaffected, they think they are gonna come out of it by making music. They don't see the other options because the other options haven't been put in front of them. (Elizabeth)

Thus, in the absence of sufficiently retained and developed independent Black-led structures for cultural transmission, the power of the media was viewed as having a disproportionate effect in shaping the identity formation and self-understanding of Black young people. Whereas in the 1970s and 1980s Black teenagers were confronted by the scarcity of Black representations in the media coupled with negative stereotypes of young Black people as muggers, single mothers and impoverished 'inner-city youth', today's Black teenagers now have no shortage of Black images and sounds from the daily television soaps through to Black popular music. Nevertheless, many of these apparently more 'positive' and appealing Black images were thought to reproduce old racist stereotypes in new subtler, more appealing and apparently 'liberating' garb.

The interviewees all took the view that in consuming and identifying with what they saw as mass-media driven depictions of Blackness and Black culture, many young people were at risk of conflating Black culture with this very restricted range of Black popular cultural representations. The hypervisibility within music videos and music stations of gangster culture, hypersexual exoticized femininities and masculinities, and the glamorization of the ghetto and 'thug life' were seen as having pernicious effects on the cultural and moral self-constituting practices of young audiences—one that was difficult for parents and families to nullify owing to the lack of control that Black critical perspectives have of media outlets and production decisions. Several considered that most of

the Black music that is given airtime in the mainstream mass media fails to offer any critical social commentary on, or reflect the complexities of, Black life, but instead tends to assimilate to racism in the name of profit.

All of the women took the view that the incorporation and popularization of Black musical genres within the global media industries had come at the expense of the social critique that had defined early hip-hop and the more politically critical Roots and Culture genre of reggae music of the 1970s and 1980s. The importance of African diaspora music cultures within the oral cultures of the African diaspora means that music has played an important role in the creation of alternative Black knowledges and public spheres. This is especially so under conditions of slavery, colonialism and inequality where Black populations were denied or restricted in their access to the whitedominated institutions of civil society and the public sphere. The criticisms of the kinds of Black music that currently dominate global youth cultures reflect a concern that Black music appeared to be changing and losing its force as a social movement in which Black populations could generate alternative collective stories, moralities, histories and critical knowledges. Music videos in particular were criticized for promoting what all of the women regarded as mythic and fantastic depictions of Black reality. In the following passage, Elizabeth, a woman raised in what she described as a working-class family in Britain, but from a middle-class background in the Caribbean, a graduate and education professional, expresses a concern about the possible impact of these distorted representations:

I think it's a powerful influence. I mean it's the music and it's bought quite a lot, but in terms of all the young girls that I know, they don't dress anything like that—very very respectable . . . They still might listen to the music but they are not physically representing themselves like that really. [. . .] but I am not sure how representative the young women in my family are of what's actually happening out there really. Because when I go down to the Elephant and Castle I see some of the girls down there and the way they are . . . and the way they are speaking, and the way they are acting, I think 'Oh my God, I'm glad you are not my daughter!' [. . .] The type of talk as well is adult talk . . . I know I sound terribly old fashioned here . . . and I should stand back and think that, well, maybe they are just practising what they are hearing. Words . . . you know, they would not say those words

around their family or near their Mum or their Dad or their carer [...] But on the streets it's all right! And I think 'Oh no! You have to represent us better than this really.' I think this is where the influence of the music shows—more the language I am hearing from people and more the body language . . . the explicitness in terms of how much flesh you can see and the type of clothes. (Elizabeth)

Sexually explicit language, dress and deportment are here contrasted with both the parental culture of the home and the 'respectable' conduct of girls who do not hang around 'on the street'. This concurs with Patricia Hill Collins' view that the mainstream Western-dominated media has promoted and supported the elevation of a narrow representation of working-class Black culture as the sign of Black authenticity, which in turn has tied Black identity to highly sexualized images and ghettoized ('street') locations as the essence of Black authenticity and freedom. Hill Collins argues that these images of pathological lifestyles centred on the ghetto, premature and hypersexualization, and problematic Black masculinities, have come to replace old biological explanations for Black poverty and poor educational attainment (Hill Collins 2004, 45). In other words, the white-dominated media has become a primary technology for the production of ideas and knowledges about Black populations and of a new cultural racism.

Before going any further with how the women spoke specifically about bashment or Dancehall music, a genre of reggae originating in Jamaica, it is necessary to provide a definition and explanation ahead of a much fuller discussion of the history of Dancehall later in this chapter. Dancehall,² or 'bashment', as it is also known, has grown since its emergence in the mid-1980s to be the most popular genre of reggae music, within both its birthplace of Jamaica and the wider transnational cultural circuits mapped by the mass migration of Jamaicans and other Caribbean peoples to Europe, the USA and beyond. The sexual explicitness and erotic hedonism of Jamaican reggae's bashment Dancehall culture is defined through

² In this chapter, specific references to the bashment genre of reggae will be abbreviated to Dancehall, which will be capitalized. This is to distinguish it from the wider reggae culture of the dancehall as both a physical location and a symbolic public space.

the symbolic unity or *homology* (Hebdige 1979) of sexually explicit music, lyrics, dance and styles. The centrality of sex and sexuality as themes within Jamaican reggae's Dancehall culture this has precipitated heated debates in Jamaica and in the diverse Black diaspora networks of culture and leisure through which it circulates. These popular debates are also reflected in the academic literature emanating from various regions of Dancehall's transnational circulation. The focus of much of this work has been on exploring Dancehall as an expression of the contested class relations of Jamaican society and politics, or as an important transnational public space in which negotiations take place over the status of sexuality and gender in defining local, transnational Jamaican and global Black diaspora identities (Meeks 2000; Noble 2000; Stolzoff 2000; Stanley Niaah 2004; Cooper 2004; Hope 2006). Many of these academic commentaries celebrate Dancehall as an affirmative expression of lower-class Black subjectivity and agency, albeit often troubling and contradictory. By the 1990s, Dancehall had begun to move from being an emerging subgenre within reggae to overtake the rastafari-inspired 'Roots and Culture' genre of reggae that had dominated in the 1970s and early 1980s. More recently, Dancehall has entered the global popular music industry, defined by large multinational recording companies with the production and marketing capacity to handle international markets.

Despite some reservations, the sexualized images of Black bodies within popular music were viewed as having some benefits. A typical view is offered here by Maria, who felt that Jamaican reggae Dancehall music had opened up spaces in which sex and sexuality could be discussed more openly in Black communities. With the dangers of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, she regarded this as very important. However, she was concerned that the openness to talk about sex did not necessarily reflect, or lead to, more open-minded attitudes about gender, sex and sexuality, and thus could contribute to confusing messages being received, particularly by young Black people:

Talking about sexual things or being a sexual person doesn't change people's inherent views about being a slag or a whore. Just because it's more out there doesn't mean conservative values in the Black community have changed. (Maria)

Thus Maria, along with several other women, felt that although Dancehall was in some ways celebratory and empowering for Black women, it could also be potentially menacing, precisely because the freedoms and equalities that it celebrates are not sufficiently realized in practice. Maria also expressed an anxiety that most of the women voiced concerning the power of racist discourses of Black masculinity and sexuality accompanied by the hypereroticization of youth culture to have a damaging impact on the emergent sexual subjectivity of adolescent boys, saying, 'There is a dangerous side to this . . . especially with the ideas of the Black man; the sexual marauder!'

In this regard the hyperheterosexuality and assumption of male dominance that characterizes a great deal of contemporary hip-hop and Dancehall are no different from those found in popular music or youth cultures more generally, such as heavy metal, the mods and rockers, teddy boys and skinhead cultures. Maria McRobbie (1981) has argued that rebellious subcultures³ have often deployed misogynistic and sexist language towards girls and women, and often relied on forms of masculine machismo that assume women's subordination to male patriarchal or non-patriarchal control.

In relation to the status and power of women in Dancehall, Haitian-American Maria drew a distinction between the freedoms implied by very sexualized forms of Dancehall performativity and the spaces in which one might be able to safely perform them. She argued that Dancehall is an inclusive space of difference, under Black control but not racially exclusive, but when transformed through Western-dominated consumer culture it becomes vulnerable to racist misrepresentation:

Maria:

It's the inclusiveness of the Dancehall culture itself—all Black. You'll see a white person, white Jamaican or white Caribbean or lighter-skinned whatnot; but inherently we all know why we are there. There's an exclusiveness of it, you

³ Like Paul Gilroy (1987), I think it is a mistake to view reggae as a youth culture. As the previous discussion of Dancehall in the context of Jamaican society has shown, the place of music within the oral traditions of African diaspora cultures means that although reggae may be deployed within specific youth practices, these often retain strong connections to ideas and values of the parental culture, as much as they may also contest them.

know. There's an exclusiveness of it. It's not like going to Hyde Park to an open-air concert is it? It's like you know

where the party's at.

Interviewer: It's a Black space?

Maria: It's a space of dialogue. It's a space as a whole thing, a whole thing. You can't look at it as race, or class or gender and dissect it. You have to take everything and then start

and dissect it. You have to take everything and then start breaking it down. If you take it from one aspect ... uugh!

You have to refer to the other aspects.

What Maria seems to be suggesting is that Dancehall is exclusive in the sense of being a space that is under the governance of shared Black cultural norms and more specifically Dancehall morality. It therefore has the power to exclude those who do not share in this symbolic world, and evade or reject the power of authoritative white culture to legislate on what is permissible and how it should be judged. Modern Black popular culture can be defined in terms of the formation and articulation of public spaces of resistance, reclamation and autonomous creativity against and beyond the hegemony of Western modernity and racism. It is this identity of the dancehall as both a physical and a symbolic public space that defines it as not white space (like other public spaces in Britain, such as Hyde Park) because its terms and meanings are not under the legislative authority of dominant white culture. As a Black public sphere it is under Black cultural (rather than Black phenotypic) authority in terms of who is empowered to shape its aesthetic production (lyrics, music, fashion and dance) and generate its authoritative meanings. It is in this context that Maria considered Dancehall culture a safe place for Black women to perform their sexual selves and display their bodies in exuberant and erotic ways. They are safe, Maria assumes, because its norms and conventions are shared and understood—that is,. that all of those present understand what is going on and that these performances are understood not to imply sexual availability or promiscuity. This implies a historicity to Dancehall and knowledge of that historicity in order to 'correctly' interpret it within the terms of its own preferred readings. For unless one situates Dancehall within the history

of Black cultural production in Jamaica specifically, and the history of slavery and post-slavery colonialism in the Caribbean more generally, it can appear incomprehensible, irrational or simply exotic.

However, Maria insists that Dancehall cannot be understood merely as a racialized space because its racialized hegemony is interrupted by colour, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality. I prefer the term 'interrupted' to 'fragmented' because fragmentation suggests that difference breaks things down and inevitably deconstructs hegemonic categories. While differences often do have this deconstructive capacity, in Maria's account difference also is reconstructive and connective; it creates new connections between different aspects of the self, and between the self and others, producing new articulations of Dancehall identification through difference as requiring transculturation, rather than difference as exoticism or merely 'consumer choice'. In this way, for Maria, Dancehall also remakes Blackness in itself.

Maria experiences Dancehall culture as a very inclusive space in which a variety of people come together on the basis of a shared understanding of Dancehall's meaning within the context of Black diaspora cultures and experiences. This is illustrated by Melissa, who responded to my request for interview volunteers who were fans of Dancehall music. The complexities of Melissa's love of Dancehall illustrate its deconstructive/reconstructive capacities. She saw bashment/Dancehall as addressing issues of class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. In relation to class, she saw Dancehall as allowing poor working-class people, especially in Jamaica, an escape from the drudgery of their lives:

Yes, a bit like Cinderella. You know, in the day I might be nothing. You can escape in all of that and I think that's the aspect of it that I like because it's coming from the ghetto. It's coming from people who live these lives all the time. So that it's not prettied up. That's their reality. This is the reality of politics. This is their reality of drugs. This is the reality of violence. It's all there and they live it day in day out and they can still survive it, and some of them can also get through and make something of themselves. And I think that's a distinction more between bashment and roots, which is more about a conscious message. (Melissa)

Melissa is a senior manager heading a major public organization with nationwide responsibilities. Yet staying close to what she described as her working-class roots in the Black community was important to her as a way of avoiding falling into what she considered to be a false sense of the reality of the position of Black people in Britain. Thus Dancehall was one way she maintained this connection. Melissa's distinction between Dancehall bashment and roots was not so much in terms of political outlook but in terms of the lifestyles they reflected and the sound-style of the music that she felt reflected the key differences in their ethical outlook. Where bashment speaks in the defiant rude voice of the ghettoized modernity of sex and violence, she felt that rastafari was softer, and this was reflected in the tone of roots music: 'The reality is there but it's almost coaxing almost "listen to me". Whereas bashment is "I don't care if you listen to me or not. This is my reality. This is what I deal with.' "

In relation to representations of gender and sexuality, Melissa considered Dancehall to be contradictory. She saw it as offering working-class women opportunities to express themselves more freely and assert a pride in themselves as Black women in a way previously denied them:

It's that bit about being true to yourself, about being who you are [...] if you think of the typical bashment women, some of them—only some of them, I think you're really bold, [...] I think it's like 'I don't care what you think. You can say what you want. I think I look good and I'm gonna go out because I feel good about myself.' It's the music; it's the dress, it's everything! You know. The fact that they are gonna wear a blond wig—I think some of them take it a bit too far [chuckling], but it's almost political. I know it's not political but it's almost political. (Melissa)

Melissa felt that many of the bashment women were not politically conscious about what they were doing, and that quite often they were colluding with the sexism of the DJs and displaying forms of sexual excess that merely accepted the terms of their visibility and therefore the sexual governance of heterosexual men in Dancehall culture. However, for all this, Melissa felt that even if the women were not politically conscious, Dancehall could have political effects: 'I just don't think it's overtly

political, but if you dissect it there is a political stance in there. But they are not driving it and they are not a lot of times aware of it.'

In relation to Dancehall's heteronormativity, Melissa demonstrates the complex relations of difference that Maria spoke of. Melissa was the only woman I interviewed who described herself as bisexual. Her only reference to Dancehall's homophobia was to say that the 'lyrics sometimes leave a lot to be desired'. It was the 'different urgency' that she experienced in the beat of Dancehall that most appealed to Melissa. She explained that it expressed for her a culture of resistance that enabled her in sense to 'tune out' its homophobic lyrics and not allow them to impede her enjoyment. Yet the homophobia of Dancehall has triggered a global campaign led by gay and lesbian groups. Despite its homophobia, the primary appeal of bashment for Melissa was its culture of defiance and resistance to incorporation into legitimate culture, whether Jamaican or British. This defiance was deployed by Melissa as a way of shedding her working-life identity and escaping the pressure she felt as a middle-class Black woman to succumb to an expectation that she should conform to particular forms of 'respectable' conduct:

There is almost a concept that you can't be good and like bashment. The amount of times people have got in my car, and I'm listening to Elephant Man or whoever, and they'll look at me: 'You like this sort of music? Oh! I didn't think you'd like this sort of music.' 'Well what sort of music did you think I'd like?' Then it gets into, 'Well, I thought you'd probably like R 'n' B or jazz", and it's almost like it's not an acceptable form of music because its ghetto, so I do think there is that thing about 'It's bad. It's rough. It's what slack people do. It's not decent.' (Melissa)

We can see how Dancehall is deployed by Melissa as a way of identifying and staying in touch with the culture of Jamaica and the culture of the Black poor and ghettoized in Britain. She also described 'clubbing' as an opportunity to relieve the stress of racism that she experienced as a Black manager during the week. Her appreciation of the beat enabled her to look past the homophobia of many of the lyrics and still be caught up in the rhythms, sounds and atmosphere of Dancehall as a defiant space of Black self-expression and resistance to racism, poverty and hegemonic

whiteness. Yet dancehall's libertinism clearly has its limits, and the pervasiveness of homophobic lyrics marks it as a disciplinary space of compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 1980). Despite its celebration of sexual licence, women's assertive sexual agency and social autonomy, it is also 'a space within which Black heterosexual men seek to control and contain emerging womanist, gay, lesbian and bisexual identities; whilst also reassuring themselves of their own representation of phallocentric heterosexuality as the only way to be a "True Back Man" '(Noble 2000, 163).

These concerns that women had about the range and preponderance of narrow representations of Blackness in popular music cultures raise the question of how media representations can be technologies for governing the conduct of particular population groups, not only by controlling the terms and spaces of representation but also by offering alluring and inviting, but nonetheless limited, images of Black (sub) cultural power and social distinction. Their suspicion of the capacity of Western-dominated media institutions to fairly represent Black and ethnic minority populations suggests that despite their sense of things having changed for the better, women felt that both the local British and the global media industries continued to express a racialized visual regime tied to legislative white Western culture and racism. They viewed the greater apparent inclusion and mainstreaming of Black representations in popular culture as offering young people if not a false, then certainly a distorted and incomplete, understanding of both what Black identity is and the place of Black people in British society. The interviews suggest that, since the 1980s, the independent Black critical spaces offered by a range of Black radical and nationalist discourses have been lost and not replaced, leaving a hermeneutic and political vacuum where young Black British people lack the critical language with which to interpret media images and the terms of their inclusion in the mainstream. This they saw as tending for many children and young people to be leading to an uncritical consumption of media representations of Black people and popular cultural commodification of Black culture. It must be noted that these interviews occurred in a pre-Twitter age and before the rise of Black Twitter. Black Twitter today is having a major effect on addressing this vacuum in Black-controlled media practices, so more work will be needed in future to analyse the impact of new social media not only on Black political and creative activism but also on new forms of African diasporic consciousness.

The concerns raised by the women in this study confirm Scott (1999) assertion that postcoloniality has produced new kinds of question, or problematization, that require fundamentally different answers to those that guided anti-colonial and civil rights cultural politics. Brining this together with an understanding of the temporalities of liberalism and how these have been tied to new formations of racial rule, we can locate these new postcolonial problematizations in the emergent problem-space of neoliberalism's uneven but ubiquitous dominance over the global political economy and the meaning of freedom. Therefore this chapter asks what the new emergent problematizations that Dancehall culture, especially Dancehall of the 1990s and 2000s, rendered visible, questions that turn less on how to come into representation than on the knowledge/ power regimes such representations depend on (ibid., 10). Specifically, what concept of Blackness is at stake in the enunciative practice of Dancehall culture? What is this concept being employed to do in the arguments and practices in which it is deployed? What effects of a subjectification does it aim to produce? What modes of identity does it endorse, and what modes of difference does it seek to exclude (ibid.) and what conceptions of visions of freedom are in these processes also being enunciated? In short, how are Black identities and identifications that are deployed in Dancehall's global circulation put to use, and what kinds of subjectivities and identities does it produce? To explore the ideas that were held about the impact of popular culture on young Black people, I shall analyse the use of Dancehall in a London school.

Black-Britain's 'New Femininities'

One consequence of Dancehall's recent elevation into the mainstream of 'urban' musical culture is that when the production and dissemination of Dancehall becomes increasingly determined by the marketing strategies of global media corporations, this inevitably impacts patterns of consumption. Whereas, once, Dancehall as a subgenre of reggae was

primarily located in spaces of production and consumption that were under the authority and ownership of Black people and hegemonic Black discourse—usually the dancehall or the home—in Britain we find that Dancehall music and its attendant styles and subjectivities now enter new social spaces where this is less and less so.

Despite the freedoms that decolonization has brought for many Black people, especially in the West, it seems to me that freedom remains a constant and daily preoccupation within Black vernacular discourses and cultural practices: its fulfilment, its adequate signs and its contested meanings. These struggles for, negotiations over and diverse conceptions of freedom increasingly take place outside the terms of party politics and political nationalist movements that characterized earlier anti-colonial and civil rights politics. Instead they are increasingly being traced out on the intimate contours of the body and the self; in strategies of selfdevelopment, self-fashioning and personal freedom, expressed increasingly through the articulation of neoliberal conceptions of freedom with racialized discourses of ethnicity, sexuality and gender. The theory of articulation 'is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects' (Hall 1996, 142). Thus articulation addresses the interdiscursivity of regimes of power/knowledge (ibid., 136) and makes it possible to consider how a particular ideological/ discursive unity becomes naturalized, so that the not necessary links between, say, Black identity, hedonistic sexual transgression and personal freedom begin to appear as absolute, essential and very necessary.

While the end of formal colonialism has not eradicated racism, postcoloniality has unsettled Black identity, producing new struggles around gender, sexuality, class and location. The mass migrations that have been precipitated by decolonization and the new economic globalizations of advanced capitalism have produced new waves in the globalization of people and cultures. These postcolonial globalizations have destabilized the collective social identities and projects that framed earlier political struggles for national sovereignty and civil rights, without necessarily erasing them. Instead they remain, no longer securely anchored in their same homogenous appearances but reconfigured through the inner

differences and contradictions of social relations and forces organized around gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and religion. These internal differences, which reflect uneven distributions of power and rights, interrogate and question the innocent emancipatory identity of 'the race', 'the people' or 'the nation' as the self-evident ground of progress and freedom.

What can we learn from dancehall's global circulation through the entangled networks of cultural movement, intercultural address, appropriation and translation that seem to refuse conformity to the hegemonic oppositional categories of an earlier decolonizing moment? I also want to resist the rigid distinction between the local and the global, implied in Cooper's critique, and reach instead towards a conjuncturalist methodology that abjures those hegemonic spatial concepts and historical temporalities, which strive to 'capture' the variety of local and global forces within dancehall and to police its meanings. Towards this end I begin with a local encounter with dancehall at my then teenage daughter's school Christmas concert, using it to think through Caribbean women's diverse practices of freedom produced in and by different generational and social contexts. I use this discussion to argue that the practices of Dancehall femininity and freedom deployed by some African-Caribbean/Black-British teenage girls can express both their connectedness to their parental Caribbean home cultures and also the reworking of these connections in order to address specific and contemporary generational concerns or problems.

A few years ago I attended a Christmas concert at my daughter's high school, a large multicultural secondary school in London. The concert consisted of pupils aged 11–16 playing a variety of instruments, singing, performing dramatic sketches and dancing. Halfway through the evening a group of 12- and 13-year-old girls, mostly of African-Caribbean descent, took to the stage dressed in track pants and t-shirts. They began to dance to the latest Dancehall crossover hit, 'Dude', by Beenie Man featuring Miss Thing (Beenie Man 1993). As the girls gyrated using the latest erotic Dancehall moves, the equally youthful-sounding but much more Jamaican tones of Miss Thing broke through the yuletide cheer. Her impassioned pleas for 'a thug' with the 'wickedest slam' who could 'do her' in his van permeated the stunned audience of parents, teachers, governors and fellow students. As Beenie Man solicitously replied to let us know that Miss Thing had never 'had it so deep', silence fell on the audience.

While on the stage, the girls revealed in the hot beats of Jamaica, in the school hall most of the audience sat shocked and frozen as if unable to come to terms with the unexpected eruption of tropical 'heat' in the midst of the seasonal cold of an English winter. This troupe of about eight beautiful and effervescent girls displayed their undoubted skill in all the latest Dancehall moves. As they performed a variety of eroticized movements of the groin and the ubiquitous 'booty' shaking of Dancehall, R&B and hip-hop videos, they exhibited no awareness of the shockinducing impact of their performance. At the end, they bowed and beamed with pride as the audience politely clapped.

My immediate response as a parent was to be relieved that my daughter had not been part of this performance, which included several of her classmates. The inappropriateness of the choice of song alarmed me most, so I resolved to discuss the performance with the head of year, who it so happens was, like me, of Jamaican descent. These responses were soon followed by a great sense of unease as I began to acknowledge that my own leisure practices and theoretical work implicated me as mother, participant and theorist in the circulation of Dancehall meanings. This experience began to unsettle for me the celebratory academic discussions of Dancehall that have posited it as a space where the marginalized and dispossessed of both economically developed and developing postcolonial nations are able to seize some control from a variety of economic and cultural mainstreams in relation to which they are subordinated (Noble 2000; Stolzoff 2000; Cooper 2004). Could I still stand fully by my earlier position? Does the bashment-Dancehall genre of reggae discourse remain unchanged when transferred across different locations of the African diaspora or mainstreamed into the hegemonically white Western culture of British society? Could I assume that the uses of bashment-Dancehall, or even reggae more generally, by adolescent girls in an inner-city London school were identical with those of teenagers and women in Kingston, Jamaica?

In a study of Black teenage girls in a school in Birmingham in the Midlands of England, Debbie Weekes (2002) found that representations of Black women in Black popular music were deployed by the adolescent girls she studied in the formation of their sexual identities as Black girls. That is, their gender and sexual subjectivities were intimately formed in

combination with racialized and ethnicized identifications. Taking the argument that Black women experience a tension between their enjoyment of the sexualization of their bodies in Black popular culture and their desire to resist racist representations of Black women as pathologically hypersexualized (Noble 2000), Weekes explores how this internal dissonance was managed by the teenage girls she studied. She found that the multicultural school was an environment where the need to manage the sexual advances of Black boys, and to keep in check attempts by those boys to fool them with 'lyrics' (sweettalk or clever backchat), was considered to be an important value and skill for these girls. But school was also a heteronormative environment where they were in competition with white girls for the attention of those same Black boys. Consequently, some of the Black and Black mixed-parentage girls she studied were keen to strike a balance between being attractive to Black boys and conforming to the cultural ideal within many Black diaspora cultures of the strong independent Black woman.

Two key ways in which they did this were by staking a claim (1) to moral superiority and (2) to popular cultural status over white girls. The Black girls in Weekes' study asserted their feminine respectability by establishing a moral distance between themselves and white girls, whom they viewed as sexually submissive and morally weak (Weekes 2002, 255). They positioned white girls—and especially white girls who had relationships with Black boys—as slack and morally disreputable. The basis of their disreputable weakness was the claim advanced by the Black girls that white girls perform oral sex on Black boys, something that they claimed Black girls would not do (ibid.). This act was regarded as a key performative indicator of white girls' submissiveness to Black boys and moral inferiority to Black girls.

Hence sexual conduct reinforced a racial marker (Weekes ibid., 257) that distinguished between Black girls and white girls performatively, enabling the Black girls to experience themselves as both respectable and desirable. In short, Weekes argues that the narratives and performativities of Black femininity and sexuality that some Black British girls access through mass-mediated Black popular music can be used in the construction of their own racialized sexual subjectivities. The sexual discourse of these girls, concludes Weekes, contests both traditional Eurocentric ideals

of passive gender propriety and of the inferiority of Black beauty. Instead it affirms Black sexuality and femininity as assertive, strong, beautiful and, crucially, also morally and socially respectable. I shall return to the specific significance of respectability within Caribbean gender discourse in the next section. For now I just want to suggest that popular cultural Black femininities offer modes of subcultural competency (Thornton 1995)—such as skill in dancing, fashion and hairstyling—through which Black British girls are able to access prestigious visibility, popular cultural status and a degree of power in their relationships with boys and in their sexual competition with other girls. These Black British femininities are frequently complicit with the postfeminist ethics of neoliberal consumer culture. One of the primary manifestations of this postfeminism is the dominance of hypersexual images of femininity both in media representations and in the talk, dance and styles of girls and young women (McRobbie 1994, 173). Gill has referred to this as a postfeminist sensibility culturally reproduced through mass-mediated representations and cultural consumption practices that place an emphasis on individual empowerment in the form of self-mastery over the female body as a source of social agency and in which social inequalities are viewed exclusively as individual personal concerns (Gill 2007, 153). This sensibility is made up of five elements: (1) 'an obsession with the body as a bodily property [of femininity] rather than a social, structural or psychological one' (ibid., 149); (2) the sexualization of culture tied to this embodied property of femininity; (3) the valorization of women as desiring subjects, no longer passive sexual objects but empowered desiring subjects; (4) an emphasis on individualism, choice and an empowered subjectivity; and (5) self-surveillance and self-discipline in the body's conduct and presentation (ibid., 149–156).4

This postfeminist sensibility in media culture is deeply attached to neoliberal consumerism, which provides young women with privileged subject positions and personal identities based on commodified 'style'

⁴ One could argue that there is even evidence of this in the apparently decommodified antimodernism of the Sacred Woman programme in which the marketing of Afrocentric products is closely aligned with the capacity to performatively and sartorially demonstrate your Afrocentricity and to visibly display your liberated consciousness on your body.

and 'buying power' as signs of freedom (McRobbie 1994). Thus there appears to be an apparent correspondence between the absorption and reinforcement of an erotic secularization of the body and Black identity within Black popular culture, and a particular late-modern mode of freedom invested in a sexualized, gendered, commodified and hyperindividualized self. The power of neoliberal culture to govern commonsense notions of what it means to be both 'modern' and 'free' partly arises from capitalism's success at naturalizing the relationship between capitalism, liberalism and progress (Gordon 1991, 5; Thomas 2004), but this correspondence does not amount to a conflation.

For many people the success of decolonization and democratic citizenship in eradicating racism and promoting racial equality can be deduced from the market dominance in contemporary global media and popular culture of Black performative styles and Black performers, from Beenie Man through to Jay Z, and Beyoncé to Rihanna. Black vernacular cultures currently enjoy a dominant status within those Black Atlantic locations of the African diaspora empowered on the global stage by their proximity and intimacy with the circuits of Western commerce and/or mass popular culture. This has produced a concern within some nations (especially Jamaica and Britain) that the hegemony of the racialized popular has the potential to produce a crisis in national culture and governance.

In Jamaica, for example, Bashment-Dancehall culture, with its attendant 'ghetto' lifestyles, is regarded as threatening the liberal project of middle-class Jamaican nationalism (Scott 1999; Meeks 2000; Thomas 2004). Within Britain, lifestyles and cultures associated with Britain's Black populations and urban multicultural locations are seen to threaten the identity and security of the nation. For example, in January 2003 the then home secretary, David Blunkett, warned that globalization had changed the world so profoundly that the current threats to 'our way of life' come not only from those who would 'abuse' the asylum and immigration system but also those already here whose loyalties to Britain could not be relied on or assumed. 'Make no mistake,' he argued, 'the threat isn't from some alien force from whom we can protect ourselves by creating "Fortress Britain" but from individuals and groups, whether British nationals or not, whose

allegiance lies elsewhere.' This is a far cry from New Labour's rebranding of the nation as 'Cool Britannia' in the 1990s, which celebrated Britain's multiculturalism as a sign of a nation at ease with internal difference and open to the global world (Hesmondhalgh 2001). Instead, since the London bombings of July 2005, Cool Britannia has increasingly given way to *Fortress Britain*. A BBC poll conducted after the London bombings asked, 'Is this a nation at ease with its multicultural modern face—or one with deep misgivings in the wake of terrorism in London?' The answer was profoundly ambivalent, reflecting what Paul Gilroy (2004) has called Britain's contradictory postcolonial melancholia over ethnicity, race and its twenty-first century multicultural national identity.

Often missing from attempts to incorporate Black girls into British theories of popular culture and postfeminism is an attention to how ethnicity, racism and (post)coloniality position different girls differently in relation to the multicultural Western nation, and in relation to global mass culture. In the highly localized microstruggles over hegemony and power in the multicultural, urban, popular, racialized identifications and disidentification articulated through sexualized and gendered cultural competencies are key strategies in everyday struggles over personal value, reputation, social recognition and status. Therefore we must remain attuned to the ways in which racism, sexism and homophobia figure in the subcultural economy of different localized expressions of global youth cultures. Being 'ghetto fabulous' within the terms of mass-mediated popular culture allows some young Black British people social recognition and respect within the neoliberal consumer values of global mass culture, while also allowing them to locate themselves as 'traditionally' aligned with their diasporic 'home' cultures, yet also 'modern' and generationally distinct from their parents and grandparents.

⁵ http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/publication-search/articles/standard.pdf? view=Binary . Accessed June 2008.

⁶ http://news.bbc.co.uk/l/hi/uk/413940 2.stm. Accessed June 2008.

Neoliberal Globalization and the Politics of Location

An unintended consequence of Dancehall's mainstream success has been the increased attention it has gained from an international gay rights movement. This campaign is not new, having emerged in the 1990s in response to Buju Banton's explicitly homophobic 'Boom Bye-Bye', which seemed to advocate the shooting dead of gay men. However, it was not until 2003 that the international gay rights lobby against the homophobia of some artistes began to achieve significant success. Between 2003 and 2004 the Stop Murder Music campaign instigated by British gay rights campaigner Peter Tatchell and the gay rights group Outrage began to achieve unprecedented international visibility as they succeeded in having the product endorsements and concerts of some of the biggest Dancehall stars cancelled. Performers such as Beenie Man, Sizzla, Capleton, Elephant Man, Bounty Killer, Buju Banton and Vybz Kartel all felt Outrage's wrath and power at this time. By August 2004, under the pressure of this global campaign, Beenie Man, one of reggae's biggest international acts, was compelled to release a statement apologizing for any 'distress and outrage' that his lyrics may have caused and forswearing any future use of any lyrics that might be read as inciting violence ('Jamaican star apologizes for 'hurtful' lyrics', The Guardian, Wednesday 4 August 2004).

The campaign against homophobia in Dancehall lyrics has produced a profound culture clash between an international gay rights movement and Dancehall's defenders, not all of whom can be dismissed as homophobic. The attempts to defend homophobia, or at least 'explain' it (away?), have largely come from the popular rhetoric of some Dancehall artistes and fans, as well as general public opinion in Jamaica. Few theorists of Dancehall culture have sought to defend its homophobia, even where they have sought to explain it within the colonial and postcolonial history of the Jamaican nation (Chin 1997; Noble 2000; Pinnock 2007). One

⁷ Patricia Meschino 2004. http://www.miaminewtimes.com/2004-12-23/music/the-year-in-caribbean-music/. Downloaded 8 February 2008.

major exception is Carolyn Cooper of the University of the West Indies (Gutzmore 2004, 120). She has argued that the invitations found within Dancehall lyrics to 'murda, bun or step pon chi-chi man (murder, burn or step on gay men)' are playful and metaphorical lyrical gestures that are not incitements to homophobic attack (Cooper 2006, 196). While to some extent this is true, this denies both the power of language to shape reality and accepts, without critique, the heteronormativity with which Dancehall's homophobia is complicit. In fact, Cooper openly accepts the accusation of being an apologist for Dancehall's homophobia (ibid). One finds in the Dancehall/homophobia confrontation a mostly mutually non-comprehending cacophony of accusations of homophobia and cultural essentialism on one side and racism and cultural imperialism on the other. This opposition has often collapsed into distorted representations of homosexuality as a white, 'foreign sometin',', and homophobia as an exceptionally Jamaican and 'Black thing' (Gutzmore 2004). I agree with Cecil Gutzmore's call for a more sustained local interrogation and critique of homophobia in Jamaica (and also in Black communities elsewhere), and, as this chapter will show, there is a need for the White gay rights movement to understand more deeply the politics of coloniality and postcoloniality which Dancehall expresses if we are to establish more meaningful dialogues.

Jamaica: Dancehall and the Postcolonial Nation

Studies of reggae⁸ dancehall culture in Jamaica have argued that it is an important public space in which the social power and everyday politics of gender and sexuality are negotiated (Noble 2000; Cooper 2004; Stanley-Niaah 2004; Pinnock 2007). Writers have also acknowledged that in Jamaica, dancehall reggae is a working-class culture of opposition to the hegemony of the middle classes over the moral-political space of the

⁸ When capitalized Dancehall refers to a specific genre of reggae also known as Ragga and Bashment. When presented in lower case, dancehall refers to the broader transnational Jamaican reggae culture that includes multiple genres of reggae as well as other music forms, such as Soca and R n B.

nation (Scott 1999; Meeks 2004). Sex and sexuality are central to Dancehall-reggae's poetics of resistance to a bourgeois nationalist discourse of gender respectability that has its roots in colonial morality's attempts to impose a patriarchal gender order on the Caribbean family after the abolition of slavery in 1838. As Chaps. 6 and 7 make clear, these attempts involved both the colonial state and the Church in the promotion of Christian marriage and family-based reproduction of the labouring population in an effort to make women dependant on a male wage earner (Holt 1992). Consequently, in the twentieth century, colonial morality used the alleged failure of Caribbean societies to conform to a Western patriarchal gender and sexual order as part of the justification for the necessity of colonial rule (Reddock 1994, 133).

Students of post-emancipation social life in the Americas will know that claiming and demonstrating moral and gender respectability have been key practices through which Black men and women resisted the colonial legacy of 'racialized shame'; deploying moral respectability to claim 'Black Pride' and establish their fitness for inclusion in the rights of liberal citizenship. Dancehall culture can be seen as the latest manifestation of this long history of Black cultural resistance to racism's demand that we, as Black people, should be ashamed of ourselves. Yet, as we have seen, Dancehall's expression of Black Pride comes in a resolutely erotic and urban mode, and one that is routed through reclaiming and asserting the Black body's aesthetic and social worth through class-specific racialized and gendered practices (Noble 2000; Pinnock 2007).

Despite the active role of women in Dancehall, David Scott has argued that the figure of the *rude bwai* is the key signifier of reggae's lower-class opposition to bourgeois civility, and the figure on which the contested cultural politics of colonial and postcolonial Jamaica has been marked (Scott 1999, 208). By positioning the *rude bwai* in this way (and by erasing the centrality of the rude *ghetto gyal* in contemporary Dancehall culture), Scott fails to explore the gendered sexual identity of the hegemonic national body, thus naturalizing it. If the *rude bwai* represents the hegemonic Jamaican body, then we must name that body as a

⁹ Remember the biggest fear of the planters and the colonial state alike was that the freed population would refuse to continue to work on the plantation, thus ruining the colonial economy.

heteronormative masculine body that is, however ironically, not prescribed by an attachment to Western patriarchal norms. Scott claims that the popularity of the Dancehall rude bwai among all classes of Jamaicans resides in the figure's challenge to the government of middleclass decency and bourgeois patriarchy in Jamaica associated with a Western gender norm imposed by colonialism. Yet, privileging this figure as the symbol of resistance to the colonial and postcolonial state fails to significantly subvert the hegemonic construction of an ideal Jamaican masculinity that transcends class (Nurse 2004). In other words, the rude bwai expresses a culture of male privilege that does not depend on patriarchal respectability but is invested in masculinist assumptions of male power and authority. Again, as discussed in Chapter 6, a distinction is being drawn here between patriarchy and cultures of masculinism that is not fully encapsulated in, or by, patriarchy. Masculinism in the Caribbean context refers to an investment in male power and authority inscribed in an adventurously mischievous trickster; sometimes outlaw subjectivity, reminiscent of Anansi the Spider of West African and Caribbean folklore. Like Anansi, who opposes the will of the gods, rude bwai subjectivity and masculinism opposes or resists the secular 'Gods' of modernity—the 'Man', western patriarchal masculinity and the rule of the 'White man's law.' Thus elements of rude bwai sexuality transcend Caribbean race and class differences to contribute to both respectable and disreputable Jamaican masculinist cultures. The ubiquity and hypervisibility of the *rude bwai* masculinity in Jamaican culture leads writers such as Scott to reinscribe the erasure of Black women's visibility and agency that the 'ghetto feminism' (Cooper cited in Thomas 2004) of women artistes and practitioners asserts.

Deborah Thomas (2004, 252) has used the term 'ghetto feminism' to describe the centrality of sexuality to how lower-class women's understanding of their power in Jamaica extends beyond the Dancehall. Thomas argues that the anxiety over Dancehall in Jamaica has been related not only to the glorification of materialism and violence but also to the public emergence of ghetto feminism, most clearly embodied in 'the persona of the scantily clad and sexually explicit female DJ' (ibid.). Dancehall blurs the distinction between producer and consumer, so the performances of female DJs are not separable from those of the female

participants who are co-producers and co-practitioners of Dancehall culture and discourse. Thus women's participation in Dancehall also disavows, mocks or simply ignores the authority of middle-class creole Jamaican notions of gender and racial respectability which, though ideologically hegemonic, have never been normative in practice. Moreover, because the hypersexual individualism and commodity fetishism of Dancehall is in many ways complicit with neoliberalism's discourse of freedom, working-class popular cultural forms in Jamaica have been both empowered and internationalized by their assimilation into a broader postfeminist media culture. However, it is clear that when subaltern transnational cultural formations become entangled with and implicated in new emergent forms of power, the effects are supremely contradictory and uneven as they become reterritorialized in new social locations and conditions.

So far I have been considering Jamaican Dancehall culture as a transnational (Jamaican) and diasporic (Black) public space in which the relative powers of race, sexuality and gender govern the limits and possibilities of negotiating local Black identities. I have argued that Dancehall regulates the reproduction of compulsory heterosexuality as a key signifier of postcolonial modern Blackness. Now I want to return to a discussion of how Dancehall and Black identity are once again reworked as they flow into other diasporic cultural circuits in order to continue a conversation about how certain subjectivities are ideologically, and sometimes actually, exiled from the space of the Dancehall, the Jamaican nation and 'authentic' Black identity. To do so I present a close reading of a scene in the play *Bashment* by Black British writer Rikki Beadle Blair.

'Wheel and Come Again Rude Bwai!': Exiled Subjects and Diasporic (Dis)Identifications

I saw the play *Bashment* in London in 2005 with a group of friends, all heterosexual (or at least as far as I was aware) and committed to struggles against homophobia, and all of varying forms of British Caribbean descent. I was made uneasy by the show for a number of reasons. First,

throughout the performance, Dancehall DJs and Jamaican culture are portrayed in the familiar idioms of a Western gay rights critique as rabidly homophobic, backward and stupid (Gutzmore 2004, 121). Second, as with Scott's privileging of the *rude bwai* figure, the play erases the powerful presence of Black women in Dancehall culture (and for that matter the ambivalent popularity of Dancehall among Black lesbian, gay and bisexual persons). All that is captured within this creative expression are the warring masculinities of queer subjectivity and homophobic Black heteronormativity. In this way, Beadle-Blair's work erases Dancehall's highly complex gender performativities and transforms it into an unmediated homosocial space.

The end of the play was met by ecstatic applause and whoops of delight from many members of the largely—though by no means exclusively white, middle-class British audience. My attention was caught by one very tall and very camp Black man who stood cheering and clapping rapturously as the cast took their bows. In the theatre bar afterwards, my friends and I picked over the bones of the play, objecting to the one-dimensional Black characters; the historical naiveties concerning the persisting impact of slavery and colonialism on Caribbean cultures and peoples; the weak and inadequate attention to gender politics and women; the inaccuracies regarding sound system culture; and the dramatic hysteria of the plot. All of this, for us, aesthetically weakened the validity of its anti-homophobic critique and proved its cultural prejudices. The audience's enthusiastic vocal appreciation and engagement with the play was matched by our apparent equal disapproval and alienation. Given the shared commitment of my friends and me to anti-homophobia and gay rights, I found myself both puzzled and unsettled by this dissonance. What were they seeing that we were not? Had I missed something? Or was the sound clash so great as to make meaningful dialogue impossible? These were the questions that motivated me to buy the script of the play that same evening so that I could study it in more depth. For over a year I repeatedly returned to it. Gradually I realized that my opinions about the play were shifting, so that rather than seeing it as a hopelessly compromised distortion of the homophobia battle I began to have a more subtle and layered reading of it.

The play addresses homophobia in Dancehall culture. The main character is J.J., a young white gay man who is a devoted bashment fan and

aspiring DJ. It centrally explores what happens when J.J. unsuccessfully tries to hide his gay identity in order to enter a DJ'ing competition. On being discovered as gay, J.J. is subjected to a violent homophobic attack by a group of DJs (mostly Black and one white), which leaves him permanently brain damaged. This brutal assault prompts his community of gay friends to join the gay rights campaign against Dancehall homophobia, and the remainder of the play explores the negotiations over race, sexuality and masculinity that take place between the various characters.

In the following scene, J.J. and his white boyfriend, Orlando, are getting dressed to go to the Dancehall DJ competition:

J.J.: 'You look great'.

Orlando: 'But do I look straight? Do I pass?'

J.J.: 'I'm sorry Orly, I know this isn't you. But I'll make it up to

you I swear.'

Orlando: Yeah?

(They smile)

J.J.: Oohh yeah ... Soon as we get home.

Orlando: Oh God...

J.J.: Soon as we reach yard man!

Orlando: Oh God!

J.J.: Before the door even close man! You gonna see how a thug

makes love, Little English bwoy.

Orlando: Stop it J.J. These trousers ain't that baggy.

J.J.: Do you know how bad we wan' kiss you right now, little

English?...

Orlando: Actually ... I think I do.

J.J.: Wrap my arms roun' you ...

Orlando: J.J.!...

J.J.: Wine and grine you . . . make you feel my rock!

Orlando: [laughing] Why is that so bloody sexy?

J.J.: Because blackness is realness—and realness is sexy.

Orlando: So how come you end up with the whitest boy on the planet

this side of Prince Charles?

J.J.: You ain't white Orly. You're blinding. (Beadle-Blair 2005,

44-45)

We can see here that J.J.'s enjoyment of Dancehall is not confined to the music but is in part routed through desire for and identification with rude bwai subjectivity. Despite his queer identity, J.J. identifies with a discourse of masculinity and Black authenticity that is embodied in the erotic hypermasculine Black male body. Rude bwai masculinity appeals, despite its heteronormativity, because it offers J.J. freedom from patriarchal masculinity and the imagined drabness of whiteness. J.J. hopes to gain acceptance into the Dancehall and Black masculinity by winning the sound clash. However, to become a rude bwai in the Dancehall, not only must J.J. renounce his whiteness and its normative power but also his queerness. However, his cultural incompetence in carrying off straight bashment masculinity exposes his queer identity and he becomes ensnared by the violence of a homophobic Black gaze that reinscribes him back into whiteness. Once visible as an illegal alien within the public space of Dancehall, J.J. becomes an object of hate requiring violent extradition from the Dancehall and bashment subjectivity.

Jose Esteban Munoz's work on queer performativities (Munoz 1999) has been central to my re-evaluation of the play *Bashment*. Munoz introduces the term 'critical disidentification' to analyse queer performances of cross-identification which traverse and rearrange the symbolic and embodied dispositional and sartorial signs that mark the borders between normative categories of gender and sexual desire. Drawing on the cultural production of queers of colour, Munoz writes:

These subjects' different identity components occupy adjacent spaces and are not comfortably situated in any one discourse of minority subjectivity. These hybrid identificatory positions are always in transit, shuttling between different vectors ... A theory of migrancy can potentially help one better understand the negotiation of these fragmentary existences that are travelling back and forth from different identity vectors. (ibid., 32)

Munoz argues that queers of colour are positioned outside a series of hegemonies or mainstreams yet are also interpellated by and identified with them. This produces a discursive and embodied tension between being positioned *on the margins* but also, therefore, *a constitutive element of* a category, whereby queer marginality marks the slippery point of

expulsion, exile or escape into a series of potential Other categories in which the subject is similarly marginalized. We can think of this marginality as the effect of the subject's failure to fully submit to the disciplinary and regulatory norms of the modern liberal biopolitical categories of gender, race, sex and nation.

According to Munoz, normative politicized queer identity assumes a white Western subject against which queer normativity and the public performances of queer performers of colour produce disidentification as a critical queer practice (ibid., 8). Being multiply marginalized and vulnerable to the violence of being positioned across several frequently marginalized and debased identificatory positions, critical queers of colour work within hegemonic biopolitical categories of race, sex and gender as they attempt to rearticulate and transform them; not by abandoning them but by bringing into them codes of conduct normatively exiled onto Other bodies and Othered identities (Munoz ibid.). For Munoz, disidentification is a crucial third mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, 'disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology ... This working "on and against" is a strategy that tries to transform a cultural logic from within...' (ibid., 13). Importantly, the concept of disidentification does not naively infer that these are liberated performances by an already free subject unbound by the disciplinary force of normative identity production.

Adopting Munoz's frame of critical disidentification to read the submerged yet insistent tensions within this play, one might say that in seeking to pass as straight, J.J.'s identification with Dancehall masculinity falls somewhat short of a practice of critical disidentification. His strategies of border-crossing into dancehall *rude bwai* subjectivity are based on partial understandings and distorted, even racist, identification with essentialized notions of blackness as all hypersexual exotic masculine embodiment (ibid., 123). J.J. thus fails to contest Dancehall's heteronormative masculinity or to carry *critical* queer performativity into the homosocial space of *rude bwai* subjectivity. As such his attempt to pass between the borders of white queerness and Black heteromasculinity is, in fact, a failed performance of critical disidentification. He fails because in attempting to pass as an authentic

dancehall DJ he transforms neither queerness nor Blackness, and in the process leaves unchallenged their mutual discursive and material power to subjugate the presence of each in the other. In this context of dancehall culture it is particularly important to acknowledge the power imbalances between white homomasculinity and Black heteromasculinity, and how this seeks to reverse and subvert the unequal power relations between Black and white men in wider society. These inequalities, although rearranged in the cultural politics of Dancehall, are not left behind and are part of the symbolic negotiation and signifying practices of dancehall performativities. In effect, J.J.'s failures are not so much failures but more the limits having been reached within a particular social, historical and discursive regime of power. This illuminates the fact that critical disidentification, as a practice of rearticulation, is difficult, risky work. As Munoz notes.

I wish to disarm a pre-critical celebratory aura that might attach itself not only to disidentification but also to ... hybridity, queerness, migrancy. . . Let me be clear about one thing: disidentification is about cultural, material, psychic survival. It is a response to state and global power apparatuses that employ systems of racial sexual and national subjugation. (ibid., 161)

Munoz suggests that if desire is the longing for the Other, and identification is longing to be the Other, then disidentification is where desire and identification meet (ibid., 15). I should like to qualify Munoz's formulation and suggest that critical disidentification begins at the point of disjuncture where identification, counteridentification and misidentification cross; where the disciplinary logic of normative identity as interpellation clashes with dissonant identifications. In this way we could think of J.J.'s identifications with Dancehall as a misidentification which fails precisely *because* it doesn't recognize the Other for who they are or the history of their formation and relations. As Munoz insists, critical queer disidentification (while establishing new possibilities, such as white gay Dancehall subjectivity) does not lose sight of the lost or receding object of identification (ibid., xii). Indeed, the poetics of disidentification across politicized categories involves the hard emotional and political work of ethical translation and not simply cultural appropriation or assimilation. 'Thus, disidentification is

a step further than cracking open the code of the majority; it proceeds to use this code as raw material for representing a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture' (ibid., 31).

J.J.'s desire for *rude bwai* subjectivity perhaps expresses a wish to make alliances with Black heterosexual men on the basis of their shared marginality and resistance to hegemonic patriarchal masculinity; yet this is nevertheless constrained both by the limits imposed by the complex interactivity between race, gender and sex and by J.J.'s resulting inability to do the dangerous and messy work of serious mutual interrogation and confrontation with differences as well as similarities. J.J. is not able to recycle or rework the normative codes of Dancehall subjectivity with any degree of safety and so is unable to expose their dominating, universalizing and exclusionary machinations (ibid.). In this way he effectively internalizes his oppression by seeking to make his queer self invisible. In this sense J.J.'s border crossings from one (queer) diaspora community of identification into another (Black) diaspora is unable to perform critical disidentification's practice of ethical transculturation. This not only blends cultural differences in the making of new ethnicities but also opens up spaces of critique and resistance in the complex structures and relations of dominance, normalization and subordination within and between hegemonic and minoritized cultural categories, and between privileged hybridities and subordinated cultures. For, as Shalini Puri (2004) importantly reminds us, the history of the Caribbean demands that postcolonial criticism guards against a tendency in both metropolitan and Caribbean discourses of hybridity to celebrate syncretism and hybridity as if they offer an innocent way out of the problems of nationalism, racism and cultural essentialisms. The Caribbean experience of the ways in which hybridity has been mobilized in colonial racial rule and in many postcolonial national state-building projects, undoes the 'generalised' claim that hybridity and the nation-state are opposed to one another' (ibid., 6); or that there is any self-evident emancipatory content to intercultural identification and mixing.

Critical (dis)identification is neither an end nor a politically neutral activity because, like the concept of transculturation, it 'draws attention to epistemic power asymmetries and strategies of their overcoming (from

hybridizing and resistance to adaptation and re-existence), to the mutuality and interdependence of cultural contacts, to the lack of one normative reference point, to de-centering as the essence of translation as such, and to the reasons and mechanisms of partial translatability and complete untranslatability' (Rossner and Italiano 2014, 166). As a practice rather than an end, transculturation is ethical insofar as it is dialogic, and structured in mutuality and interdependence.

At the same time, as this study has shown, the postcolonial subaltern cultural logics of transnationality and diasporas flow unevenly through the hegemonic cultural logics of neoliberal global capitalism. This confirms Ong's view that the economic and the cultural are constantly flowing across space at the same time as being 'embedded in differently configured regimes of power' (ibid).

I have suggested that Dancehall's entanglement in the intimate governmentalities of advanced liberal freedom can expose tensions and crises in the conditions of postcoloniality, both within and between the multicultural nations of the West and new decolonized nations of the Third World. This chapter demonstrates how a genealogical approach has enabled a diagnosis of the present, in which freedom emerges as a particular problem shaped by the conjunctures of the postcolonial, the neoliberal and the post-Cold War contemporary moment in which the meaning of freedom is again both under strain and being questioned on all sides. Reggae as the subaltern voice of the people has been a powerful technology of freedom and government through which Caribbean peoples and particularly those of African descent have been able to shape themselves as free people within the terms dictated by a variety of governing cultural and political rationalities. It has also enabled them to carve out new spaces and practices of resistance that do not always track existing lines of power. In this regard, examining the changing moments and the changing discourses and practices of reggae have enabled me to move beyond the simple assertion that reggae is an oppositional culture through which racism and class oppression have been contested. Reggae as a practice of freedom has provided both a cultural space and a symbolic means by which the lives actually lived by morally and politically marginalized or silenced groups within the nation and within Black identities might be represented and so claim recognition and inclusion. Reggae in its various genres from roots and culture to bashment 10 continues to interrogate, reflect on, attempt to shape and redefine what it means to be Jamaican, to be Black and to be Black British. In Britain, reggae has continued to provide the means by which the children of both Caribbean and African immigrants have both opposed racism and refashioned new subjectivities out of old and new ethnicities. Roots reggae of the 1970s provided a means for contesting the terms on which racism had attempted to reconstitute them as subordinate and unwelcome immigrants/Others to the nation. In this way reggae offered a way to become first Black in Britain and subsequently Black British. Bashment Dancehall rerouted reggae discourse through the transnational logics of late-modern capitalist globalization, enabling young Black people to experience themselves as style leaders and commanding stakeholders in global commodity multiculturalism. At the time of completing this book there is a *roots* revival under way led by Rastafari artistes in Jamaica who are contesting the hold that neoliberal economics and culture has on the Jamaican lower classes. Dancehall in its as a highly contestatory field of strategic power has become a key site within which transnational struggles are taking place over the meaning of Blackness and the meaning of postcolonial freedom in a neoliberal era.

Using my own encounters with Dancehall, I have set out to openly perform critical disidentifications as a Black British heterosexual woman with other popular and academic performances of Dancehall. What is clear is that the different localities and accents of Dancehall discourse are neither equal nor uncontested. The political merits of different localized expressions of Dancehall practice and theory cannot be determined by appeals to authenticity. They must be subjected to rigorous analyses of the local contexts of their enunciation and how these also articulate global structures of power, without assuming to know in advance what the balance of power might be. For '[w]ith its potentially global reach and its resonance in a world that is at a loss to explain the trance of moral vacuity, feverish consumption, and aestheticized violence that critics

¹⁰ A very central form of homegrown reggae that has been pivotal to the formation of Black British identity is Lover's Rock, as the work of Lisa Palmer has wonderfully demonstrated. See Palmer, Lisa Amanda. '"LADIES A YOUR TIME NOW!" Erotic politics, lovers' rock and resistance in the UK.' African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal 4.2 (2011): 177–192. However, it was not raised by the women in this study so has not been discussed here.

uncover in diverse communities, dancehall has illuminating capacities' (Hippolyte 2006, 192).

Transnational cultures produced in the nexus of new technologies, economic globalization and postcolonial migrations have produced new deterritorialized publics, cultural interests and norms, and are no longer tied to particular national borders (Ong 1999, 159). These publics are 'nonstate fields of power in which images, information and practices now highly mediated by print, electronic, and film media—participate in the production of cultural norms that affect the way we view things and act in our everyday life' (ibid., 159). They produce normalized identities across territories 'through the circulation of images and discourses about objects, features and goals associated with particular categories of things and people' (ibid.). Such an approach to interrogating the emergence of translocal identity-based public spaces allows us to appreciate the ways in which they are unevenly and ambivalently allied with, and resistant to, global capitalism, neoliberalism and Westernization (ibid., 150). This renders the relationship between postcolonial ethnoracial, or for that matter ethnosexual, publics and neoliberalism contradictory and ambivalent. On the one hand, globalization as the dispersion of neoliberal capitalism has precipitated postcolonial migrations that fragment identity; on the other hand, global technologies provide the means by which translocal identifications and identities can be maintained.

Dancehall's differential translocal/transnational moments produce complex and often contradictory alliances and oppositions between diverse local Black diaspora cultural practices and governing discourses of race, class, gender, sex and nation as they articulate global forces such as homophobia, sexism, neoliberalism and governmental racializations. Engaging these moments of translocality, transnationality and transdiscursivity offers us the possibility of rethinking the postcolonial politics and poetics of Black freedom across the African diaspora. The reflexive and critical *conjuncturalist* methodology advanced in this chapter thus allows us to identify how contemporary Black liberation struggles—increasingly acted at the level of the body and the self—bring to the surface those axes of power and difference to do with gender, sex and class that have long been present in Black social life, yet previously constrained from emerging into legitimate Black public discourse, by the demands of earlier anti-colonial nationalisms

and the struggles for civil rights and political representation. These struggles, though not fully won, have nevertheless been overtaken by new struggles over the politics of representation (Hall 1996, 442)—that is, the knowledge/power regimes that seek to define the limits of Black identity and the permissible meanings of postcolonial freedoms.

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Conclusion: 'Rebellious Histories: Decolonizing and Feminizing Freedom'

Genealogies are rebellious histories in that they refuse to comply with hegemonic histories, geographies and settled temporalities. They are also dangerous in that the identity of the subject that begins the genealogical journey may not be the same at the end. This book began as a genealogy of the discourse of the independent Black women that figured so centrally in the narratives of Black womanhood presented by the ten women interviewed in this study. Along the way their stories became inseparable from the story of British liberalism and its colonial formations. As a result, in the process of understanding the making of the free Black woman of the Caribbean, we have discovered temporalities of liberalism as a strategy of racial governmentality, which is in the coloniality of gender is bonded to the biopolitics of gender and sex in the reproduction of White hegemony and the masculinity of power.

Genealogy has assisted in rememorying (Morrison 1995) a particular temperospatial and embodied trajectory of Black Britishness traced through the experiences and understandings of Black Caribbean women. It has proved valuable for not only revealing hidden histories and subjugated knowledges but also disentangling the lines of power that have constructed the normative configurations and spatial arrangements of the

identities of being human, the nation, freedom and colonial modernity itself. This Caribbean genealogy has revealed the identities of liberalism in their articulations with the governmentalization of freedom and racial rule. One of the things that this conclusion will therefore do is sketch an outline of a typology of the temporalities of British liberal rule. This genealogy as an ontology of the present also enables a reflection on the neoliberalism as the currently governing identity of freedom, and its modes of governing freedom, and reforming and liberalizing racial rule.

The transnational and diasporic reconfigurations of the spaces of Britishness, Blackness and woman that emerge from this genealogy escape the normative horizons and topographies of the British nation-state and of the modernity/freedom landscape bequeathed to us not only by Enlightenment philosophy but also by the ongoing attachments to it of a range of postmodern, African-centred and subaltern Black political and cultural imaginaries of freedom. This genealogy confirms Katherine McKittrick's conceptualization of Black geographies in which she argues that Black women's geographies persistently defy the existing imaginative, discursive and biocentric spatial organizations of life (2015, 143), as determined by the Western colonial matrix of modernity. Genealogy foregrounds temporalities and so how the spatial co-ordinates that undergird the modern colonization and construction of reality are also deeply inscribed in the temporalities of modernity. Thinking about time and space together enables us to better grasp the diasporic historicoracial schema of Black modernity that humanizes what Western modernity's has dehumanized. This reconstructs the interiority of Black lives against the weight of racist objectification, and through diverse embodied practices of freedom remembers the Black body as a site of suffering and self-alienation, and also selfalienation, but also survival, overcoming, creativity, value and power, value and power. Extending McKittrick's statement that 'Reconstructing the past interior lives of black people in the black diaspora is an important geographic act' (ibid., 34), genealogy as a mapping of discursive formations, exposes the historical poetics of Black survival as a practice of freedom in the process of creating and embodying the alternative temporalities and somatic geographies of Black modernity. The new ethnicities forged through the spatial and temporal co-ordinates of the African diaspora, in disregarding and disrupting the biohistorical schema of Western modernity, humanizes Black subjectivity beyond its dehumanization By Western conceptions of the human and so begins to construct an alternative conception of what it means to be human.

Feminist and postcolonial critical race theories have highlighted the social locations and embodied subjectivity from which Western liberal conceptions of freedom have been produced, thereby revealing freedom as itself a discursive construction. This work has analysed the West's philosophical mythology of 'natural freedom', on which the edifice of liberal government rests. The pre-Enlightenment idea of 'natural freedom' emerged from Western Eurocentric conceptions of, and distinctions between, 'nature' and 'civilization', and it is this that constituted the space from which the Western enactment of the assumed right to colonize the non-West was justified. In the theoretical and political elaboration of this distinction, Europe and the West became synonymous with human progress and normal preselected life (Wynter 1994, 2006) and freedom. Non-European, non-Western humanity and Western woman were assigned to nature and inferiority, and hierarchically arranged into categories of deselected or residually selected life and their associated levels of unfreedom. In imperial history and the colonial contexts of liberalism, whiteness has been synonymous with freedom.

Enlightenment humanism's instantiation of a unified theory of humanity continues to be dependent on a 'phantasmatic specification' (Žižek 1997, 29) that, having colonized the categories of both human and freedom, fused them through disembodied reason to the invisible spectral body of the white-European bourgeois masculine body. Western hegemony in the guise of liberalism takes the desire for freedom of the oppressed and through a range of governmental processes seeks to translate this into its own phantasmatic specification of freedom in which the desire of the deselected for freedom becomes translated into the sign of liberalism's universality and as the confirmation of freedom's Western, liberal and racialized origins and identity. As Cesaire remarked, 'that is the great thing I hold against pseudo-humanism: that for too long it has diminished the rights of man, that its concept of those rights has been—and still is—narrow and fragmentary, incomplete and biased and, all things considered, sordidly racist (Cesaire cited in Hesse 2014, 289).

In the context of empire and the making of the West, gender and racial imposition, represented as *external to Europe* work hand-in-hand with the

formation of the gendered racial identity of Europe/whiteness/freedom/non-racialized (universal) humanity, and selected life. This genealogy of racialization as an externalizing Othering process that simultaneously constructs the European self, establishes imperial conquest from the fifteenth century onwards as the instantiation of gendered-racialized and so heterosexualized modernity, which rather than starting in the late nineteenth century (as Foucault claimed) was at this time approaching its zenith in the transition of racial rule from imperial economic extraction to colonial social and biological productivity, or governmentality. This is a genealogy that arguably met its nemesis in eugenics and Nazism in the twentieth century, when those extra-European imperial and colonial ideas of race were increasingly turned in on whiteness and Europe itself (Bauman 2000; Hesse 2014).

The differential colonial construction of race also advanced along gendered lines, producing the modern colonial gender system (Lugones 2007, 207). Colonialism generated the modern social and human classificatory systems that sustain the coloniality of capitalist modernity and as such of modern biopower. However,

coloniality does not just refer to racial classification. It is an encompassing phenomenon, since it is one of the axes of the system of power and as such it permeates all control of sexual access, collective authority, labour, subjectivity, intersubjectivity and the production of knowledge from within these intersubjective relations. (ibid.)

This means that 'all control over sex, subjectivity, authority, and labour are articulated around it' (ibid.). However, as Hortense Spillers has argued, beyond the socially dead captive slave body there always remained the flesh—that which both precedes and exceeds the captured body. For as Spillers points out, 'before the "body" there is the "flesh," that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography' (Spillers 1987, 67). Thus, flesh exists prior to discourse and as an effect of discourse (as body), without becoming totally colonized by it. This understanding asserts that there is a relationship of temporality between the flesh and the social body. African flesh precedes its inscription (even as *African* flesh) within

the hieroglyphics of modernity, even as it comes to know itself through the racialized gendered and sexed body of its enslaved and later colonially liberated body. However, if one remembers that 'When the African came to the New World, she brought with her nothing but her body and all the memory and history which that body could contain' (N. Nourbese Philip 2002, 3); one is also impelled to remember that throughout slavery enslaved Africans used their enfleshed bodies as sites of alternative imagination and being, and rebelled in whatever way they could, thus defying Foucault's assertion that sovereign power meets no resistance (Foucault 1984a); when we remember all these things and more, we must conclude that enslaved Africans not only used their flesh and its memories to resist domination but also deployed their legitimated and delegitimated freedoms in everyday practices of freedom as well as in more organized forms of thought and political mobilizations in efforts to decolonize freedom, and thus the very meaning of what it means to be human.

The genealogical analysis presented here has also enabled the mapping of the moments of crises in British liberal racial rule, in which Caribbean women have been targeted as subjects of British rule and freedom. In the process it has uncovered the 'unstable assemblages of faults, fissures, and heterogeneous layers' of power (ibid., 82) through which she has emerged as a liberal subject of freedom, no longer a slave of racial domination but, as we have seen, not quite free of racialized modernity and its colonized conceptions of freedom. Understanding governmentality as a rationality for governing the conduct of governing and the conduct of governing freedom, draws our attention to the ways in which macrohistorical processes and structures intrude on the micropractices of the everyday, penetrate, mark and animate bodies and mentalities, and so identities and subjectivities. As a strategy for balancing the sovereign and disciplinary powers of the state and the freedoms of its people-the citizens, governmentality also is a practice for governing the freedoms of the individual and itself a critique of government. In other words, if governmentality disciplines, it also liberates by governing both the terms and the limits of rule and of freedom. It is with this understanding that the Black Caribbean woman has emerged as a particular biopolitical subject not simply as 'a body totally imprinted by history' (ibid., 83) but also, paradoxically, as an embodied discoursing subject (ibid.), imprinting herself on history and questioning the terms of freedom.

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Liberalism as a rationality and practice of both freedom and government is highly flexible and opportunistic, but its concerns for security and gendered racial logics are persistent. The liberal arts of government address the question of rule, how to keep control of it through consent and how to achieve it—that is, 'How to contrive a set of conditions such that the governed pursue ends that are only of value if pursued voluntarily' (Scott 2001, 8419). But the art of ruling is not without an ideal ruling subject. Liberalism as a practice of political and economic rule derives its logics from White and Western supremacy and the rationalities of colonial Europeanization. This repressed identity and logic of liberalism must be kept in our awareness when we speak of liberalism and of its double, the idea of freedom.

Liberalism as a practice of freedom is constituted in two notions of both freedom and power: freedom as a form of power that resists, and freedom as a form of power that rules. This genealogy of freedom has examined 'the various ways in which the relations between power and freedom have been established' (Rose 1999, 65), and rather than focusing on the ways in which liberal conceptions of freedom have failed to deliver on its promises it has focused on critical moments in which liberal governmentality has been required to reform itself, in the name of securing its hegemony and in the name of freedom. For, above all, liberalism is a discourse of critique and reform. This reform takes two forms. First, governmentality seeks to reform biopolitically defined populations into governable, yet free, subjects through a range of institutionally supported disciplinary practices. Second, in safeguarding the freedoms of said subjects, and in their openness to critique and resistance, liberal settlements and resistance, liberal settlements are vulnerable to being unsettled by pressures from within, or from without, by changing circumstances and revolts against its powers of rule and freedom, which might threaten to overturn its hegemonies. The internal logic of critique necessitates and permits reform—that is, reform of the power of rule—in response to the pressures from the powers of freedom that if not accommodated and assimilated into a new arrangement of ruling may threaten liberalism's hegemony over the possible meanings of freedom. This is what David Scott is referring to when he speaks of the importance of analysing 'the political unconscious' (Scott 2001, 8292) that defines the interpretative questioning of freedom at any specific conjuncture.

Although this study has utilized a Foucauldian conception of genealogies as critical histories of the present, it has exposed and contested the ways in which Foucault's genealogy of racism and modernity reveal his familial complicity with Western epistemology's 'rhetoric of modernity' (Mignolo cited in Hesse 2007, 645) that routinely analyses key modern concepts such as slavery, liberty, race and democracy, while simultaneously obscuring the historical reality of empire and of modernity's colonial-racial logics (Hesse 2007, 644). The transnational and conjunctural understanding of the present advanced by the Black Caribbean British women living in London has been central to accomplishing this. My decision to subvert their temporal mapping of freedom by focusing on the post-emancipation formation of freedom in the British Caribbean was intended to both respect and challenge their lens of vision, rejecting the governmentality of a willed and wilful British amnesia that in disavowing that 'we are here because they were there' invites Black Britons, along with the rest of Britain, to forget the entanglements of empire in the making of Britain.

Challenging this wilful European amnesia has involved rewriting the temporality not only of Black Britishness but also of Britain's muscular liberalism in order to reveal their entangled mutual formation and complex links to the coloniality of modern power and rule. This has helped to reveal the temporality of liberalism's shifting categories of attachment to racial governmentality. These attachments are rational, in the form of the governmentalization of racial rule and freedom, but they are also affective attachments in the sense of uneven emotional investments in, and learned attunements to, the superior sovereignty of Whiteness/Europe/the West that such rationalities normalize and reproduce. This Caribbean genealogy of British liberal governmentality has also exposed its paradoxical articulations of freedom and racial governmentality—that is, how highly adaptable liberalism has been in relation to reforming and reproducing racism and racial rule in the name of freedom. One of the ways this adaptability expresses itself is in liberalism's capacity to code-switch between different biopolitical and geopolitical vocabularies in response to crises in the settled relations of modern Eurocentric rule, in order to incorporate opposition or critique in the interest of securing both the hegemony of the coloniality of modern power and the discursive

invisibility upon which that hegemony depends. As we have seen in Chaps. 5 and 6, when the long standing European colonial settlement over race was destabilized by the Second World War and Nazism, race and racism were incorporated into the international vocabulary of politics and rights for the first time. However, at the same moment as race was disavowed at the level of specific nation-building projects, the biopolitics of gender and the nation were repurposed to do the work that race was no longer permitted to do. Similarly, in the early twenty-first century, just as it seemed that for some race and racism were ready to be pronounced dead, multiculturalism, religion and religiously inflected discourses of gender became the new stalking horses of European freedom. In the final stages of writing this book, Donald Trump was elected the President elect of the USA. This poses profound challenges to the neoliberal settlement that has come to define our recent post-Cold War global conjuncture. Neo-conservatism in taking 'the country back' as Trump promised on the election-trail threatens, if not tempered, to undo not only the post-war settlement that precipitated decolonization but also the advances in equal citizenship and civil rights for various minorities including the working classes of Europe and the USA. In its most extreme form, it threatens to strip away the liberal veneer upon which the coloniality of modern rule and power has depended for its hegemony and governmentality. The current reframing of the 'turn to the right' in both Europe and the USA, as evidence of the disillusionment of the white working classes who apparently feel 'left behind' by neoliberal globalization, is the first sign of liberal code-switching cranking into action. This rhetoric is forced to address race, but seeks to emphasize class in order to concede the effects of neoliberal globalization, without mentioning capitalism, and to disavow racism as a relevant factor. However, the contradictions of the present moment are apparent in the clumsy white-washing racialization of class and the difficulty for neoliberal capitalism in relying for its own defence against anti-liberal attacks from the Far-Right on the promotion of class analyses. As we can see, genealogical histories provide useful new frames of reference for understanding the present beyond its common sense appearances and governing representations.

For Foucault, genealogical histories involve 'the sacrifice of the subject of knowledge' through the disavowal of the mask of neutral historical

consciousness, passionless reason and alleged commitment to 'truth' that he wears (Foucault 1984a, 162). However, as we have seen in the discussion of his mapping of the temporality of modern biopolitics and racism, he failed to understand this in relation to himself. In seeking to decentre the Enlightenment knowing subject, Foucault argues that one of the uses of genealogical history is that it 'interrogates the various forms of scientific consciousness in its history, it finds that all these forms and transformations are aspects of the will to knowledge' (ibid). Genealogy, he argues, helps us to recognize that the process of research and the production of knowledge does not slowly detached itself from its empirical roots, or affirm the free subject of knowledge, but instead reveals and reproduces 'a progressive enslavement to its instinctive violence' (ibid., 163, emphasis added). Foucault is quite right. However, ironically, even as he disavows the knowing subject of Enlightenment, he leaves the biopolitical identity of both the knowing subject and himself unnamed, and his geopolitical location in the West naturalized and reinforced. Thereby Foucault fails to recognize or interrogate his Western narration of modernity. In decentring humanism as the ground of modern knowledge without interrogating its constitutive relation to Western power, Foucault obscures the *colonial* formation of its will to knowledge/power.

The decolonial genealogy developed here has, in the spirit of visitor theory, gone part of the way with Foucault, but has had to abandon the landscape and history of modernity that he deploys in the service of Eurocentric scholarship that continues to conceive, narrate and practise its own conception of knowledge and thereby reproduce 'the chronological line of the imperial matrix of knowledge' (Mignolo 2015, 2874). In seeking to decentre Enlightenment humanism and epistemologies, Foucault's Western narration of modernity and modern power serves only to recentre and further naturalize its Western identity by dismissing the theoretical and historical significance of the colonial emergence of modern power/knowledge. This research has rearranged the Eurocentric chronologies informing imperial Scientia, which assumes that 'epistemic breaks and paradigmatic changes, followed one another in a linear fashion'. In its place, 'Decolonial scientia links the space of colonial and decolonial struggles around the world to recent large-scale migrations of the "barbarians" to the "civilized regions" (ibid., 2876-2878).

Accordingly, this genealogy of the Black British woman of the Anglophone Caribbean, in her relationship to British liberalism and modern freedom enables us to recognize the postcolonial temporality of Britain's present in its relationship to its historical and conjunctural unfolding within a colonial horizon. This in turn has broken from the imperial chronology that underwrites current discourses of race, multiculturalism and the liberal identity of Britain being advanced by British politicians and political pundits.

The Temporalities of British Liberalism

This book does not claim to be a complete history of anything or anyone because genealogies are microhistories, traced on the body and its resistances and freedoms, constructing *autopoetic* fields of rememorying and knowing, in defiance of singular totalizing forms of research and knowledge production. Genealogy invites us to think of knowledge as praxis, and so as always to some extent autobiographical in its representations of reality. Neither the past nor the future can be fully grasped by genealogy's methods and theories, or by the knowing subject practising it. Decolonial genealogies are limited by the geopolitical and biopolitical perspective of the scholar, their data sources, their available and chosen forms of knowing, and their temperospatial and conjunctural contexts. With these qualifications, the next section offers a tentative sketch of the temporalities of modernity that have begun to emerge in this study. Though presented in a general sequential order, each period bears the residual and emergent traces of other times and places.

Imperial biopower as domination pre-dates the temporalities of liberalism that this genealogy has revealed. Imperial biopower was inaugurated in the moment of the conquest of the Americas, starting in 1492, continuing through the nineteenth century. This period includes the influence of Enlightenment liberalism that gradually but increasingly comes to inform, be informed by and to legitimate the ideas of race, gender and sex being elaborated in the course of imperial capitalist globalization. The genealogy of liberalism as racial governmentality proper

in the case of the Anglophone Caribbean starts with *colonial liberalism* dating loosely from the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. This period also represents the elaboration and intensification of British colonialism in the form of a settled system of governance through colonial-state administrations in the Caribbean, Asia and Africa. This is the period during which Britain's confidence as a global imperial power was at its greatest, and when racial white supremacy and racial rule liberalized by the diverse rationalities of the civilizing missions of the different Western powers represented the pinnacle of racialized modernity's vision of the route to human progress. This racial confidence, however, was shattered following the Second World War, taking us into a period of *constitutional decolonizing liberalism*, from around 1945 to the late 1970s.

Constitutional decolonizing liberalism emerged in response to the crises of racial rule precipitated by the conjunctures in the mid-twentieth century of anti-colonial struggles, Nazism, the Second World War, and the emergent Cold War. This combination produced a profound disturbance in the West's perception of its own identity as a modern enlightened progressive civilization, and, as Frank Furedi has made clear, the turn-of-the-century *racial confidence* of the earlier phase of settled empires turned into a heightened *racial anxiety*. This manifested itself at the level of international relations in debates about how simultaneously to contain both Communism and anti-colonialism at the same time as re-establishing Western moral authority to global power (Furedi 1988, 2).

In this period the decolonization of nationalism became the key technology for managing racial rule by positing patriarchal national sovereignty as the governing identity of freedom. This period had profound effects at the national/colonial level of specific empires in their domestic metropoles and their colonies. As Chaps. 5 and 6 indicated, this required the disavowal of race as a legitimate tool of government, while also legitimating anti-colonial demands against racism and advancing national independence and democracy. The emphasis on state maternalism as Chap. 5 discussed became a key strategy of post-war liberal governance, using welfare reform to advance patriarchal families at the same time as

'liberating' women to be better mothers, wives and citizens by being more responsible capitalist consumers.

In Britain, formal decolonization of the British Empire and the disruptions of war were followed by the mass migration of non-whites from its former colonies to assist in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. It is in this context that the discourse of race relations emerges as a way of managing the new arrangements of race domestically and internationally by disavowing racism and disowning Western investments in racial hegemony and rule. 'The main policy outcome of this . . . was the need to curb open manifestations of white racism in order to contain reactions to it. This attitude cannot be described as anti-racist. It expressed fears about racial conflict and demanded a pragmatism that amounted to a kind of voluntary self-censorship' (ibid.). We can think of British social policies organized around discourses of immigration control, assimilation, integration, and anti-discrimination and multiculturalism as various manifestations of the rationalities of constitutional decolonization as it impacted racial rule at home in mainland Britain as sought to reform racial rule abroad. Thus it is that patriarchal liberal anti-colonialism and civil rights became the governing discourses of freedom through which Black freedom was expressed and advanced,

Our contemporary present is defined by *postcolonial neoliberalism*. Since the 1980s the social democratic ideals of the New Deal and state welfarism have gradually been diminished by the tidal wave of neoliberal discourses and regulatory regimes. In the Global South, neoliberal market-led logics have been the primary drivers of a Western development model that has effectively reintroduced neocolonialism via the back door. Structural adjustment programmes, in the form of loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to countries in economic crisis, have resulted in former colonized nations having to effectively cede significant areas of sovereignty in relation to determining their own social agendas and development visions. As one commentator on Jamaica at the occasion of its 50th year of independence noted.

This relationship with the IMF would go on to symbolise that the real transfer of power was not from the British colonial administration to the Jamaican people, but rather a more troubling and complex reorientation from an order based upon British monopoly to the interests of transnational capital. (Edmonds 2015^1)

In other words, the colonial-liberalism of the British nation-state has been deterritorialized, and transnational non-state and suprastate actors such as the IMF, the World Bank and the G20 are now determining the contemporary global financial-economic governance structure and shaping what used to be domains of the colonial state or the postcolonial nation-state—that is, producing 'norms, codes of conduct, and regulatory, surveillance, and compliance instruments' (Cooper and Thakur cited in Rood 2014, 67). These norms are not simply economic but political and cultural such that neoliberalism has come to define the contemporary meaning of freedom (Rose 1999). One consequence is that even though the nation-state may be weaker, it is not dead. But the cultural logics of transnational capitalism have become deeply embedded in the logics of most Western nation-states, so that market-driven and individualized conceptions of freedom have reformed the identity of the liberal democratic nation-state 'from the welfare state to the competition state' in advanced industrial economies (Cerny cited in Scholte 1997, 428).

The economic logics of neoliberalism have in large part become the governing cultural logics of postcolonial freedom. They are pervasive in both the disciplinary practices of the state and the mentalities of freedom inhabited by postcolonial and 'postmodern' subjects. It is in this context that ideas of self-determination, autonomy and choice take on quite specific kinds of sensibilities and values, shaped no longer primarily by the conceptions of social justice that the identity-based freedom struggles of the twentieth century won, but increasingly responsive to the new demands of self-responsibilized individualism that the retreat of the welfare state and the decimations of neoliberalism on the economies of

¹ For a debate about the historical roots of development policies in European Enlightenment conceptions of progress, see Sagoe, Cecil The Neo-Colonialism of Development Programs E-International relations Students 12 August 2012. http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/12/the-neo-colonialism-of-development-programs/. Accessed 24 July 2016.

the Global South demand. It is here, as we saw in Chap. <u>8</u>, that an ethic of Black freedom constituted in resistance to white governmentality and Black objectification can become entangled and complicit with forms of neoliberal libertarianism.

In offering this typology of the temporalities of liberalism as a practice of racial rule central to the reproduction and refinement of racial rule, I hope that others will extend this work, producing other and better genealogies of freedom. As Nikolas Rose helpfully clarifies, a genealogy of freedom 'would examine the various ways in which the relations between power and freedom have been established [...] It would investigate the ways in which what we take to be freedom has been historically put together [...] and the relations of power that go to make up what we term a free society' (Rose 1999, 65). What this Caribbean genealogy clarifies is that there can be no one genealogy of freedom. The typologies of British liberalism offered here begin to provide a framework for further sociological enquiries into the changing terms of freedom, how diverse biopolitical subjects and citizens are targeted as subjects of freedom, governed through their freedoms, and how they in turn seek to resist the governmentalization of freedom, and seek to redefine the meaning of Freedom, subjectivity, citizenship and the nation. In relation to this I wish to make some concluding remarks in relation to Black Britishness.

Black Britishness and the Postcolonial Problem of Neoliberal Freedom

Postcolonial racial governmentalities and neoliberal cultural logics of transnational capitalism have increasingly appropriated and harnessed the oppositional politicization of the body that the identity-based social movements of the twentieth century, such as the Women's Movement, Gay Rights, and Black and anti-colonial nationalist movements, generated for their own neoliberal ends. This 'mainstreaming' of difference, under the banner of right-wing neoliberal conceptions of equality, foreground the nation and national citizenship as the guarantor of citizenship and rights. Furthermore, especially since the declaration of the War on Terror,

this is also been advanced in the name of the management of security and responsible freedom—always, as already noted, articulated through the production of new modalities for Othering those deemed inassimilable (Lentin and Titley 2011).

Neoliberal racial assemblages often appear to have forsaken the body, rendering its possession of bodies invisible behind tropes of religion and urban locations. This very invisibility is the effect of the new postracial biopolitics; one that invites us to see diversity but not see racism, sexism or the ongoing rule of hegemonic Whiteness and coloniality. It is this very invisibility of race and racism that Black Lives Matter, Afrocentrism, and other forms of Black consciousness and African diaspora poetics in their different ways, refute and refuse. Black women's practices of freedom and Black womanhood as presented in this study persistently refuse the invitation to accept the normative coloniality of the present that continues to permeate all aspects of social existence, but not necessarily in the same ways or for the same ends as it once did. In the context of Britain, as already noted, an inclusive political meaning of black identity to refer to all postcolonial people of colour has been dominant within most Left/ liberal anti-racist movements and in British academic discourse in Britain, at least since the mid-1980s. This dominance over the meanings of antiracism, and politicized racial and ethnic identities, is dominant rather than hegemonic because it has always faced resistance and critique for the large sections of Britain's Black and Asian communities across the optical spectrum. However, the ossification and essentialism of this Left antiessentialism has meant that many community-based anti-racist and selfrepresentational practices have been subject to scouring criticism, dismissed as racially or culturally essentialist, and accused of having descended into versions of culturalism that mirrored the racism that it sought to contest. Such criticism has also led to blanket accusations that such mobilizations have made a fetish of race and identity, sidelining the political and economic systems that sustain racism (Malik 1996). It is certainly true that some forms of local and state-sponsored anti-racism have either deliberately or absentmindedly fallen into those traps. It is not true however, that all forms of anti-racist mobilization in Britain have done this, or that ethnicity/race-based activism has been blind to the supranational and global politics of racism and its intersections with capitalism. Anti-racism takes many forms (Lentin 2000) and always has, except that some enunciations of anti-racism have achieved greater or lesser acceptance within prevailing regimes of political recognition and legitimacy—on the Left and Right. Lentin refers to this as the 'crisis' of race as a critical concept and of anti-racism within sociological and political theory in a historical context, where race as a legitimate category of explanation has been discarded at the same time as ethnicity and identity are being increasingly deployed to make sense of the explosion of ethnic and religious conflict within Europe, or to critique and dismiss the efficacy of state-sponsored multiculturalism in contemporary Western societies (ibid., 92). However, as she goes on to argue,

'regardless of academia's desire to move beyond "race" and racism' and to disavow their significance, such 'terminological discussions' evade 'the very serious issue that the demise in importance of discussions of "race" and racism—in any other sense other than heuristic—poses to the building of sociological theory grounded in a commitment to anti-racism at a time when concomitant racist discourses appear to have advanced significantly and in a sophisticated manner' (ibid.).

Lentin sees 'race' as it is deployed in mainstream political and academic discourses as having lost its critical purchase now that its biological refutation has been accepted, and the 'banality' of cultural diversity and its commodified incorporations make nonsense of cultural racism. She turns the political essentialism of some forms of anti-essentialism on its head when she sates,

Racism, the possibilities for anti-racism, and the overall atmosphere of multiculturalism must each be re-analysed in a context in which visible cultural differences, in their discourses, if not in everyday reality, become more important than ever before in the search for identities. (ibid., 93)

There is an implication in what Lentin says here that acknowledges cultural identity as an important site of both subjective and collective reality as well as resistance to racism. The analysis of the interviews presented in this book address this *knot of identity* in which Black identity

appears as a site of contested discourses and practices of disciplinary normalization, *and* contested practices of freedom. The interviews indicate that Black Caribbean cultural identities in Britain are not solely engaged with negotiating or resisting racism but express a longstanding self-liberating ethos first honed by the enslaved Africans of the New World in defiance of the dehumanization of African life, and out of which modern Black life has emerged as an ethicopolitical identity.

One of the key concerns of this book has been to consider what a feminized and decolonial genealogy of Britain's liberal identity might tell us about the contemporary times, defined by competing representations. Joppke argues that as a repudiation and response to state-led multiculturalism—particularly associated with the British Conservative Party's muscular liberalism—denotes the willingness of the British state to demand that citizens do more than simply obey the law and be passively tolerant (Joppke 2004, 290), and also commit to obedience to liberal norms simultaneously as we have seen represented as white, British and simultaneously culturally European and universal. Thus the muscularity refers to the willingness to demand obedience, from citizens perceived to be failing to submit willingly to cultural hegemony and societal norms when it sees some individuals failing to supply by consent. Of course, as Joppke notes, there is an inherent illiberalism within such a demand and in citizenship tests, which he argues are a central technology for determining kinds of knowledge and moral attitudes that the state uses to regulate who can become a citizen. Muscular liberalism, then, is interpreted by Joppke to mean a willingness to demand and impose firmly drawn criteria of norms and values. As we saw in the context of the colonial Caribbean, gender has been an important criterion used by muscular liberalism to enforce liberal values (contradiction in terms if there ever was one). For example, in David Cameron's speech to the international security conference in which he declared the need for muscular liberalism, he warned Muslim groups that 'if they fail to endorse women's rights or promote integration, they will lose all government funding. All immigrants to Britain must speak English and schools will be expected to teach the country's common culture' (Wright and Taylor 2011). Cameron went on to blame the excessive tolerance of state multiculturalism for failing to 'confront the horrors of forced marriage', before inferring through his

contrast of muscular liberalism with the state multiculturalism that multiculturalism represented some kind of effete feminized liberalism that lacks the stamina and moral force to stand up for the liberal ideals of universal human rights—and particularly women's rights. We are familiar with the colonial discourse of saving brown women from brown men, and it is clear that once again it has been brought into the service of a defence of white superiority dressed in the respectable masculine garb of the liberal patrician. Once we appreciate the coloniality of gender and how it is fused to the liberalizing logics of racialized modernity's mode of racial rule, we need not be surprised at the recycling of this discourse. What is troubling is how this reflects the intensification of the sovereign powers of the racial state in the name of the War on Terror and 'security'.

Here in Cameron's discourse of muscular liberalism we see writ large the use of race and gender in the biopolitical management of national and civilization borders—what Basham and Vaughan Williams (2013) discuss in terms of the intersectional dimensions of border politics and forms of social stratification. Citing the work of Sherene Razak, the authors suggest that this manifests itself in the construction of the 'co-constitutive spectacles of the "dangerous" Muslim man and the "imperilled" Muslim woman' in the context of the War on Terror. The concept of muscular liberalism functions in British anti-multiculturalism discourses in specific ways to challenge multiculturalism through a narrow representation of it through the lens of intolerable differences and the excessive liberties of those who refuse to conform to the liberal norms of good British citizenship.

Contrast this with the global marketing of difference in boutique multiculturalism that works in part by rearticulating race through the gendered and sexualized 'coloured' but deracialized body. This advances a vision of universalism which invokes the values of unity, joy, harmony and so forth at the same time as it masks the hegemony of white skin, capitalism and liberalism as the normative condition of existence (Lury 2000, 152), 'thus distancing cultural essentialism from many of the social and political criticisms that biological essentialism has received' (ibid., 158). In these ways neoliberal race and racism are detached from fixed biological markers and reworked through the cultural, the aesthetic and the body of the Other's performativity. In this version of neoliberal racial

governmentality, race becomes 'not a matter of skin colour, of physical characteristics as the expression of a biological or natural essence, but rather of style, of the colour of skin, of colour itself as the medium of what might be called a second nature or, more provocatively, *a cultural essentialism*' (ibid., 148).

In the context of a former colonized, rather than colonizing postcolonial nation we have seen how neoliberalism has extended its reach into Jamaican Dancehall culture, partly through promising cultural escape from the intensifications of poverty that neoliberal economic globalization has wrought on the Caribbean region. Dancehall at its peak was a rejection of the poverty that colonial and postcolonial capitalism has bequeathed to the region and also a claim to inclusion in the fruits of neoliberal capitalism's consumption of difference as a global product. In elements of both Dancehall and hip-hop cultures, the hyperindividualism denoted by the appeal to 'get rich or die trying' has absorbed rather than replaced an older self-emancipation ethics of 'get free or die trying'. Ironically, the neoliberal governmentalization of freedom that this expresses usually works by presenting itself as a critique of the liberal state, distancing itself from both the Right and the Left yet suturing its governing ideals of freedoms to the market and inclusion—as both product and consumer. This marketdriven logic of postracial postpatriarchal market inclusion frequently presents itself in the guise of discrepant forms of libertarianism, opposed to the encroachments of the liberal state on the freedoms of the individual and the market. It is here that we can see the appeal of neoliberal freedom to aspects of Black cultural politics. The hypereroticism of Black popular cultural practice, especially in the 1990s and early decades of the twentyfirst century replicated the 'new neoliberal sexual politics' of a new Black heteronormativity, that just as Lisa Duggan identified in relation to the new homonormativity of some neoliberal American gay organizations, does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and their institutional expressions, but rather defends and reproduces at them (Duggan 2012, 50). However, unlike the politics of respectability that underwrites the new gay homonormativity, and which has underwritten anti-colonial and postcolonial nationalisms in the Caribbean, contemporary Dancehall reggae performatively seeks to evade many of the disciplinary Westernizing machinations of Eurocentric social liberalism. These exilic practices of maroonage from the biopolitical governance of Jamaican bourgeois liberal nationalism and white governmentality are paradoxical and contradictory, in which the Black poor of this Third World nation 'typically retreated to their *exilic space* as both a social site for dissidence and the venue for the repair of cultural injuries. There they developed structures of defiance and modes of existence that emphasized the quest for competence and the search for social honour' (Gray 2004 1900). Whereas in Rastafari-inspired *Roots and Culture* or 'conscious' reggae this critique of bourgeois respectability also included a deep interrogation of imperialism and racial capitalism, in neoliberal Dancehall the latter critique has been largely evacuated. Neoliberalism's influence on Black popular culture can be seen in both hip-hop and reggae's embrace of hyperconsumerism and the lawlessness of 'gangster capitalism' (Woodiwiss 2005), which is signalled by the recommodification of the 'monetized' heteroerotic Black body.

Yet for all this, neoliberal capitalism has great difficulty in fully capturing, or colonizing, reggae, even in its dancehall genre. Black vernacular cultures, especially vernacular cultures that have developed in the belly of Western modernity in the Americas and now Europe, have a unique location in the production of global popular cultures. The marginalities of race, gender and sexuality have been important sites of self and cultural production as well as 'of the cultural politics of difference, of the struggles around difference, of the production of new identities, of the appearance of new subjects on the political and cultural stage' (Hall 1993a, b, 106). As Hall insists, this is never a zero-sum game in which the oppressed win against the cultural power of the dominant, or vice versa; rather, as a struggle over cultural hegemony, over representation and meaning, it is always about shifting the balance of power in the relations of culture; 'it is always about changing the dispositions and the configurations of cultural power, not getting out of it' (Hall 1993a, b, 107). Dancehall reggae rejects Western liberalism's assumed right to adjudicate the standards of morality, conduct and norms by which the world can be judged. At the same time it stakes a bold claim both for moral autonomy and for inclusion in the benefits of neoliberal capitalist hegemony—one that habitually tends to treat Blackness as merely a commodity for white Western capital accumulation. Dancehall celebrates economic libertarianism but departs from it in so far as it retains within it a postcolonial poetics that persistently interrogate and unsettle the normativity of

Western cultural hegemony and white global governmentality. In this way Dancehall directly address the paradoxical and contradictory problem-space of neoliberalism's mode of governing freedom and racial rule.

What Can Black Women Know About Freedom?

Imperial biopower and then later colonial liberal biopolitics constructed modern life through bodily inscriptions—or in Spiller's terms a 'hieroglyphics of the flesh'—that initiate the fusing of the social 'body' and 'flesh' (Spillers 1987, 67). Under the conditions of enslavement and imperial domination, indigenous gender differences were lost, and the Black female body and the male body became sites of cultural and political manoeuvre (Spillers 1987, 67) in ways that are not—as western feminism might conclude—determined by gender. Spillers argues this occurs because New World slavery and discourses of race and ethnicity ungendered Black bodies. In Spiller's terminology, it is ethnicity rather than gender that is 'the scene of negation' of the flesh (Spillers 1987, 66). However, for Lugones, racial inscription is fulfilled in the colonial inscription of gender. In contrast with Spillers, Lugones emphasises how colonialism produced gender rather than undid gender. For Lugones, 'the colonial, modern, gender system cannot exist without the coloniality of power, since the classification of the population in terms of race is a necessary condition of its possibility' (Lugones 2008, 12). Against Spiller's implicit assumption of a binary gender system as an ontological fact and an organising category in pre-colonial African societies, Oyewùmí insists that gender was not an organising principle in precolonial Yoruba society, but rather the effect of colonisation as a gendered and gendering process that constituted race and gender as interdiscursive and mutually constructing categories of rule (Oyewùmí 1997, 122). As we have seen throughout this book, imperial capitalism required the intensification of patriarchy and racial rule the regulation of inter-racial sexual conduct. This leads to the pressing conclusion that race, gender and sexuality were constitutively emerging rationalities in the biopolitical management of life that imperial modernity and later colonial liberalism instituted.

The coloniality of gender and sexuality within racialized modernity posits non-Western and Black Western masculinities and femininities, of all sexual orientations, as habitually named, shamed and judged as pathological, perverted or lacking. Precolonial indigenous cultural, gender categories and sexual ideologies were either erased or altered by imperial conquest, so that colonial conquest in the Americas was simultaneously a racialized right to heterosexual rule (Alexander 2005, 198). The later transformation to liberal forms of rule replaced coercion and slavery with colonial governmentalities in which colonial morality proved highly effective in deploying both Christian and liberal discourses of progress, gender rights and social welfare to inculcate the habits of Western gender and sexual norms as strategies of racial governance. The rationalities of liberal racial rule have been stretched along a continuum ranging from strong biological to strong culturalist modalities (Goldberg 2002). In whichever register, its division of the world into racialized, gendered and sexualized hierarchies of human value derives their governing logics and functionality in the articulations of capitalism and white supremacy.

Charles Mills describes white supremacy as an ideology and political system of power that defines 'the European domination of the planet for the past several hundred years that has left us with the racialized distributions of economic, political and cultural power that we have today' (Mills 1997, 98). Human life as we have come to know it since its modern codification by Enlightenment humanism is demarcated in a grid of racialized intelligibility and (im)possibility, and coloniality. As a result, the existence of residual forms of life, racialized as non-white, necessitates resistances, negotiations, refusals, collusions and strategic identifications that seek to negotiate or counter governmental representations of life (Hall 1993b). This takes place through using the fluidity of difference that Eurocentric conceptions of life rely on, yet seek to repress, in order to destabilize the myth of white exceptionalism that underpins Westerncentred discourses of universalism. This implicates the oppositional dualism of Enlightenment representation in which race, gender, class, sexuality and the other categories of human and civilizational difference have been mapped onto a modern rational system of scientific and cultural analogies (Stepan-Leys 1986), out of which racialized assemblages have been constructed so that non-European equates to nature, to woman, to

unreason and to unfreedom, as Europe equates to civilization, to man, to reason and to freedom. This oppositional and ranked hierarchical order agglomerates non-white life and gendered forms of white life, and positions them unequally on the 'Other' side of 'reason, rationality, freedom' in a cultural chain of analogous significations, flexible intersections and mutable hierarchies of different but analogous and ranked forms of human life. It is the interdiscursivity of this chain of signification that enables the play of difference in the structure of modern systems of representation. At the same time, as Wynter has argued, the invariant Black/White binary establishes the limit points in the modern system of judgment and ranking. This means that within those limits shifts and realignments of power and representation can occur between identity categories, which can be oppressive, emancipatory, or simply playful. This is one of the reasons why single-identity based projects often fail to ensure the emancipation of all oppressions within the group, so that in the fulfilment of one moment of emancipation, new oppressions are spawned and old ones sedimented, thereby precipitating new resistances and new struggles over the meaning of freedom.

This is the play in identity that is neither a 'free for all' or a final closure that in part defines new postcolonial ethnicities. These frequently exist in antagonistic and discrepant relation to both each other and their relative positionings within and positions on what I want to call the postcolonial/ neoliberal division in the new postcolonial struggles to define both the meaning of Black identity as a political rather than just a cultural category and the meanings of freedom. These struggles can be seen in the internal fissures and struggles within politicized identity categories by those members previously silenced and repressed in the name of the collective struggle against oppression who are increasingly able to utilize and extend their hard-won group freedoms to name other dimensions of their identities in which they also own marginalities and oppressions from within as well as outside hegemonic forms of minoritized identities. This means that although struggles continue over racism, contestation also occurs inside the concepts of race and ethnicity (Julien and Mercer 1996, 457). We see this in the critiques of essentialized heteronormative and masculine representation of Black identity internally generated by African and Caribbean straight and lesbian women as well as gay men, and in the

're-articulation of the category "black" as a political term of identification among diverse minority communities of Asian, African and Caribbean origin' (ibid., 454). In relation to the former, ideas of tradition and 'community' have been central mechanisms for disciplining Black gender norms and Black heterosexualities, and outlawing homosexuality in law and culture. Once we grasp the coloniality of gender, it becomes clear that the dimorphism of the modern heteronormative gender system works in step with the Europeanization of gender and sex, rendering colonized gender identities and sexualities as ontologically non-normative. One consequence of this is that it becomes impossible to disarticulate race and sex in modern biopower. They are mutually articulating, in systematic as well as ad hoc modalities. Race, gender and sex as biopolitical technologies are not simply analogously linked they are mutually constitutive. This co-productivity confirms not only the coloniality of race, but also the coloniality of modern gender. The transition to modernity beginning in the encounter between the West and the Americas took the form of protracted, non-linear conjunctural temporalities and processes, advancing at different speeds and registers in accordance with the demands of different economic and geopolitical conditions and biopolitical projects—both within and between European empires. In this context, the modernization and liberalization of racism through the idea of freedom has occurred as neither an epochal usurpation nor a teleological linear development of one mode of racial thought or mode of racial rule by another; rather, it has been elaborated through shifting discursive and geopolitical exigencies producing discontinuous and multiply articulated assemblages of power.

The women interviewed constructed a sense of their individual subjectivities through personal biographical narratives linked to family and personal experiences, and also how these were shaped by, and shaping of, a sense of a collective belonging to the identity of Black woman closely tied to a racialized understanding of self-determination, intersubjective autonomy. This autonomy is defined by a collective Black woman's ethics of agency and freedom that deploys race and gendered modes of self-understanding as practices of freedom for negotiating, challenging and evading being fully captured by the governmentalities of race and gender emanating from multiple sources. While their narratives of freedom were

not uniform, there were important areas of consensus. These can be summarized as:

- 1. A feminized and feminizing intersubjective understanding of autonomy and agency. The women in this study conceive of autonomy relationally, rejecting individual autonomy as the ideal standard and interpreting autonomy through the prism of their encumbered subjectivity. It is encumbered because women's commitments to social relationships can be positive and negative insofar as they may burden women with responsibilities towards others but also be enabling through the forms of intersubjective bonds and interdependence that this permits.
- 2. A distinction between agency and freedom, in which self-determining agency can occur even in conditions where a woman is not yet free, or where her claims to freedom are delegitimized and so not supported. Racism, sexism, class privilege and many other social structural factors represent clear blocks to the opportunity for freedom. Nevertheless, Black women's cultures of freedom habitually express a willingness to act as though they are freer than their objective conditions dictate. This sounds like sovereignty defined in terms of negative freedom—not being controlled by others or circumstances—but as Klaus points out and as the narratives of the women in this study confirm, women's experiences of agency are often intersubjectivity fulfilled through their networks of interdependencies; revealing agency 'not solely a function of faculties such as the will that are strictly internal to the individual. (Krause 2015, 136).
- 3. A decolonial sensibility towards freedom. The coloniality of gender in which gender emerges as an inherently racialized category has been deployed by liberalism to contest the freedom claims of colonized men and colonized populations as a whole. Liberating non-white women from non-white men (Razak 2004) has been an important rationality of liberal racial governmentality for maintaining the racialized ontology of Western conceptions of freedom and coloniality. In feminizing freedom, Black women can find themselves unwittingly in collusion with a prevailing White feminist assumption that there is a unity as well as a similarity between the positions of white and non-white women in the human schema of modernity. The problem is that when Black women adopt the language of feminism in solidarity with the category 'woman' without addressing the racialized construction of the coloniality of gender, this can

produce freedom claims by Black feminists that overlook and normalize the pathological feminization of both gender, and Black and colonized men, even as they seek to feminize freedom. However, a decolonial and radical postcolonial Black perspectives on the coloniality of gender in the articulations of racial modernity would insist that it is not enough to feminize freedom; it must be decolonized, and this decolonization must involve the decolonization of gender as a racialized and racializing dimorphic system in which the elevation of a racialized masculinity relies on the devaluing, oppression and Othering of femininity. For it is in their racialized exclusion from hegemonic white patriarchal heteronormative masculinity—that is, their feminization—that Black men (both heterosexual, homosexual, cis-gendered and non on-cis-gendered) are assigned to the debased feminized slot of the not-fully-human (i.e. woman).

Bringing together a Black feminist and a Black critical decolonial approach to theorizing coloniality and postcoloniality contests the notion that core concepts of modernity, such as freedom, citizenship, man, woman and the nation, can be approached as though unsullied by race, imperialism and racially gendered forms of brutality. It has also sought to take up the decolonial feminist 'task of uncovering the colonial practices of gender imposition and formation (the coloniality of gender) as marking the colonial divide differentially, inseparably from the processes of racialisation' (Lugones 2008). What we have seen confirms that racialized modernity has been constitutive of the coloniality of gender, anthropologically and theoretically. This complicates any idea that feminization as resistance to the hegemony of the masculine supremacy of modernity can be deployed transparently and self-evidently as a decolonial practice, if it occurs as a simple reversal or replacement but is still tied to the dimorphism of the heterosexual matrix. If gender as the cultural ascription of anatomical identity to bodies, it is also a modern colonial inscription of biopower in which the racialized, gendered and heterosexed modern body emerges in the processes of its targeting and capture as a colonized body. Heterosexual feminization can function as forms of colonial biopolitical normalization if it does not interrogate its complicities with the coloniality of gender within the Enlightenment-inscribed conception of the human. Similarly, both Black feminist and Black masculinist investments in patriarchy must develop a nuanced understanding of the dehumanization

of colonized men in their racially gendered feminized location within liberal humanism's map of the human. For it is only then that we can appreciate a number of things about the relationship of Black and other non-white, non-Western men to both freedom and patriarchy: (1) how this institutes the deep investment of many colonized men and masculinities in Western constructions of M/man as a means to assert their freedom claims; (2) how this reproduces deep disinvestments in femininity as well as resentments towards colonized women's apparent discursive (but largely unrealized) access to the subordinate entitlements that derive from their marginalized and residual attachments to feminized gendered life; and (3) the racial hierarchies of modern gendered life that bestow these residual and racialized entitlements on colonized women in turn are unevenly feminized, and once again Black life represents the limit point of difference to white feminized life, upholding a racially gendered grammar of feminized life. Thus where Lugones sees sex as an independent third layer of discourse, I suggest that feminization and masculinization as discourses that exceed both gender and sex categories constitute the discursive connective tissues that seek to suture the racialized gendered body to the sexual body. In other words, the assumption that woman and femininity or man and masculinity are co-expressions of gender as a biologically determined identity is itself an effect of the modern heterosexual matrix; femininity and masculinity are, as Butler has established, performative. Black women residing precariously within categories of race, gender, femininity and masculinity adopt a range of strategies to negotiate these dominations and liberations. The feminized performativities of some heterosexually identified Black women, being already rendered if not queer (as in non-normative), then at least contrary to modern conceptions of gender and femininity, can in attempting to feminize that which has been defined as the property of supreme Whiteness and hegemonic masculinity, harness feminization to the project of decolonization. As queers of colour have demonstrated, feminization when deployed in critical performativities of (dis)identification (Munoz 1999) can be used to break open the biopolitically encoded of modern conceptions of the Human.

We have seen in the chapters of this book the various ways in which Black women have worked with and against the attempts of multiple imaginaries of freedom to govern them, insisting on 'standing in the bigness' of who they are and refusing to be captured or moved by the seduction or coercions of both Western colonial and Black anti-colonial liberalism's attempts to define their freedoms. This has involved not at times refusing the 'homology between liberalism and colonialism, [as] a Western narrative of freedom that incorporates the imperatives of the colonisers and exorcises the predicaments of the colonised' (Hesse 2014, 295). This speaks to the willingness of Black women to have the courage to act freer than the captured terrain on which they stand legitimates or supports. Black women, even in the absence of freedom, have frequently acted as if they are freer than they are and shown willing to pay the price of such audacity. In this respect, Black women have contested continuing coloniality of the present, exposing the ways in which the colonial fantasy of Whiteness tied to European gender ideologies has produced a forestalled understanding of the meaning of human freedom. The British Caribbean women, on whom this study is based in refusing the assumption and expectation that life can be fully lived within the terrain of an already captured freedom, have, in their everyday practices of freedom revealed the importance of feminizing freedom, as a precursor to decolonizing what it means to be human.

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