

**RE-ARTICULATING TRADITION,
TRANSLATING PLACE: COLLECTIVE
MEMORIES OF CARNIVAL IN LEEDS
AND BRISTOL**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

Thomas Fleming
Department of Geography
University of Sheffield
July 1998.

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers an ethnographic perspective on 'African-Caribbean' Carnivals in Leeds (Chapeltown) and Bristol (St. Paul's), based on an integration of in-depth interviews, focus groups, archival analysis and participatory research. It demonstrates how globalized diasporic meanings are localized in and through the specificities of 'place'. Rather than employing an exclusively textual method of deconstruction, which has dominated much of the academic work on Carnival, this research draws on participatory experience in social spaces such as *mas* camps, Carnival costume-making classes and singing groups to explore the practices through which Carnival is reconstituted. The thesis shows how these practices involve performances of different and contested *collective memories*, where individual participants react to and recreate these 'unified' senses of tradition in very different ways (ranging from those who insist on a 'Carnival tradition' based on walking *mas* and soca/calypso music, to those who celebrate a '*mas by other means*' through the rhythms of jungle and hip hop and 'costumes' of branded sportswear and puffa jackets). Music and *mas* provide key examples of the emergence and re-articulation of complex and contested identities. Though hybrid in form and apparently 'progressive' in sentiment, such forms and their related 'new ethnicities' are shown to involve exclusions as well as inclusions, as they are patterned by the continued salience of 'racialized difference'. The thesis therefore raises questions about how collective memories are actively reconstructed through their relations with the multiple spatialities of a 'sense of place', and how racisms persist in influencing the meanings of 'multicultural' events such as Carnival.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT		ii
CONTENTS		iii
LIST OF FIGURES		vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		viii
CHAPTER 1	TELLING STORIES: COLLECTIVE MEMORY, IDENTITY, PLACE.	1
1.1	Re-locating Carnival.	2
1.2	Collective memories of Carnival and place.	11
1.3	A travel story for researcher and 'researched'.	16
1.4	And so the story goes.	20
CHAPTER 2	RESEARCH AS PRACTICE, PERFORMANCE, PROCESS, POSITION, PROVISIONALITY, POWER.	26
2.1	Hung-up, hanging-out, hitching a ride.	27
2.2	Position One: encountering place, finding a place - 'getting in there' as a strategy without guarantees.	33
2.2.1	<i>The importance of place.</i>	33
2.2.2	<i>Walking the streets in search of 'place'.</i>	36
2.2.3	<i>Stepping out of the shadows...exposing the 'self'.</i>	39
2.3	Position Two: finding a role, developing a 'method' - eclectic ethnography as pragmatic strategy.	48
2.3.1	<i>Awkward silences and (ir)relevant chatter: the pain and pleasure of the 'in-depth' interview.</i>	51
2.3.2	<i>'Hands on', "hands off!": mas camp participatory research as embodied performance.</i>	55
2.3.3	<i>Taking to the streets on Carnival day: the researcher as 'in' or 'of' the crowd?</i>	64
2.4	Position Three: retreat and reflection: the politics of writing.	68
2.4.1	<i>A postscript: returning to Carnival in St. Paul's...</i>	76
CHAPTER 3	WELCOME TO ST. PAUL'S, GREETINGS FROM CHAPELTOWN.	79
3.1	Decontaminating the 'inner city', contextualizing the collective memories of Carnival.	80
3.2	Getting a sense of place in Chapeltown and St. Paul's.	86

3.2.1	<i>The beautiful sisters that walk the 'mean streets of Chapeltown'.</i>	86
3.2.2	<i>Remembering Jamaica in Bristol's 'shanty town'.</i>	98
3.3	Carnival in 'the ghetto': towards a reconfiguration of place.	109
3.3.1	<i>Internalizing otherness.</i>	110
3.3.2	<i>Re-defining otherness.</i>	114
3.4	Talking local: Carnival and the story-telling of place.	119
3.4.1	<i>The inscriptive story-telling of Carnival: the tragedy of Evan 'Bangy' Berry.</i>	120
3.4.2	<i>The incorporating memories of Carnival: remembering Bangy.</i>	125
3.5	Feelin' the local flava: Carnival and the embodiment of place.	129
3.5.1	<i>Sticking together identities: Carnival costume-making in Chapeltown.</i>	130
3.5.2	<i>"The rhythm is massive": J'ouvert morning and the embodiment of place.</i>	140
3.6	Towards a re-versioned sense of place.	149
CHAPTER 4	REMEMBERING 'THEN' AND 'THERE' THROUGH 'HERE' AND 'NOW': CARNIVAL AND THE COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF DIASPORA.	152
4.1	Facing the other way(s): diasporizing Carnival.	153
4.2	Remembering home.	161
4.3	Working for position in the world of Carnival.	170
4.3.1	<i>Costume-making and the trans-local craft of identity.</i>	173
4.4	Remembering 'Afrika'.	188
4.4.1	<i>Re-evoking Afrika: the reclamation of heritage in St. Paul's.</i>	191
CHAPTER 5	'KEEPING IT REAL': CARNIVAL, AUTHENTICITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDERING OF PLACE.	205
5.1	Mapping the boundaries of place.	206
5.2	Expounding tradition, performing place.	212
5.2.1	<i>Identifying the Carnival tradition.</i>	213
5.2.2	<i>Carnival and abjection.</i>	218
5.2.3	<i>Mapping in adversity: social order viewed from alterity.</i>	230
5.3	Collective memories, normative geographies - a mas by other means.	237
5.3.1	<i>(Re)Performing community and place: the case of the 'riot crew'.</i>	240
CHAPTER 6	'RINSING OUT THE SOUNDS': CARNIVAL, MUSIC AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF PLACE.	248
6.1	Music as trans-local re-articulation.	249

6.2	Finding a home for the 'call and response'.	257
6.3	Re-articulating the sound system: break beat and the 'Bristol sound'.	266
6.4	Re-articulating 'Blackness' - Re-racing the musical 'wander'.	278
CHAPTER 7	MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES, NEW ETHNICITIES: A CAUTIONARY ENDNOTE.	293
7.1	Collective memories in motion.	299
7.2	New ethnicities, same difference?	304
APPENDICES		316
1	Situated situationing: naming 'the researched'.	316
2	Making interventions: coding the research material.	328
3	Representing St. Paul's.	340
REFERENCES		341

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1	Mapping the boundaries of Chapeltown.	87
3.2	Terrace after terrace off Mexborough Avenue, Chapeltown, March 1997.	94
3.3	Mapping the boundaries of St. Paul's.	99
3.4	The flags of Jamaica and Ethiopia flutter over Grosvenor Road, St. Paul's, July 1997.	107
3.5	Faded glory? The grand terraces of City Road, St. Paul's, June 1997.	108
3.6	The boarded-up 'glory' of Brigstocke Road, St. Paul's, June 1997.	108
3.7	The Bristol Evening Post (18/7/97) helpfully maps out the 'meanings' of St. Paul's.	121
3.8	Spraying the magical fantasies, The Palace, Chapeltown, August 1997.	137
3.9	Magical fantasies hanging out to dry, The Palace, Chapeltown, August 1997.	137
3.10	A pyjama wine on Harehills Avenue, J'ouvert Morning 1997, Chapeltown.	144
3.11	The J'ouvert <i>mas</i> rolls down the hill, J'ouvert Morning 1997, Chapeltown.	144
4.1	Magical fantasies on the road in Chapeltown, August 1997.	185
4.2	The Afrikanized iconography of St. Paul's Carnival programmes - 1987, 1988, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997.	193
4.3	St. Barnabus School Urban Jungle Freedom Fighters, watched here by an unusually unmixed section of the crowd, St. Paul's Carnival, 1997.	202
4.4	Urban Jungle Freedom Fighters proclaim their interpretation of the 1997 Carnival theme.	202
5.1	Complementing each other? The 1997 Chapeltown Carnival in Potternewton Park.	229
5.2	...And the reggae concert on the previous day.	229
5.3	<i>Mas</i> at the 1997 Chapeltown Carnival.	245
5.4	A <i>mas</i> by other means?	245
6.1	Grosvenor Road on Carnival Day 1997: a landscape of 'exotic' food...for whom?	286
6.2	The crowd gathers at the main stage, St. Paul's Carnival 1997 - a conspicuously White audience for King Masco and his 'Afrikan rhythms'.	286
6.3	Black and White mingle under the break beats...Brighton Street in the afternoon, St. Paul's Carnival 1997.	287

6.4	Embodying collective memories of 'Blackness'...Brighton Street at night, St. Paul's Carnival 1997.	287
6.5	The Afrikanization of 'jungle'.	289
7.1	Black and White jump-up together in St. Paul's, July 1997.	308
7.2	'Mixing it' in Chapeltown, August 1997.	308

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must thank the Migration and Ethnicity Research Centre at Sheffield University for their financial support over the past three years, and for giving me the freedom to develop this project on my own terms. Within this context I am grateful to Peter Jackson for his unwavering supervision. I remain impressed by his speed of response whenever asked to read a chapter draft, and am indebted to his lucid remarks, probing questions and the accessibility of his considerable 'library'. I would also like to thank Deborah Sporton - my 'second supervisor' - for her helpful comments.

There are many people I want to thank for their receptiveness, enthusiasm and support when in Bristol and Leeds. In Bristol, I owe an enormous debt to Karlton Romaine, Alfredo Vasquez, Kwesi Ngozi, Eleanor Grant, Rosetta Eligon, Amirah Cole, James Holden and *everyone else* at the Kuumba Project for the way they welcomed me, offered advice and provided access to various contacts and facilities. I'd also like to 'big up' all those in and around the *mas* camps for their warmth, friendship, and a hell of a lot of fun. Particular respect goes out to Jo Anderson, Gloria Ojulari Sule, Paul Blackman, Barbara Cook and Ruth Ramsey. Recognition should also go to Peter Courtier at Bristol Racial Equality Council, Father Paul at Fairfield School and David Onamade at *The Free News*, for their interest in my research and assistance as I found my way around St. Paul's. I am thankful to the Department of Geography at Bristol University for access to their computer system in the first half of 1997. In Leeds, Arthur France, Ian Charles, Hughbon Condor, Jacqui Gaskin and Max Farrar have been immeasurably helpful and enthusiastic. Thanks must also go to Caroline Gladwell and Patricia Jones; Derrick Lawrence, Paulette Morris and staff at the Mandela Centre; Parvin Vekaria at MECAS; and everyone at Leeds Black Elders; who were all so welcoming and supportive despite my constant presence and ceaseless requests for information.

Anyone with the misfortune to spend more than a few minutes in my company during my rather unhinged 'writing-up' period deserves respect. I am particularly grateful to my parents for their constant encouragement, comfort and tolerance. Matt Fry, Jodi Clarke, Angie Colaço and Anna Taylor also merit a mention for their patience and sense of humour as house-mates. At the Geography Department, Paul Stallard has somehow survived his sentence as an 'office-mate', and I am grateful for his company as a sounding-board for ideas, and as an accepting victim of my puerile alter ego when I was away from the mind-altering computer screen.

But the greatest debt of all is owed to the hundreds of people I talked to, interviewed, worked with, danced with and drunk with throughout my time in Bristol and Leeds: they shared so much when they could have just walked away.

CHAPTER ONE

TELLING STORIES: CARNIVAL, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, IDENTITY, PLACE

"You think that just because it's already happened, the past is finished and unchangeable? Oh no, the past is cloaked in a multi-coloured taffeta and every time we look at it we see a different hue" (Kundera 1973 p.105).

*"If the tree did not bend it would break in the storm" (Reggae artist, Luciano, quoted in *The Caribbean Times* 7/11/96 p.27).*

*A Carnival time yu nu again
celebrate wid all yu friends
pu yu arms around dem waist
awn jam down di street don't hesitate.
It's Carnival time, once again
it's the festival of the year
ma ah meet su many diffrant people
draw yu luv one near.
A Carnival time once again...*

(Extract from 'Carnival Time' by Patricia Jones. No date given.

Used here with the kind permission of the poet).

1.1 RE-LOCATING CARNIVAL.

'Carnival' is everywhere. It is a metaphor for vibrancy, colour, 'the exotic'; violence, confrontation, crime; 'racial harmony', hybridity, new cultural formations. Its media representations incorporate the transmuting potency of contemporary British racisms, whilst offering a means for their displacement. Likewise, representations and discussions of 'Carnival' in geography and across the social sciences, are confused, contrasting, textually-based¹, generally lacking any engagement with how *different Carnivals are caught discrepantly in a cultural politics of race and place*². Indeed, Geraldine Connor (1996 p.1) stresses that:

"(D)espite widespread activity, influence and long-established histories, despite high profile as a significant arts event with important and valuable contributions to make to British cultural life and contemporary arts practice, Carnival practice, and more specifically, the aesthetic and contemporary arts practice it represents, remains largely underdeveloped, misunderstood, misrepresented and marginalized".

This research project sets out to offer a perspective on 'Carnival'³ which emphasizes the *significance of memory* as reconstitutive of the cultural politics - multiple spatialities - of events and processes entrenched in and regenerative of hundreds of thousands, millions of identities as they are actively reconstructed today. Throughout this thesis, Carnival is re-located, re-conceptualized through a *participatory ethnography*⁴ which re-presents the events as products and

¹ For example, Lewis and Pile (1996) present a paper on how women's bodies at Rio Carnival are (re)signified through performance, without ever disclosing how these interpretations and conclusions are achieved. It is important that narratives of Carnival - how it is talked about and embodied - are engaged with as well as what the event *might* signify.

² Although there are exceptions. For example, Peter Jackson (1988 and 1992) emphasizes the *contestability of the events* by showing how they are implicated in and re-constructed through the cultural politics - power relations - of their context. More recently, Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers (1997) points to how the Notting Hill Carnival represents and re-articulates West African and Caribbean traditions in a contemporary context which transforms Carnival as a site reconstructed through 'multiple diasaporizations'. However, her emphasis on the multiple histories and geographies of Carnival holds priority over how these spatialities are contested.

³ Acknowledging the constructedness and contestability of the term.

⁴ Involving 'formal' methods such as 'in-depth' interviewing and archival analysis as a complement to 'hands-on' participation in the Carnival process as it is collectively remembered and performed. Here, notions of 'participation' or 'performance' are understood as shaping but not determining this 'ethnographic text', since the performative features of this research are

processes of individual and - *through relation* - collective memorization. Carnival is understood here as influenced by and influential to the (re)formation of 'imagined communities' which are recognized through global/local syncretic invented traditions⁵. The performance and consumption of Carnival thus (re)creates *new ethnicities* and, inseparably, *new racisms* for 'here' and 'now'. It is through these transforming cultural politics that the project (re)develops and reanimates the concept, cultures and materialities of 'place'. The project adds to the renascent importance of 'place' within the spatial lexicon of geography and the social sciences, by introducing the *multiple spatialities of collective memory* as they are re-negotiated through the *performed* reconstruction of specifically *local Carnivals* (Dear 1988; Merrifield 1993; McDowell 1997).

Recent approaches to or applications of 'place' are different from those which preceded them. Today place is not *about* fixity, enclosure, entrenchment (see for example Keith and Pile 1993; May 1996). Neither necessarily is it predicated upon collectivity, internal consistency or 'community' (see for example Duncan and Duncan 1988; Nagar 1997a). Instead it operates as a transforming and transformative process, socially and culturally (re)constructed through networks of social relations which traverse different localities, drawing on links and conflating and mixing with flows from elsewhere as the discrepant spatialities of different collective memories. To be local, to be of a place, is also to be translocal, to have a "global sense of the local, a global sense of place" (Massey 1995 p.68). Places are thus "open and porous" (Massey 1994 p.5), 'distantiated' and

rendered linguistically on the page. The 'non-representational language' of performative forms and feelings such as music and dance is (problematically) *transformed* here as a discursive text (see Thrift 1997).

⁵ They are 'imagined' because there is no actuality or 'reality' to 'community' (or 'place', 'race' etc.). Identities are reconstructed relationally *as process*, reconfigured - re-imagined - as a means of finding location for the 'self' and hence, the 'other' (see Anderson 1991). Furthermore, Anderson's 'imagined community' concept is useful for this project because, by expanding its boundaries beyond those of the 'nation state', the fluidity and constructedness of the multiple spatialities of trans-local collective memories can be represented and discussed.

'disembedded' (Giddens 1990)⁶. Moreover they are the contested terrains across which multiple identities are ascribed and prescribed; multiple communities are represented/mapped out, re-imagined and transgressed; and multiple collective memories, drawing on individually performed spatialities, are authenticated, hegemonized, parodied and opposed.

What then is the sense of a 'sense of place'? If we are constantly looking over our shoulders to the places of our past, if we are ceaselessly searching out, performing, objectifying new identities, if our imagined communities are complexly *globalized*⁷, then surely place is inconsequential, an oxymoron, a retrograde lapse. Herein lies the paradox: with the bewildering depthlessness of this "collapse of spatial barriers" (Harvey 1993 p.293) comes a "*strengthening of local identities*" (Hall 1992a p.306), the "resacralization of place" (Harvey 1993 p.14); and with an "objectiveness of increasing connectedness" (Robertson 1995 p.113) come processes of re-interpretation, versioning, localized consumption and practice (see for example Gopinath 1995; Miller 1995)⁸. This project, through an engagement with Carnival, aims to take us away from place (and thus Carnival) as an authentic (but not authenticated) essence or root, and towards Carnival and

⁶ As a means to discuss the ways in which space and time are increasingly 'compressed', Giddens identifies two related processes - 'distantiation' and 'disembedding'. Distantiation refers to "the conditions under which time and space are organized so as to connect presence and absence" (1990 p.14); while 'disembedding' focuses on the disjuncture of social relations from their local contexts and their relocation and restructuring "across indefinite spans of space-time" (*ibid.* p.21). The local and the global are thus caught up in a dialectical swirl that prioritizes neither and emphasizes their mutuality and inseparability.

⁷ Here this refers to the constant syncretism, creolization and interchange of cultural consumption and performance (see for example Hannerz 1987, 1990, 1996), rather than to one global, homogeneous, *mass* culture. This is similar to what Roland Robertson configures as "the scope and depth of consciousness of the world as a single place", establishing place as an *aspect* of globalization rather than something which prefigures or opposes it (R. Robertson 1995 pp.30-35).

⁸ This project - therefore - argues against discourses of globalization which ignore the continued (increasing?) pervasiveness of 'the local'. Cook and P. Crang (1996 p.133) identify globalization as "...*the social-scientific concept of the 1990s, fostering the same sort of booming publishing economy that postmodernism did in the 1980's*" (original emphasis). This thesis jumps on to this globalizing bandwagon, whilst intentionally dragging its feet behind *and* stopping-off to *make sense of place*.

place as reciprocal, socially (re)constructed, representational 'routes'⁹. Senses of place then are fragile discursive moments of constructed objectification (and therefore abjectness) which develop and continue to develop as part of a *process of memory (re)construction* which is trans-local yet focused through the contested spatialities and interactions of the local - through the (individual and collective) specificity of the *mix*. Carnival captures and transforms these senses of place - these imagined communities. It is performed and consumed locally, organized through the conflation, re-articulation and contestation of trans-local collective memories. This situates the project within such wider arguments which point to the significance of place as it is re-defined through new ethnicities¹⁰; racialized identities working for position through re-negotiations of collective memory as they encounter, contest and incorporate multiple racisms. It is to 'here' that Carnival is re-located.

The first step in this re-location is to bring Carnival out of the welter of disjunctive theories and metaphors. At present, 'Carnival' is understood within 'the academy' as - simultaneously and conflictually - a 'time outside of time' (Alleyne-Dettmers 1996), 'contested territory' (A. Cohen 1982), 'domain of threatening culture' (Gutzmore 1993), 'all ah we t'ing' (Ludlam 1995), 'ritualized Black experience' (Owusu 1986) and 'world upside down' (Burton 1991). Notions of 'Carnival' fissure yet further through the diverse application of the "sociological poetics of Mikhail Bakhtin" (Manning 1989 p.21). Such approaches often invoke notions of

⁹ See Gilroy (1993b) and Clifford (1997) for a discussion of how traditions are 'routed' rather than 'rooted'. To designate a 'root' is to purport to some essence, frozen and protected, transplanted unaltered into the contemporary context. To talk instead of 'routes' is to re-theorize and spatialize 'roots', suggesting instead that traditions, memories, identities ceaselessly transform through movement, inter-connection, syncretism, multiply rooted across space and through time as they are differently re-produced and consumed in context as process. Thus 'from' is replaced by 'through', 'origin' by 'influences', and 'then' and 'there' are reconceptualized as imagined geographies, reconstructed as spatialities (also see for example Anderson 1991; Shields 1992; Hesse 1993; Lemelle *et al* 1994).

¹⁰ See for example, the work of Doreen Massey (1991, 1994, 1995) or Michael Keith and Steve Pile (1993) in geography; Stuart Hall (1991, 1992) or Paul Gilroy (1993) in Cultural Studies; John Eade (1997) and Roland Robertson (1992, 1995) in Sociology; and Daniel Miller (1995, 1997) in Anthropology.

the 'Carnavalesque' to conceptualize Carnival and other forms and activities as inverting, parodic and thus resistant to or transgressive of the norms and structures of 'everyday life' (see for example Folch-Serra 1990; Kapferer 1991; Cresswell 1994a; Werbner 1996), *or* as a cathartic 'safety valve' diffusing conflict 'elsewhere' in society (see for example Eagleton 1981; Burton 1991)¹¹. What is missing is a sense of place and an awareness of memory; an attempt to locate Carnivals as symbols and processes which encapsulate and transform 'the global' through the reconstruction and thus contestation of what 'it means' to be 'local'. An understanding of Carnival requires an engagement with the 'cultural politics of place' (see for example Rose 1994) as they are caught within and re-articulated through spatialities of collective memory - travel stories of identity, imagined communities - which span the globe.

There are 'Carnivals' across the world, *routed* to European traditions such as the Roman feasts of Saturnalia and Isis or the pageantry and mimicry of the Romantic Movement or Faschnacht masquerades in Germany and Scandinavia¹². They are independently and connectively developing as products of slavery, colonization and colonial expansion in regions such as 'The Caribbean'¹³; and transformed yet further through continued and differently directed migrations (re)constitutive of new and recombinant senses of place as 'Carnival' dances through the streets of

¹¹ This is not to say notions of the 'Carnavalesque' - of dialogism, heteroglossia, grotesque realism, *mésalliance* etc. - are not useful and insightful, especially as a way of understanding how identities are relationally (re)constructed (dialogic), composed through the conflation, inversion and re-affirmation of social hierarchies (see Kinser 1990; Gilroy 1993a; Mercer 1994; S. Smith 1994). What is less helpful are the ways 'the Carnavalesque' is used to denote resistance, catharsism or ambiguity without attention to the intentionality and affect of those 'Carnivalizing' - their spatialized/ing identities and identifications.

¹² See Alleyne-Dettmers (1996 pp.2-4) for a brief though illuminating account of 'Carnival's' many European "origins". This is useful for understanding how and through what forms Carnival developed as a distinctive event in places with different colonial histories such as Brazil, Trinidad and Guadeloupe.

¹³ See Nunley and Bettelheim (1988) for an introductory 'guide' to the many Carnival traditions of 'The Caribbean'. By discussing the multiple influences of Carnival - including different European and West African masquerade and musical traditions - the hybridization of form and contestation of meaning prevalent in each Carnival is routed, contextualized through an interpretation of the socio-spatial legacies of place-specific cultural encounters.

'multicultural' 'First World' cities such as Toronto, New York and London, and smaller cities such as Bristol, Nottingham and Leeds. Carnival is everywhere and everywhere it is different; racialized and racializing, a means for the performance and translation of collective memories of 'home', 'diaspora', 'community', 'place'. This project aims to present how *Carnival has many histories and geographies, re-articulated and translated contextually - through place - as it interacts with and transforms the cultures, traditions and collective memories of local people*. This fundamental and re-articulatory facet of Carnival seems to have passed unnoticed, slipping under the noses of social scientists in their recidivist search for resistance and the carnivalesque; yet this approach offers a starting point for the promotion of the significance of Carnival as a major symbol and process of socio-cultural transformation in contemporary Britain. It does this by re-locating Carnivals within '*Cultural Geography*' with an emphasis on collective memories as travel stories for racialized identity, narratives of spatiality through which new forms and new ethnicities emerge, simultaneously undermining and reaffirming notions of 'racial' difference. This approach, therefore, requires further explanation:

i) "...*Carnival has many histories and geographies...*" Beyond the referent 'Carnival', each event is different, patterned by the specificity of its imagined 'origins' as it is remembered and re-constructed by local people. From mid-Somerset float processions to the samba and *mas*¹⁴ of Rio de Janeiro, the aesthetic repertoire and meanings of Carnival are predicated upon when and how the events were introduced and how they have since been transformed/are transforming in their racialized contexts. That they share the name 'Carnival' is perhaps their greatest point of connection.

ii) "...*re-articulated and translated contextually - through place...*" Carnivals are place-specific, inimitably inflected with what Doreen Massey (1995 p.68) describes as "the mixture" of the local. Rather than bounded by place, Carnivals

¹⁴ '*Mas*' is a common abbreviation of 'masquerade' - the variously contested, racialized and politicized processional, performative and costumed element of Carnival.

are trans-local, reconstructed through spatialities - imagined communities - which span the globe. But these connections are understood through place as a “conjunction of many histories and many spaces...in this place now” (Massey 1995 p.191), for it is ‘here’ that they interpenetrate, collide, mix, are politicized and embodied. Moreover, by harnessing, re-articulating and contestably representing imagined geographies ‘from’ elsewhere, Carnival transforms place - the processes are reciprocal - because it is through Carnival (and much more besides) that identities are explored, issues debated and spatialities (re)negotiated to (re)create notions of ‘the local’. To talk of Carnival is to talk of place, and places cannot be divorced from the practices and processes of their reproduction and translation.

iii) “...as it interacts with and transforms the cultures, traditions and collective memories of local people”. Meanings of Carnival and place are contested, multiply intertwined with competing collective memories which are re-articulated and authenticated as senses of tradition and place. Collective memories are reconstructed through difference - abjection and identification, racisms and new alliances - as they are re-spatialized through contextual encounter, syncretism, displacement, repulsion. ‘Local people’ use trans-local imagined geographies (from a global diaspora to their street) - different and overlapping collective memories - as a way of re-locating their identities, re-defining Carnival and place. Such memories are performed - practised, embodied, re-created - to mediate between the ‘collective’ and ‘individual’ through the numerous forms and methods of (non)participation at Carnival.

These are the rudiments of this research project. *Focusing specifically on Carnival in Leeds (Chapelton) and Bristol (St. Paul’s)* - two similarly sized, under-researched¹⁵, 30-year-old ‘African-Caribbean Carnivals’¹⁶ - Carnival is

¹⁵ They have not been entirely neglected. For example, Rachel Spooner (1994 and 1996) discusses the St. Paul’s Carnival as a “potential site of resistance...to dominant notions of Englishness, to representations of place, and to gender roles” (1996 p.187) through a critique of Carnival’s marginality to mainstream constructions of ‘the nation’, the problematizing racialization of St. Paul’s, and the neglect of gender in interpretations of Carnival. Max Farrar (1996a) interprets Chapelton Carnival as offering a release where people “whose lives were

practically engaged with through a participatory, multi-method ethnography¹⁷, explored through its relationship with place as it is *collectively remembered (relationally embodied and narrated) through place and differently inflected in each place*. The emphasis is on local people¹⁸, as they perform - discuss, negotiate, embody - the events' imagined histories and geographies: "'who' is it 'by' and 'for'?" "'Where' has it come from and 'where' is it going?" "How should it be represented and what does it represent?"

As I hope to show, these are matters of space: relational identities are (re)constructed through difference as Carnival is collectively remembered and contested through the invention of tradition and its allocation to exclusive and differently racialized notions of community and place. New racisms prosper alongside and through new alliances; progressive 'new ethnicities' (re)develop through exclusion *and* inclusion. Carnival is thus "a site..." (concept, symbol and

marked by extreme alienation and exclusion...move temporarily into a state in which alienation is reduced ...and exclusion is reduced" (1996a p.3). In the work of both Spooner and Farrar, the multiple spatialities of Carnival - the reconstruction of local racialized identities/senses of place - are sometimes lost within the restrictive dualism of resistance/catharsism.

¹⁶ Events which might be inadequately defined as 'derived from' (routed across) traditions which developed in Africa, the Caribbean and subsequently, in Britain (such as through the cultural and political struggles constituent of slavery, post-'emancipation' colonization, 'de'-colonization, migration and resettlement in 'the metropolitan context'). Coco Fusco (1995 p.338) satirizes Carnival as "the most visible Afro-Caribbean stereotype", suggesting the event has come to be used to 'represent' this 'group', undermining difference and unhelpfully coding modern urban Black populations within dominant stereotypes of exoticism, raw energy, natural rhythm and musicality. Although this project is not loaded with an agenda which seeks specifically to dispel these complex racisms, by engaging with Carnival as it is differently imagined and performed, multiply (de)racialized, (re)constructed through internalizations and representations of 'Whiteness' as it is through notions of 'Blackness', the 'African-Caribbean Carnival' concept will be exposed as cultural short-hand, demoted to a version of the many versions of collective memories of Carnival in Leeds and Bristol. In this sense, the 'African-Caribbean' is a starting point - a provisional location - for these events as they are initially encountered.

¹⁷ Not as a piece of 'ethnographic realism' or as a meta-theoretical treatise of a complex of cultural politics. The 'ethnography' to which I refer is based on a range of different contact-making processes from which situated representations are made and critical yet provisional insights are stipulated. Veracity is not attempted or believed. This is an account of accounts, a contemplation, a serious attempt to bring the cultural dynamics of Carnival and collective memory into contemporary understandings of the cultural politics of place and identity.

¹⁸ People who live in or close to Chapeltown and St. Paul's. Moreover, due to the processes of contact-making employed in this research (see 2.2.3), 'local people' are predominantly 'Black'.

practice) "...where multiple, competing voices struggle to articulate their histories, experiences, hopes, fears and desires in particular circumstances..." (Jackson 1992 p.24). And this can be explored further by emphasizing the contestability of the meanings of *different* Carnivals - as they are (re)spatialized to express and accommodate alternative notions of 'I' and thus 'we' and 'them'. These are specific Carnivals, located, mapped as constitutive of local power relations and refashioned by the global(ized) cultural politics of place. Carnival is thus approached without relying on reifying dualisms of resistance¹⁹ and catharsism (see A. Cohen 1993), high and low culture (Kohl 1993; S. Waterman 1998), 'Black' and 'White' (La Rose 1989, 1990), deep cultural meaning and ambivalence (Owusu 1986, 1988; Lewis and Pile 1996 - respectively). The events in Leeds and Bristol are understood in this project as situationally derived, trans-locally connected. They are constantly reconfigured as a complex of forms and processes which translate 'race', space and time through layer upon layer of overlapping and competing *collective memories* that (re)engage with transforming traditions, imagined communities and fractious identities as part of a re-definition of what it means to be 'here' and 'now' in Chapeltown and St. Paul's (see for example Lowe 1991; Chambers 1994). But collective memories - as a defining feature of this project - require further introduction. In this thesis, Anthropological notions of 'collective memory' which emphasize features such as retrospection and unity, are replaced with an emphasis on the multiple contested spatialities of different, transforming, embodied collective memories. So how are collective memories spatially constituted? How are they theorized for this project?

¹⁹ Understanding Carnival 'as resistance' or through any other reductive ontology stifles meaningful appraisal. For example, processes of resistance are complex, provisional and fragmented. Tim Cresswell (1994b and 1996) questions how something can be termed 'resistance' without some statement or inference of intentionality; and Terry Eagleton (1981) and Daniel Miller (1994) are cynical about the 'resistant qualities' of an event such as Carnival which is temporary, licensed and internally contradictory. Eagleton (1981 p.148) asserts: "Carnival, after all, is a licensed affair in every sense, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual as a revolutionary work of art". Yet, while I agree that Carnival cannot be theorized as overtly and *effectively* 'resistant', it - like a 'revolutionary work of art' - symbolizes and affects consciousness, possibly offering a rallying point for cultural and political solidarity as a means for *change*.

1.2 COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF CARNIVAL AND PLACE.

Identities are relationally (re)constituted, constantly re-arranged through the memorization and translation of spatialities of identification and abjection: 'I come from there', 'they live there', 'we do this', 'they do that' (see for example Kristeva 1982; Fletcher and Benjamin 1990; Sibley 1995a). Value-judgements are attributed to defining principles of groups and individuals as a means of locating identities (see Douglas 1966; Hall 1991a). Collective memories (trans)form through the contestation and accedence of boundaries of individual and group identity (see Connerton 1989). Memory is thus understood in this project as a socially active *process* with a constitutive role in giving people, places, times and events contemporary meaning. It differs from 'history' because it is practised - not retrospectively referential; unfixed, *in motion* - not recorded, "fixed once and for all" (Halbwachs [1950] 1980 p.81); *embodied*, felt, re-articulated through action - not enclosed, textual, scientifically abstracted (see for example Nora 1989; Rowe and Schelling 1993; Confino 1997; Crane 1997; Schwartz 1997). Collective memories develop through ritual - they are a 'rule-governed activity' (Lukes 1975) - as reiterative performances regenerative of 'imagined community' (which can be propinquitous and vicarious), maintaining traditions - group identities - through their commemoration. But these are 'invented traditions' (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), translations - re-inventions - re-shaped by the emergencies, confrontations, interactions of context. There is no pre-existing 'collective memory'. This is because we inhabit many collective memories and they are each "cut across by discontinuities which break or transform them" (Rowe and Schelling 1993 p.17): contested and re-worked, syncretically fused and authenticated, re-articulated and re-drawn through the ruptures of migration, displacement and inter-generational transfer; the distantiation of 'the local'; the reconstruction and valorization of new alliances, re-imagined communities; and their translation as individual performativities (see for example Featherstone 1990; De Coppel 1992; R. Robertson 1995; Waters 1995; Back 1996; May 1996).

Collective memories - embodied narratives of identity²⁰ - are thus expressions of the present, of 'this place', 'this person'. Charles Withers (1996 p.328) writes: "memory is not...a reactionary form of exclusion from the present. Memory and its expression...is a potent means to connect historical meaning and contemporary cultural identity". Multiple collective memories overlap, collide and coalesce; they are destroyed and discontinued, adjusted and restarted, progressively altered as they traverse boundaries, re-imagine spatialities, re-define the symbols and actions of 'community'. They are therefore constitutive of the meanings and forms of Carnival. Collective memories - their contestation, retention and translation - maintain and transform Carnival: they tell old stories, make up new ones, develop and extemporize through the social relations of an unbounded, globally-inflected place. This flexibility, this attention to the transformation of relational identities, means that collective memories - as a heuristic device - neatly contain and explicate the vicissitudes of protection and exchange, authentication and syncretism, and localized globality integral to the re-construction - commentary and embodiment - of place, Carnival and racialized identity.

Collective memory and the body

Bodies are socially-constituted (see for example Merleau-Ponty 1962 and 1968; Radley 1995), 'place(s) of location' (Rich 1986), captured 'dialectically' (Sayer 1989 p.211), "territorialized, deterritorialized and reterritorialized - by modalities of identification, by psychic defence mechanisms, by internalized authorities, by intense feelings, by flows of power and meaning" (Pile 1996 p.209). Postures and expressions, physiques and features, actions and movements, are culturally meaningful, relationally (re)structured, produced and consumed through their social inscription (see for example Schilling 1993; Grosz 1994 and 1995; Pile and Thrift 1995). What we do, how we look, how we feel, are (re)conditioned and

²⁰ Margaret Somers (1994 p.605) emphasizes the "narrative constitution of identity" where telling stories about ourselves and each other to each other is "an ontological condition of social life" (p.614), a means of finding location through "distinctive projections, expectations and memories" (p.614) which are mutually accessible, regenerative of collective belonging.

(re)negotiated through different collective memories of what 'this means'. We find connection, imagine alliance, retreat from association through the embodied sociality of our action. To dance at Carnival, make and wear a *mas* costume, blow a whistle, have a drink, is to engage in a performance socially-constituted through collective memory; simple practices are tied up with complex discourses, deeply felt memories. Thus, these practices are not entirely innocent, individual, impulsive; "there are only bodies in the plural" (Longhurst 1995 p.98)²¹; we actively *perform* identities in context as they are discursively embedded through collective memory, charged with symbolism and affect, and their repeated performance strengthens this memory (see for example, Connerton 1989; Butler 1997; Rostas 1998). Moreover, as movements, appearances, rhythms *and their meanings* transform, so does collective memory; for ritualized, embodied participation is re-articulated through plays of difference across which identities are reconstructed and normalized *in context*, skidding back and forth yet retaining 'tradition'.

Collective memories of the (trans)local

'African-Caribbean Carnivals' in Britain - in Leeds and Bristol - have developed and are developing through mobile relations with collective memories of cultures and aesthetics which were transformed by the bloodshed and oppression of slavery; re-constructed and revived in different island contexts through over a century of colonialism; and then re-located, re-defined in their distinctive contemporary contexts. Collective memories of these processes of 'journeying' (see Gilroy 1993b) are (re)signified through place: a 'spatialized politics of identity' finds its meaning through an 'identity politics of place' (see Keith and Pile 1993; also see Schneider 1990; Eade 1997). Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers (1997 pp.163-4) discusses Carnival in Notting Hill in these terms:

"On the one hand Carnival is confronted with a discourse of dislocation, fragmentation and questions of belonging generated by continuous waves of

²¹ As a relationality of individual actions and feelings (see Rich 1986; Schechner and Appel 1990).

migrations across a constantly compressed world, effected through sophisticated communication networks...” and on the other hand “these minorities need to use that displacement to create other versions of imagined communities, a *new sense of place...*” (Emphasis added).

Collective memories of times ‘back then’ and places ‘elsewhere’; of imagined diasporic spaces, places and affinities, are creatively refracted through the dense multidimensionality of local circumstances, their symbols, forms and feelings understood as ‘traditional’, canonized and performed as ‘authentic’, yet patterned indelibly through the power relations and multiple spatialities - travel stories, racialized identities, local politics - of place. Collective memories traverse multiple spatialities and temporalities: they cling on to essentialized pasts, connect with imagined racialized communities through a politics of diaspora, and are collapsed territorially on to place as “constellations of temporary coherence” (Massey 1997 p.125). Collective memories - senses of tradition, global imagined communities, aesthetic repertoires, boundaries between ‘self’ and ‘other’ - are thus reducible to the local, to senses of place. The multiplicitous performance of Carnival in a place carries with it collective memories routed through multiple spatialities, but they are reiterated, re-articulated, transformed and made sense of through their performed re-constitution as local traditions - *contested collective memories of Carnival in place*.

Collective memories and new ethnicities

The contested meanings of Carnival - its multiple spatialities - are thought out and fought for through a local cultural politics of difference. Collective memories of Carnival are re-articulated, re-spatialized through new senses of place which (re)develop through their performance at Carnival. Through the symbiosis of Carnival and place, identities are creatively re-constructed (see for example Stern and Cicala 1991), ethnicities re-invented (see Hall 1988, 1990, 1991a and 1992a,b,c; Sollors 1989; Gilroy 1993b), and boundaries of community constantly re-aligned *through struggle* to circumscribe notions of ‘(trans)localness’: to be - for example - (simultaneously, independently and differently) Black, White, Jamaican, St. Kittian, English and British *in and through* St. Paul’s or

Chapelton. In these local Carnivals, “struggles over meaning are also struggles over different modes of being or different identities” (C. Dwyer 1993 p.143). Different senses of place - relational and syncretic collective memories - compete for control of the meanings of Carnival, and it is through these processes of contestation that new forms and meanings are explored and nascent identities and identifications emerge. Collective memories of Carnival and place transform through the situational dialectic of identity reconstruction.

Collective memories do not therefore pertain to that which is old and ‘gone’. Rather, collective memories of tradition are predicated upon the ceaseless cultural creativity and expressiveness of new ethnicities as they are syncretically re-formed, individually intoned, situationally translated, dialogically re-articulated across “landscapes of interaction and negotiation” (Back 1996 p.51) within the discrepant “multiculture” of Chapelton and St. Paul’s (also see for example R. Cohen 1978; Korom 1994; Mercer 1994; Gopinath 1995; Shukla 1997). Yet difference is maintained as it is transcended, since new forms, actions, feelings, are ascribed ‘roots’, (de)racialized through contestation as collective memories are re-invented and performed to give coherence to these transforming senses of place. Apparently ‘progressive’ new ethnicities are confronted with and rebuilt through new exclusions, *new racisms*. Carnivals tell stories - travel stories - of these (trans)local cultural politics: they comment on issues, symbolize ‘roots’, embody connections, offer direction. Each costume, sound, taste, movement, feeling, is relationally constituted through collective memories which navigate the entangled spatialities of a transforming context. Carnivals are made by place and they make place, re-affirming and transforming the cultural politics of place and the racialized politics of local identities through the evocation and performance of different and connected individual/collective memories as they sing and shout, jump-up and dance through the streets - transforming the streets - of Chapelton and St. Paul’s.

1.3 A TRAVEL STORY FOR RESEARCHER AND 'RESEARCHED'.

These are 'the basics' which regulate the structure of a purposefully provisional²² 'research problem'; these are the fluid socio-spatial relations which this research project attempts - through strategic closure, allegory, positioned intervention - to map. Here, 'mapping' is a self-conscious research practice, a pragmatic strategy which seeks to offer suggestions, provide a heuristic framework which "set(s) out the modalities through which subjects come to place themselves into power-ridden, discursively-constituted, practically-limited, materially-bounded identities" (Pile and Thrift 1995 p.39; also see Jackson 1989)²³. The project is driven, (re)directed through *processes of exchange*, iterative interpretive entanglements of 'self' and 'other' which re-negotiate position by implicating myself - the 'researcher'²⁴ - as specifically situated and empowered, for it is myself, through 'others', who organizes, illustrates, (mis)represents the psychodynamics of the social relations of research *on the page*²⁵.

This is research as participation, a dialogical *performative ethnography* (see for example Fabian 1990; S. Smith 1994a)²⁶. It fractures, is fluxal, choreographed to meet the mercurial, transfiguring collective memories of Carnival. Like its 'object', it refuses to stand still, operating instead across manifold meanings and feelings of power and position which tell stories which it interprets, relays, re-tells. The

²² It is 'provisional' because it ceaselessly transforms through the restrictions and potentialities encountered in the research process.

²³ Away from research which Miles (1983) criticizes as uninvolved 'spectator knowledge' and Keith (1992) condemns for its 'smug complacency'.

²⁴ Rather than providing an autobiographical 'confessional', specific factors of my 'positionality' are discussed where I consider them to have particular resonance. Although my life-history has an obvious bearing on how this project is approached and written, to attempt to connect specific features of the 'self' as responsible for specific research processes would be both vain and reductively causative (see Fiske 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Marcus 1992).

²⁵ Although limited by the structures imposed by my funding body, the missed opportunities of research, and misinformation/undisclosed information from research informants.

²⁶ Yet the performative ethnography - where I engage with Carnival through participation - loses its immediacy and tactility through its linguistic (mis)appropriation and (re)expression as a narrative or discourse in the pages of this text. Carnivals, as highly performative events, do not translate easily into the written word.

project is thus *a* story - a *travel story* - of how these travel stories are told. If the research problem is to identify and elucidate the spatial practices of collective memory (as they are performed, exchanged, essentialized, displaced; variously and heteronomously 'raced', 'gendered', differentiated; strategically closed, always open; spatially inflected, contextually specific, trans-locally connective, in *perpetual motion*); then the research practice must provide a suitable response. Collective memories are co-ordinated through their spatial practice and positional relationality, and so is the research: travel stories represented through a travel story, research theory which hovers *above* Carnival (a textual analysis) extended to research practice *about* Carnival (a participatory project).

But this is not the research practice of a 'postmodern ethnography' (see Marcus and Fischer 1986; Clifford 1988) which uses metaphors of 'movement' and 'travel' to alleviate a 'crisis of representation' (see Marcus and Fischer 1986; Jameson 1984)²⁷ through an appeal to a free-flowing interpenetration of identities which offer researcher/researched affinity and commensurability through the casual facilitation of a 'new cultural politics of difference'²⁸. This project engages with a 'postmodern ethnography' for which *movement is a problem* just as it is a methodological asset. Christopher Miller (1993 p.33) argues "we" need "a less utopian, less arrogant, and less messianic theorization of movement, a positive cosmopolitanism that remains meticulously aware of localities and differences, a more convincing ethic of flow". What is important is that the discrepant spatialities of research practice - shared and inaccessible spaces, vicissitudinous

²⁷ And here there are variations on a theme: for example, Geertz talks of "epistemological hypochondria" (1988 p.71) in the "burden of authorship" (1988 p.138), Jeater (1992 p.107) asks whether there is a "crisis in white self-esteem?", Tedlock (1983 p.323) emphasizes "the world between ourselves and others", Said (1989 p.212) talks of the 'problematic of the observer', Grosz (1995 p.25) points to a "crisis of reason" 'infecting' knowledges in humanities and social sciences.

²⁸ Not everything is as 'progressive' as it seems, for despite the potential for alliance in those hybrid post-colonial, decentred 'third spaces' (see for example Pile 1994; Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996), exclusionary practices remain, and interpersonal barriers are reconstructed and fortified through discrepant interpretations of what these 'new' spatialities 'really' mean (see Back 1996).

relational identities, fluctuating factors of primary difference²⁹ - re-engage a cultural politics of difference which retains an understanding of 'the field' as 'a spatial practice' or 'travel story' (see De Certeau 1984; Clifford 1997; Giroux 1992; Probyn 1993). But this should be conceptualized as a relationship which is contextually inimitable, performed and staged to reveal and deceive, misdirecting the researcher, misrepresenting the researched, "unequally situated, situationally lop-sided, spatially dislocated, temporally isolated, extrinsic in purpose - it oozes with power" (Katz 1992 p.496; also see Sidaway 1992; Robson and Willis 1994).

Power - including the potential for misinformation by 'gatekeepers', misinterpretation from researchers - fluctuates in a positional welter and transforms encounter to encounter, sentence to sentence³⁰. This demands that the researcher is 'reflexive' (see for example, Turner and Bruner 1986; England 1994; Moss 1995) without lapsing into narcissism, (see for example Babcock 1980; Llobera 1987; Emberly 1993), where "the writer's subject becomes the writer's object and the writer's object slides gently away" (Pile and Thrift 1995 p.16). What is required is a *politics of location* (Rich 1986; also see Haraway 1991), a situated, relational understanding of the research process which implicates both researcher and researched *through* each other:

"The people are...the textually delegated, allegorical emblem of the critic's own activity. Their *ethos* may be constructed as other, but it is used as the ethnographer's mask" (Morris 1988 p.17, original emphasis).

"What the informants tell aren't 'cultural truths' - they're circumstantial responses to the ethnographer's presence and questioning" (Clifford 1986a p.107).

"(Q)uestions of gender, class, race, nationality, politics, history, and experience shape our research and our interpretations of the world, however much we are

²⁹ Where (re)constructed markers of identity - gendered, racialized sexualities - are variously pre-eminent, each operating as a modality through which alternative positional signifiers are transcoded. Interpretations of my Whiteness, masculinity, age, class etc., variously affect the social relations - practices of power - of each research encounter.

³⁰ Cotterill (1992) makes the point that there are constant shifts of power in the research process, and Goldkind (1970) and Herzfeld (1983) argue that research informants act as 'cultural brokers', innovatively concealing and revealing information depending on their motives and how the researcher is 'read' (also see Portelli 1981; Crick 1992).

supposed to deny it. The task, then, is not to do away with these things, but to know them and learn from them” (Schoenberger 1992 p.218).

A politics of location falls short of offering a “trope of authenticity”, flattening positional disparities “between those doing the representing and those who they represent” (Duncan and Sharp 1993 p.474), especially since reflexivity cannot reveal the ‘self’ to the ‘self’, for “a perspectively organized space of self/knowledge will always produce a self whose vulnerabilities are obscured”³¹ (Rose 1995a p.778). But this is not to say ‘others’ (or the ‘self’) cannot be *represented*, because “there is no unrepresentable subaltern subject that can know and speak itself”, and thus, “the intellectual’s solution is not to abstain from representation” (Spivak 1988 p.285). Moreover, Salman Rushdie asks, “is history to be the property of the participants solely?” (Rushdie 1983 p.28)³². By acknowledging the ‘partiality of our visions’ (Clifford 1986b), discussing - representing - the ethnocentric, gendered (etc.) axes of our knowledge, research can be delicately managed, poised productively as a relational dialogue of inter-cultural performance, a series of transformational encounters, ‘focused interactions’ (see Goffman 1956, in P. Crang 1994), multiple identifications which unleash a range of narratives - positionalities - materialized through embodied interaction and processes of inscription. Donna Haraway (1993 p.32) argues “there is no pre-discursive identity for anyone: our boundaries form in encounter, in relation, in discourse”. The collective memories expressed, interpreted, represented in this research project are collations, re-collections, situated interpretations. They are pieced together through relocation and transformation, grafted on to the page as a product of unequal, ambivalent, biased, contextually inflected, theoretically abstracted *stories* of encounter.

³¹ Or, as Elizabeth Grosz, (1995 p.13) writes, citing Barthes and Derrida, “(T)he author’s intentions, emotions, psyche, and interiority are not only inaccessible to readers, they are likely to be inaccessible to the author herself...(T)he author’s signature...is not a full presence that somehow stands outside the text...(N)either quite outside the text nor at home within it, the signature is a trace resonating and disseminating the textual exterior with its interior”.

³² And it might be argued that I am a participant in these histories - they are not the exclusive domain of ‘the researched’ - for I am implicated in the recollection process, my presence influencing how history is reconstructed, re-imagined, *performed*.

1.4 AND SO THE STORY GOES...

The thesis is divided into 7 chapters. Chapter Two describes, discusses and critiques the positional transformations and (re)presentational strategies - *the methodology* - of a year-long performative ethnography which engages with the spatialities of Carnival as they are reconstructed through two places - Chapelton and St. Paul's. The chapter represents the research project as a series of situated social encounters: power-ridden, reciprocal and interactive. Different encounters are arranged chronologically, denoted as '*research positions*'. 'Position One' discusses the development of research design prior to and during its initial 'testing', as I made 'forays into the field', visited each place and Carnival as a 'Carnival novice', 'made contact', re-formulated ideas. 'Position Two' engages with how relationships - between 'self' and 'other', 'home' and 'the field' - develop, are *managed* and negotiated through the design and application of *four main methods*: 'in-depth' interviewing, participant observation, focus groups and archival analysis. 'Position Three' makes the connection between the practical research process and its appropriation, translation and representation *on the page*. The chapter is thus spatially constituted; it represents a 'journey': put simply, I enter 'the field', apply 'the method', construct a diary, leave 'the field', continue writing. However, these spatial dichotomies are exposed for their falsity, reconfigured instead as boundaries of consciousness constantly breached through the *relationality* of research encounters and the cumulative intuitive process of project formulation. Ideas are (re)formed and conclusions reached based on situated embodied knowledge which is contingent with the *connections* of relationally-constituted identities where spaces are shared as they are mutually inaccessible. The objectivity of separation is thus denounced; replaced by an understanding of research 'findings' as inherently (inter)personal, arbitrarily closed, situationally staged.

Chapter Three focuses on those more bounded senses of place incorporated into and performed through collective memories of *specifically local*

Carnivals. Like other chapters, it is a representation, an interpretive version of processes as I - through relation - 'see it'. Chapeltown and St. Paul's are introduced as *different* places with contrasting migration histories, local politics and built environments; yet as *similarly represented* 'inner cities', pathologized, criminalized, racialized through dominant socio-spatial discourses of the city, as decaying, violent and Black. These hegemonic spatializations are internalized, contested, negotiated and re-worked through discourses of Carnival *within* Chapeltown and St. Paul's, as, for example, an event which brings the 'community' together despite discord, vice and crime; that is 'free of trouble' as if this is unusual given the location. The event is thus conceptualized and objectified by local people through an awareness of the dominant popular geography of place. It re-constructs place through a critical engagement with collective memories of these racializing stereotypes.

A central organizing feature for these local politics of Carnival is the conflation of 'race', 'community' and 'place', where Carnival is actively (re)constructed in form and meaning to *tell stories about place* in terms of a version of place coded to represent the 'Black community'. Here, through a predominant contact with local Black people, the chapter explores the ways Carnival operates differently in each place as an 'inscriptive' and 'incorporating' process that articulates - commentates on - particularly racialized collective memories of place. Specific reference is made to how Carnival is organized, officiated and thematically directed as a selectively inclusive collective memory of 'local issues', 'local people' and 'local events', where 'the local' is naturalized through contextually specific notions of 'Blackness'; but also to how these memories are re-invented through the affectual unity, rhythmic solidarity and playful innovation of their performative embodiment. Yet the chapter closes by emphasizing how these processes of collective memorization are undercut, contested, translated through a re-articulation of the multidimensionality of the local which implicates alternative collective memories, incorporates and syncretizes discrepant and overlapping

spatialities (exclusions and inclusions) to actively re-make 'Blackness', 'community', and thus Carnival and place.

These contested senses of place are a product and process of discrepant trans-local connections: imagined communities and invented traditions collectively remembered by different people, in different ways, as 'from' elsewhere. Rather than 'looking inwards' towards the cultural politics of a discursively bounded 'place', **Chapter Four faces the other way(s), to critically locate Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's as diasporized and diasporizing. They are differently re-articulated through associations - travel stories - authenticated as rooted to specific times and places and contemporaneously connected to imagined communities heuristically defined as 'disaporic'.** These trans-local *collective memories* interact in and are transformed through place to re-create place whilst retaining an imagined fidelity to traditions 'from' outside. The chapter (re)presents some of these travel stories, situating collective memories of Carnival and place as (re)constructed through *processes* of diasporization which inflect each event according to different and contested collective memories of 'home'. The provisionality, variability and selectiveness of diaspora constructs are emphasized through a discussion of how *Carnival is ceaselessly re-spatialized and re-worked through mas camp participation in Chapeltown* to normalize the event through invented traditions which come to signify individually-inflected local traditions by authenticating that which 'happened/happens' elsewhere. This local, embodied and contested re-articulation of the trans-temporal 'global' is then re-emphasized by showing how Carnival is re-focused by Carnival organizers in St. Paul's through *the espousal and promotion of the significance and influence of 'Afrika'³³*, as the ideological and cultural bedrock of the event. 'Afrika' is invoked - imagined and represented - as constituent of 'the local': 'rooted' to local identities, valorized as a feature of Blackness. Yet it is contested and re-worked by

³³ Where 'Afrika' is spelt with a 'k' to emphasize a non-European perspective. However, 'Afrika' has many meanings, reconstituted through contested spatialities of collective memory. These are discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

local (differently 'raced', 'Black' and 'White') (non)participants through a cultural politics of protection and exchange through which Carnival is re-invented as a local 'community' event *in relation* to divergent notions of Afrika.

These contested spatialities of Carnival are locked into processes of authentication: rooting specific forms and meanings as definitive of 'Carnival' through an aesthetics derivative of trans-local communal identification. But imagined connections are reconstructed and contested locally - in St. Paul's and Chapeltown - as constitutive of an identity politics of place. **Chapter Five discusses how processes of authentication in Chapeltown work to redefine the social relations of place through the ascription of boundaries predicated upon imagined trans-local connections.** Carnival operates discursively as a *marker of difference*; it delineates discrepant identities and identifications *within* the 'local Black community' by using notions of authenticity to separate - variously - 'traditionalists' from 'reformers', 'young' from 'old', those with 'respect' from those who flout 'their' heritage. Carnival is thus used by local Black people to validate 'themselves' and define 'others'; to understand and map the multiple positionalities of place. And discourses of Carnival are made sense of *in context* to re-affirm and re-negotiate *spatialities of difference* which exist independent of the events where, for a caricatured example, 'those non-traditionalists' share the identities of 'those criminals on that street corner', or 'those traditionalists' are recognizable - there is a discursive continuity - as those 'stuffy, irrelevant first generation elders'. The contested collective memories of Carnival and place (and thus community) are therefore mutually inseparable, reciprocally regenerative, ceaselessly transformative of a cultural politics based upon localized re-inscriptions of trans-local - becoming local - forms and meanings.

This point is re-affirmed in **Chapter Six through a discussion of the localized globality of music at Carnival in St. Paul's.** Music is approached here as

textual, discursive and performative: it provides commentary, is commented upon and embodied³⁴. Collective memories of musical roots/routes are constantly re-signified through their production and consumption on the streets during Carnival. These musics are 'Black', 'Jamaican', distinctly 'Bristolian', variously (de)racialized and (trans)localized through the authentication of imagined spatialities. What *makes* them 'Black', 'multi-racial' and/or 'from St. Paul's' is not important; what matters is that they are *imagined* through these modalities of difference. Indeed, the chapter explores how Black and White local people re-interpret hybrid musical forms such as 'jungle' by making, re-making, mediating and authenticating *the form* as 'from somewhere', and 'by and for someone'. It is here that disparities of interpretation between a purely textual and a discursive/participatory analysis are most apparent. As 'text', musics such as jungle are syncretic, hybrid, achieved through local inter-'racial' emulation and affect; yet discursively - when talked about - their progressiveness deteriorates, for their meanings are contested, reconstructed through negotiations of exclusivities and inclusivities, roots and routes. Music is used in Carnival to locate racialized identities through the performance and consumption of contested and constantly re-forming collective memories which traverse the globe, are (re)constitutive of new ethnicities, yet also bolster difference, vacate trans-'racial' alliance.

These collective memories offer transformative senses of place - are hybrid, translated - whilst appearing for many to stay the same: new forms have old traditions, global technologies tell local stories. 'Carnival' is (re)constructed and re-invented as a multiply-articulated concept and practice. It symbolizes, transforms, is embodied as constitutive and representative of different, overlapping, relational spatialities and temporalities of *collective memory*. 'It' is product and process, touched and dreamt, a "historical formation, an enactment, a political construct, a shifting paradox, an ongoing translation, an emblem...a nonconsensual negotiation of contrastive identity, and more" (Boon 1990, quoted

³⁴ Where this 'ethnography' struggles to represent that which is performed, heard and felt.

in Clifford 1997 p24). The final chapter re-articulates this notion of Carnival through a discussion of how - within Carnival - identities are re-constructed and senses of place re-created through the individualized, trans-local transformation of collective memories. Prominent spatialities of the project are re-introduced, mapped out as positionalities which might be termed 'new ethnicities'. Every summer, on the streets of St. Paul's and Chapeltown, people dance, listen to and play music, eat, drink. They are *performing* collective memories of 'community', 'race' and 'tradition'; re-defining the 'self' and re-articulating *senses of place* through exclusion, inclusion, in-exclusion. And these senses of place are in motion, transforming through the interpenetration of different forms and feelings, re-configured through the displacement and recombination of different ethnicities and racisms, recreating Carnival *through each place* as a symbol and practice of spatialities of collective memory which reveal so much about what it means to be 'here' 'now'. This has implications for everybody - not just those who celebrate the progressiveness of these new senses of place - for even the most essentialized, obdurately purist and 'racially' exclusive collective memories are re-invented and re-moulded through the emergencies and relativisms of context. Even they work to recreate ethnicities which are *new, in new ways*.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH AS PRACTICE, PERFORMANCE, PROCESS, POSITION, PROVISIONALITY, POWER

"Fieldwork...is not carried out 'from the door of one's tent': it's a confrontation of dialogue between two parties involved in a joint creation of otherness and selfness" (K. Dwyer 1977 p.147).

"For all the rhetoric about dialogue, ethnographic practice implies intrusion and possibly, pain" (Hastrup 1992 p.123).

"The analysis, elaboration and bringing into question of power relations...is a permanent political task inherent in all social existence" (Foucault 1982 p.223).

"12/11/96...Before entering the music class, I went to the toilet to freshen-up, get ready. I was nervous: how would they react?; what would I do?; what could I say?...it (the toilet) was full of young Black guys, huddled around the cubicles, sitting on sinks. When I entered it was like "Wo" - laughing, jeering - like "who's this White guy?"...I smiled, they looked me up and down, noted my clothes. One guy said, "are you the funkadelic of the funkadelic?"... "Yeah" I said, and repeated his phrase. There was laughter, acknowledgement; it chilled me out, helped my confidence...not a lot embarrasses me anymore..." (Notes from my research diary before entering the 'Mandela Centre Singing Class' for the first time').

2.1 HUNG-UP, HANGING OUT, HITCHING A RIDE,

This chapter is structured as a chronological narrative. It represents a journey through the positional fluxes, methodological transformations, (re)presentational strategies employed from the outset of the research process to its enforced 'completion'. Each section of the chapter is denoted as a *position*. 'Position One' (2.2) describes, discusses and critiques processes prior to and involving initial 'forays into the field' - those explorations and examinations of the 'research problem' which ask: where should the research be based? Through which methods? With whom? These are processes of 'way-finding' and 'place-learning' (see Ley 1988), 'arrival scenes' (see M. L. Pratt 1986) involving 'immersive' strategies of participant observation (see Jeans 1983) designed to make contact(s), test viabilities, manipulate situations to enable subsequent research encounters. It is here that research as a spatial practice - a travel story - begins. I pack my belongings, move to 'the field', leave behind 'the familiar', encounter 'the strange', write it down in a diary. Spatial and temporal distinctions are *(re)constructed* between 'there' and 'here', 'then' and 'now', 'them' and 'us' (see Grossberg 1988; Clifford 1997); 'new' places are 'encountered' (see Burgess and Jackson 1992), explored - watched, listened to and smelt - from on foot, the top of a bus, by bike, through a cafe window, on the telephone. Situated understandings of the relationship between Carnival and place are (re)developed, mobilised, made (il)legible through the inquisitive tactile wanderings and investigative 'snowballing' techniques of a naively constituted exploratory research (see Bernard 1988 p.98). Rules are developed, ethics emerge: what is (in)accessible, (im)possible, (in)sensitive, (in)appropriate; who will/will not speak, is helpful/restrictive, friendly/affronting. These are emergent positions of the psychodynamics of research, influential factors which arbitrate and condition the direction and pattern of subsequent practices, as I encounter, interpret and represent the active reconstruction of collective memories.

But they are transforming positions, preliminary processes of familiarization - I make myself known, available, and relationships begin. Moreover, they are positions predicated on a false and 'heroically masculine' spatial dualism of 'home' and 'the field'; tackled with the facile lope and gaze of 'the flâneur' (see Pile 1996; Sparke 1996). Visweswaran (1994 p.113) argues that "(F)ield and home are dependent, not mutually exclusive, and...the lines between fieldwork and homework are not always distinct...(H)ome once interrogated is a place we have never before seen". 'Position Two' (2.3) discusses how relationships (between 'self' and 'other', 'home' and 'the field') develop, are *managed* and *negotiated*. Initial explorative research is re-structured: commitments are made, loyalties emerge, the research problem is flexibly re-aligned to connect to the dynamic spaces of the research encounter. This part of the chapter offers an explanation of why and how certain methods - '*participant observation*', '*in-depth interviews*', '*natural focus groups*', '*archival retrievals*' - are used, and why alternatives are not; why certain individuals and groups are approached whilst others are ignored, avoided, inaccessible; and how each research relationship and technology works to provide different systems of knowledge, discrepant inter/intra-personal dynamics of power. The travel story continues: I live in the area, it is differently negotiated, 'informers' become friends¹; I move as an interviewer, participant observer, 'outsider', 'insider'; I leave the area (but take 'it' with me), move elsewhere, return. Senses of place, positional identities, meanings, directions, memories, expectations - embodied intramural practices of a relationally constituted self - flow back and forth, location to location, encounter to encounter, before they are stopped, trapped, arbitrarily frozen and inadequately represented on the pages of the research diary², in transcripts, in this text. Such representations can never adequately convey what is understood, *felt* in practice:

¹ See Hendry (1994) for a discussion of how research friendships can introduce the researcher to new opportunities as they are encountered through alliance, whilst also blurring that which is 'under analysis' through the ambiguities of researcher/researched/friend relationships.

² Written every day, several times a day, filling several (thick) volumes with anecdotes and interpretations.

"To situate our understandings in practices is to see it as implicit in our activity, and hence as going well beyond what we manage to frame representations of. We do frame representations: we explicitly formulate what our world is like, what we aim at, what we are doing. But much of our intelligent action, sensitive as it usually is to our situation and goals, is usually carried on unformulated. It flows from an understanding which is largely inarticulate" (Taylor 1993 pp.49-50).

Spatial *practices* of research - 'tactical improvization' and 'formal methodology' (see Clifford 1997 p.86) - involve intuitive interpretations as emotional, *performative embodied identities*, which are reduced, abstracted, re-articulated through a different medium, at a different time, in a different space, for a different audience. These are 'theory-laden' (see Evans 1988) "islands in the sea of our unformulated practical grasp of the world" (Taylor 1993 p.50), textual strategies which conceal as they reveal.

This is the way links between ethnographic practice, interpretation and representation, should be understood. Situatedness, constraints, gaps between 'object' and representation, are 'facts' of research. But this should not discourage the researcher from attempting new practices and employing alternative writing strategies. Indeed, the complex interrelationships of research practice demand that innovative, flexible, self-consciously provisional methodologies and narratives of contact are performed. 'Position Two' moves through processes of interviewing and archival analysis to the immediate, unwritten psychodynamics of participatory research - those embodied investments 'into' spaces of collective memory which offer alternative, particularly embodied situational perspectives. Detailed attention is given to practices of participant observation before and at Carnival, as I *participated in the Carnival process in St. Paul's and Chapelton as a member of a mas camp³ and Carnival volunteer*. 'Where' was I during the masquerade? 'Who' was I in the crowd or *mas camp*? What did I do while 'the people' made

³ A *mas camp*' is a group which meets to design, develop and manufacture Carnival costumes for a *troupe*- the group of masqueraders wearing costumes produced by a specific *mas camp*, and that troupe's *Queen* - the main figurehead costume. There is considerable intra-local secrecy and rivalry between each *mas camp* because costumes are judged in terms of their 'quality', 'creativity', 'originality' and 'authenticity' (see 4.3.1).

costumes and danced? This is *ethnography as performance* (see for example Fabian 1990; Coplan 1997), situated alongside those directly 'informative ethnographies' drawn from the interviews or archives. By being there - differentially participating - barriers are shifted (but not broken down), relationships change, alternative interpretations are facilitated. Johannes Fabian (1990 p.18) argues "'performance' seems to be a more accurate description both of the ways people realize their culture and of the method by which an ethnographer produces knowledge about that culture". Differences and inaccessibilities remain, but by at least attempting to 'live it', 'feel it', move with the performances of collective memory, connective empathies can be imagined, alternative nuances can be explored, ethnographic authority is re-situated.

But then 'it' is 'recorded'; objectified, rationalized, conceptualized, limited and distanced through the semantic deficiencies of the written word, translated in 'the comparative environment of the university' (see Clifford 1997). David Coplan (1997) suggests that despite the enactment of a self-conscious and sensuous performative ethnography, the idea that this can then spill intact on to the page, is a fallacy. However, the idiosyncrasies of intrusion, contamination and embodied alliance enacted and experienced through performative ethnography do provide the researcher with the possibility of developing alternative writing strategies which emphasize the vividness of the research encounter through a lyrical freedom which complements those more confined, evidentially substantive methods of textual deconstruction prevalent in social research. There is room for some creativity, even 'poetics', indiscursive abstraction (see Meinig 1983), if only to offer relief from the plodding rigour of paranoid post-colonial treatises which stand awkwardly in the sidelines, anaesthetizing the reader through a fear that they will be accused of "throwing off even some of the shackles of...history or of internalizing what the condition of being 'the other' is all about" (Harvey 1992 p.303). The point surely is to offer some interpretation rather than accepting remoteness and writing within these self-imposed limits. This research project aims for complementarity - between observation and 'information', creative description

and analytical deconstruction. Numerous texts provide differently nuanced interpretations; *each* partial, situated, evocative of discrepant spatialities of collective memory; *together* suggestive of a wider 'pattern' of fluid, relational, though symbolically *ordered* identities.

Correspondingly, 'Position Three' (2.4) makes the connection between the practical research process and its subsequent and ongoing translation through 'research materials' and 'experiences' as they are represented *on the page*. This is the final journey: I leave 'the field', phase-out and artificially halt and suspend 'official' relations, return to the academy, decode texts, systematize memories, label, simplify, compartmentalize, make situated deductions. Not everything is verifiable, all is interpretation: intuitive and codified, selectively emphasized, consciously and unknowingly guided by the power relations which structure the specifically slanted positionalities of the research encounter. And it is *re-interpreted* after the research encounter, at a different time and place, muddied and blurred through the reconstruction of an incomplete and fading memory to which I give my signature - claim ownership. It is incomplete, a provisional expression of interpersonal research-orientated relations, "a remnant, a remainder of and testimony to both a living past and a set of irreducible and ineliminable corporeal traces" (Grosz 1995 p.21) which do not proffer 'proofs', 'truths', 'reality', but offer partial understandings, situated knowledges, fragments which are linked, ideas which are conceptualized - made whole - through their discursive (re)constitution as a multiply-inflected text.

This provisionality is expressed through strategies of writing. In this project, chapters are not concluded with the affirming seal of a full-stop, but are left open, articulated as a necessarily incomplete position which flows into the next chapter or previous chapter - and beyond - through a refusal to settle down with a conveniently abstracted 'answer'. The project is (re)constructed as a purposefully discussive engagement with identities and identifications as they are in motion,

contingent, both inside and outside boundaries which are 'named' and rebuked as arguments flow together or are criss-crossed with alternative positions. This is not to say the project refrains from representation: it is *constituted as a representation*, offering interpretations, versions of feeling and meaning as they are expressed through research encounters and translated - re-directed - on to the page. That these representations are situated, provisional, unsealed and written with this emphasis, suggests an awareness that forthcoming arguments are representations without representativeness, contestable positions enfolded in the practical embodied psychodynamics of power-ridden, relationally-constituted research. Mobile research relationships (re)create mobile writing strategies which rely on momentary fixity - the representation - before regaining a momentum of transformation. Again, a travel story of a travel story which interprets travel stories is represented paradoxically as a series of movements - ongoing processes - caught briefly and thus strategically, on the page.

2.2 POSITION ONE:

ENCOUNTERING PLACE, FINDING A PLACE - 'GETTING IN THERE' AS A STRATEGY WITHOUT GUARANTEES.

"Access to the raw material of experiential research involves not detached observation but purposive entry into a stream of social encounters" (D. M. Smith 1988 p.2).

"The proper spaces created for the city by the view from above - whether embodied in the visual regimes of the panoptic gaze or cartography - are interrupted, resignified and torn by the everyday practices of moving by foot" (Pile 1996 p.226).

"11/4/97...Sitting in St. Agnes Park, enjoying the sun. The hang-over is wearing off. Have just walked through the streets of St. Paul's and Montpelier. There's a cafe in the middle of St. Paul's which I've never noticed before - will have to check it out. Also a club down a dark alley in Montpelier which Chris's mate recommended earlier today: "the only place round here you can skin-up, because there are no cameras...Smith and Mighty, all the crew are there"...a 'scene', a gathering, sense of place..." (Notes from my research diary as I settled into 'life in St. Paul's').

2.2.1 The importance of 'place'...

Carnival provides narratives and is narrated upon through collective memories founded and performed through joint action - made intelligible as 'community' - which are situated, discursively constituted, embodied in context as reliant on and constitutive of the specificities of *place*. As Casey (1993 pp.103-4) suggests:

*"Just as there is no place without body - without the physical or psychical traces of body - so there is no body without place. This is so whether we are thinking of body in relation to its own proto-place, its immediately surrounding zonal places, its oppositional counter-places, its congenial common places, or in relation to landscaped regions configured by such things as landmarks and lakes, towns and trees. For the lived body is not only locatory...it is always already *implaced*" (Added emphasis).*

Carnival is transformed by place, transforms place. Places are different - "formed out of the specificity of interactions which occur at that location" (Massey 1994 p.168) - and reconstructed as process - "the meeting of...social relations at that location will in turn produce new social effects" (Massey 1994 p.168). Collective memories of Carnival are re-articulated in context through the specificities - 'the embodied mix' - of place: multiple racialized and racializing spatialities and

temporalities are re-configured, re-imagined through social relations which are (trans)local, operating within and across the porous though constructedly closed boundaries of a discursive, expressive, practically-evoked 'place' (see for example 1.1, and Chapter 3). 'Carnival' and 'place' are artificially separated concepts, for each is implicated in the other's re-construction, cohabiting a semantic territory or 'Symbolic Order' (see Lacan 1973; Pile 1996), as they are performed and made sense of through processes of spatialization which are available and relativized as specifically local (see Chapter 5). It is therefore important that this project engages with collective memories of place - as they intertwine with collective memories of 'home', 'community', 'then' and 'there' - if it is to develop insights into the different individual spatialities and temporalities which (re)constitute collective memories of Carnival. Likewise, much can be learned about a place through research which 'focuses' on Carnival. Thus, a practical, methodological implication arises where, regardless of how the dialectic is termed, the research is as much 'about' the dynamic spatialities of place as it is the transforming collective memories of Carnival, for each is re-articulated and translated through the other: in name, identities, identifications and structure.

This offers a way out of the meta-theory, an escape from the lure of academia's recidivist metaphorization. Gerry Pratt (1992 p.244) argues, "we should...recognize the limits of any metaphor and resist being seduced by geographical and spatial metaphors that are ultimately aspatial and insensitive to place". In response, this project focuses on not one, but two *actual places* - Leeds (Chapelton) and Bristol (St. Paul's), as a means to discuss how and why collective memories of Carnival are linked so indisseverably to the cultural politics of social relations as they are *practised* through the specific spatialities of a given place. This is not a comparative project: no attempt is made to research each place 'equally', using replica methods, talking to 'equivalent' people, holding Carnival aloft as an object to be studied for which the characteristics of each place can be

ticked-off for degrees of similarity and difference⁴. Rather, the emphasis is on how places - Carnivals - collective memories - are inflected through processes of spatialization which are exclusive, inimitably 'local'⁵. To begin to understand these processes necessitates that research encounters occur in more than one place: otherwise, spatial metaphors which implicate 'place' (rather than the constitutive spaces 'within' a place⁶) remain metaphorical, suppositional, untouched by practical investigation. This project, and thus its methodology, aims to illuminate processes through which collective memories of Carnival and place are re-articulated through each other. Without examples from more than one place, the distinctiveness of these processes cannot be claimed or recognized, and connections - trans-local collective memories which transcend place through imagined communal affiliation - can only be assumed. If Carnival is 'translated' and 're-articulated' in and through context, then it must be relativized (if not compared) as a relational construct which shares points of articulation, thus enabling them to be re-articulated elsewhere.

So why Leeds and Bristol? Like all places, Leeds and Bristol have similarities and differences (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed geographical and historical 'background'). Here is a crude geographical simplification: they are 'regional centres' because they have large populations (inside and outside their boundaries), numerous shops and services; are industrially and financially 'important' (Leeds as a 'textile town', financial and legal centre; Bristol as a port, banking and insurance centre); and 'culturally' prominent (for example, Leeds has the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Bristol (barely) supports its own 'Old Vic'). But at first these factors

⁴ For Clifford (1997 p.57) "multi-locale *fieldwork* is an oxymoron". He asks, "(H)ow many sites can be studied intensively before criteria of 'depth' are compromised?" (original emphasis). While I agree that information might be lost by dividing the researcher's time and attention into two or more places, this deficit is amply regained by understanding - securing 'evidence' - of how places are (de)linked as multiply-spatialized sites which operate distinctly through rather than against their relationality with places and times elsewhere and/or 'back then'.

⁵ Chapters 5 and 6 focus specifically on Chapeltown and St. Paul's respectively, situating 'the local' within the broader trans-local context of the overall project.

⁶ Although even these are located/overlapped with spaces 'outside' a given place.

were of little concern. What I considered important was that they also have old, reasonably large, differentially 'routed' 'Black' (meaning for these purposes 'African-Caribbean') populations who live or are hegemonically located as living in certain suburbs/places - Chapeltown and St. Paul's - which, in 1997, both had a Carnival for the thirtieth year in succession. Herein lies the *research opportunity*: two Carnivals of equivalent age and size in two similarly racialized and problematized (folk)loric places; yet two Carnivals translated differently through 'the mix' of place - 'who' lives there, 'where' they or their antecedents came 'from', how these varying spatialities of identity and tradition interact to re-create place and re-articulate Carnival. This is where the geographical simplification (or is it a caricature?) ends, and the research process begins, for it is from this starting point - this anticipative template⁷ - that I first 'visited' these places as 'research locations' to be 'studied'.

2.2.2 Walking the streets in search of 'place'...

"6/1/97...Walking through Chapeltown...the guys in flash cars with tinted windows, an old woman dragging a shopping trolley across an uneven pavement, the cosmopolitan post office queue...walked round to Jamaica House - a grand place with a Georgian facade...past St. Martin's Church...tried to find Caroline but she wasn't there...across the back streets of Spencer Place...very tatty - tall four-storey houses backing on to litter, old fires, and then on to tiny terraced houses - many of them boarded-up/with smashed windows...went to newsagents with a sign saying 'Asian newspapers sold here'..." (Notes from my research diary after returning to Chapeltown after the Christmas 'break').

The above extract offers clues regarding what I did and who I might have been as I 'entered the field'. Overall, fourteen months were spent living in or regularly 'visiting' Chapeltown and St. Paul's. A space/time-table for the 'hands-on' ethnographic research can be constructed thus:

⁷ Which was theoretically located *prior* to beginning the practical research process through an interest in the global/local re-articulation of collective memories and their performance at Carnival. Much of this interest developed through my undergraduate dissertation, which focused on the contested spatialities of the Glastonbury Festival.

<i>April 9th 1996</i>	<i>Initial meeting in St. Paul's with Carnival organizers.</i>
<i>June 5th 1996</i>	<i>Initial meeting in Chapeltown with Carnival organizers.</i>
<i>June 14th - July 18th 1996</i>	<i>Participant observation in St. Paul's; initiation of 'research encounters'; establishment of 'research contacts' for interviews; preliminary archival research; BUT living outside St. Paul's with my father in the pastoral surrounds of mid-Somerset (St. Paul's Carnival July 6th 1996).</i>
<i>August 6th - October 1st 1996</i>	<i>See above and apply to Chapeltown, BUT living outside Chapeltown, commuting daily from Sheffield and staying with friends close to Chapeltown during the Carnival period (Chapeltown Carnival August 26th 1996).</i>
<i>October 1st 1996 - March 26th 1997</i>	<i>Living in Chapeltown, continuing participant observation and archival research; constructing and performing interviews and focus groups.</i>
<i>March 27th - August 12th 1997</i>	<i>See above and apply to St. Paul's (St. Paul's Carnival July 5th 1997).</i>
<i>August 13th - August 26th 1997</i>	<i>Returning to Chapeltown to continue participant observation before, during and after Carnival, BUT commuting daily from Sheffield (Chapeltown Carnival August 25th 1997).</i>
<i>June 27th - July 5th 1998</i>	<i>Returning to Carnival in St. Paul's to meet friends and have some fun (see 2.4.1).</i>

During the first few weeks of research in St. Paul's and Chapeltown, I was a commuting 'visitor', on the edge looking 'in', an 'outsider' and embryonic 'insider', a stranger to the streets with an agenda to make them 'my own'. At first I would walk the streets, 'watching', 'monitoring', with all the surveillant freedom of 'the *flâneur*'⁸. The diary extract typifies page upon page of 'field-notes' recording processes of way-finding with spatial metaphors - I "...walked...rolled...cycled...went across...outside..." - and adjectives constituent of *the gaze* - I "...looked...saw...heard...checked-out...followed-up...". In a discussion of the embodied psychodynamics of 'the city' which draws on the work

⁸ Middle class, White and male, with the prospect of a daily retreat to 'the country' (when in St. Paul's) or to another city (when in Chapeltown). The spatial practice of walking, lingering in doorways, sitting in parks, is "power-infused...at the intersection of male power, masculinity and voyeurism" (Pile 1996 p.229; also see Wolff 1985; E. Wilson 1992), offering an idly constructed panoptic view of 'the other' place, 'race', 'sex', class (also see McClintock 1995).

of Michel de Certeau (1984) and Walter Benjamin (1973), Steve Pile introduces concepts of 'Flânerie' to describe a way of walking the streets and inspecting their contents, without embroilment as part of these contents. The flâneur - 'spectator' - "...marks himself out from the spectacle, never becoming a spectacle himself: he is in the streets, but not of the streets; he is in the crowd, but never of the crowd...he is a spy, a tourist, a detective, a journalist, scrutinizing the otherwise alien streets, reporting back on its excessive, exotic, erotic lives" (Pile 1996 p.230). Although the strategy of this research project was to avoid exoticism and go beyond processes of "reporting back", those 'early days' in Chapeltown and St. Paul's were spent - quite simply - exploring, familiarizing myself with the townscape, creating my own 'mental map' by moving through the streets, interpreting signs, decoding texts, linking and contrasting what I 'saw'⁹ with what I was reading in local (newspaper, history, census) archives. I did not want to be seen, not yet: until I was confident that I was developing an at least emergent 'sense of place', I was keen to delay a commitment to 'contact', since my 'outsider status' in prospective face-to-face research practices (such as in interviews or as an interactive participant observer) was stark despite my Whiteness and regardless of how much I 'knew' about Chapeltown and St. Paul's.

A paradox emerges: to get 'closer', I start off far away. Everything about those early research ventures centralizes myself - the 'covert observer', sightseer, Carnival newcomer and urban semiologist¹⁰ - as omnipotent, moving through shadows, foraging the back-streets, rummaging along library shelves, before

⁹ Not wanting to be accused of supporting the historical "epistemological privilege to sight over hearing" in the social sciences (Smith 1994b p.232), what I 'saw' should be extended to include what I 'heard' (see Schaefer 1978 and 1992; Porteous and Mastin 1985) and even what I 'smelt' (see Porteous 1985; Pocock 1993).

¹⁰ Eyles and Peace (1990) refer to 'urban semiotics' as a method of landscape interpretation or textual deconstruction which is dependent on 'iconography' - a "cataloguing of particular symbolic motifs", and 'iconology' - their "interpretation and explanation" (1990 p.76; also see Panofsky 1962). They argue this approach fails to adequately engage with the complexity of 'the city' by pointing to an indifference to the positionality of the semiologist and an inability to account for the multiplicitous and conflicting processes through which signs are produced and consumed.

gliding away, liberated from the labyrinthine incarceration of the 'inner city' as I return to the comfort of 'home' to make new notes or link together scraps of interpretation written 'in the field'. Lawrence Grossberg re-articulates the much used travel metaphor in 'postmodern ethnography' in these terms:

"...the travel metaphor seems quite appropriate to ethnography. To put it simply, ethnography is always about traversing the difference between the familiar and the strange. The ethnographer leaves her home (the familiar) and then travels to the other home (the strange), and then returns home to make sense of it in her writing" (Grossberg 1988 p.23).

But 'travelling' in research is not always so incontrovertibly structured, so 'to and fro'. By moving to and *living in Chapelton and St. Paul's*, notions of the 'familiar' and 'strange' became blurred, although the prospect of 'escape' remained¹¹. Indeed, even before I embarked on this 'adventure', notions of 'home' and 'field' or 'me' and 'them', rather than structured through what Matthew Sparke (1996 p.220) calls "the absolution of space" (separating experiences and identities by rigidly demarcating 'the field'), were already in motion, patterned through relationality - difference - rather than an impasse of stationary estrangement. But by living in this imagined 'field', moving from the 'scopic imperialism' of surveillance (see McClintock 1995) to an embodied *participant engagement* - observing, talking, listening, feeling (see P. Crang 1994) - distances are less palpable, power arrangements less patent.

2.2.3 Stepping out of the shadows...exposing the 'self'...

After a few weeks 'looking', I began to 'step out of the shadows' through the selective introduction of my-'self'¹² to potential research contacts through 'cold calling' (see Valentine 1997), writing letters, knocking on doors; presenting

¹¹ And even before living in each area, the streets were not 'conquered' with all the recreative elegance of the flâneur: there are inaccessible spaces and times - certain streets after dark - which despite my cynicism, had been internalized as 'dangerous' for a young, White, male, stranger; and there are invisible spaces - short-cuts, hiding-places, boundaries which even the most purposeful stroll and inquisitive gaze cannot uncover (see Spooner 1994).

¹² Realizing that this is not something I entirely control, since the role of the "all-knowing" researcher may be destabilized" (Madge 1993 p.296) by an awareness that mirrors - tools of reflexivity - also refract, frame, shatter and exclude (also see Bryson 1988; Rose 1995a).

myself as a student 'interested' in Carnival¹³, volunteering as a participant or helper, apologising as an intruder¹⁴. At this stage I wasn't 'fussy', I would talk to almost anyone who would talk to me¹⁵: Carnival committee members and workers were approached to discuss Carnival, my possible role as a 'researcher', and who else I might approach; musicians, DJs, poets, youth workers (and thus 'youth'), teachers (and thus pupils), councillors, elderly day-care centre attendees...domino club members. The strategy was one of non-strategy, to develop directions through an engagement with the indirections and multiplicities of place¹⁶, for - remember - this project is 'about' collective memories of place just as it is 'about' collective memories of Carnival (see 1.1).

'Place-learning' continued: I walked the streets as before. But increasingly I was recognized - my anonymity had been challenged, and more significantly, 'street-corner' ethnographic strategies of walking (or cycling) and writing were

¹³ Here the definition of 'interested' varied in terms of who I was talking to and thus according to *my* assessment of what each person wanted and needed to know. Therefore, for some research contacts I am a "student interested in Carnival", for some a "student doing a PhD in Carnival", and for others a "PhD student researching Carnival in Leeds and Bristol in terms of how it is contextually re-articulated and discrepantly collectively remembered...and if you want to know anything more, feel free to ask...". These disclosures are situationally specific and relationally determined, strategically released and selectively detailed as part of the stage management and practical reciprocity of each research relationship. I tried to be as open as 'possible': "I am the student, you are the object of my research". This at least means that those with whom I had closest contact (thus excluding those people who were 'around' but might not have known who I was or what I was doing) - those 'gatekeepers' to knowledge - could release and withhold information according to these relatively unambiguous terms.

¹⁴ Following Wade (1984 p.219), "To present oneself as an unalterably 'neutral' character in the course of the subjects' life events courts an impression that the (researcher) is gullible, amateurish, inane or uncommitted (or some combination of these) and, thus, unworthy of subjects' attention and time. Furthermore, such a stance could convey to subjects that the (researcher) has, in truth, a negative regard for their inner workings, thereby potentially causing inimical involvements in future areas of field relationships". By accepting and presenting oneself as a student, keen to learn, eager to participate, those 'researched' were probably more receptive, since a more distanced, supposedly 'neutral' approach, whilst impractical and unachievable, might also be considered aloof and supercilious.

¹⁵ And those most connected to Carnival or other local 'institutions' tended to be 'Black' (which might be further [arbitrarily] defined as of 'African-Caribbean' descent). This has implications for subsequent definitions of 'local people'.

¹⁶ Without pretending to connect with or 'represent' all of them.

supplemented, contextualized, broadened through an increasing involvement with local people, narratives, collective memories. Research was purposefully explorative as a means to assess options before *manouvring*¹⁷ into a position of more 'focus'. This is partly because I was nervous, (and remain) inexperienced - unsure if anyone would talk, grateful that they did. But it is also a necessary interpersonal process, a means of meeting people and engaging with them to develop affinities - senses of place - which provide a background and more to those more specific, selective encounters that would follow. During the first few weeks, even months, of my 'stay'¹⁸, each day was filled meeting new people, constructing pilot interviews, making fresh contacts, discontinuing old ones. This routine was re-structured to facilitate new pursuits. For example, in Leeds, by day I helped establish and worked¹⁹ in a 'lunch-time club' in a local primary school²⁰, attended and participated in 'reminiscence groups' of 'Leeds Black Elders'²¹,

¹⁷ This is the first of a number of 'military' metaphors employed in this chapter (others include 'armed' and 'retreat'). Rather than constituting a conscious decision (a *strategy*?), these words emerged because - somehow - they seemed to fit how I felt and what I was trying to describe. It was only through reading the chapter that the military theme became apparent. Rather than *destroying* it, it has remained *on duty* and used consciously, since it seems to capture the processes of self/othering definitive of the social relations of the research process.

¹⁸ To pretend that several months is anything more than a 'stay', regardless of how in-depth, committed and settled I may have felt, would be complacent and somewhat arrogant.

¹⁹ Throughout the project, notions of 'work' should not be interpreted as 'paid work'.

²⁰ Working with Caroline (see above diary extract) - an outreach youth worker approached by telephone - as a way of meeting and chatting to children and place-learning, as I moved through the area, guided by the local knowledge of my colleague. The 'lunch-time club' occurred three days a week, designed by local youth workers as a way of creating and sustaining cross-cultural dialogue between ethnically different Chapeltown children.

²¹ The fortnightly sessions involved the congregation of a small group of elderly Black men and women at the Barbados Centre in west Chapeltown, as a way of re-building and maintaining memories of 'home', and rekindling notions of 'tradition', because - as Hannah, the group co-ordinator, explained - "...I think we - as Black people - need to understand the richness of our heritage and histories, and I think piece-by-piece, the young people are losing it" (paraphrased from a conversation we had at the Barbados Centre, noted in my research diary on October 28th 1996). Hannah invited me to attend the sessions after I had used the telephone directory to locate and call her. After initially introducing myself to the group as a student interested in histories of Carnival and Chapeltown, I would sit at the edge of the group and, inhibited by my age, Whiteness and non-localness, listen and occasionally ask a question. Undoubtedly, my presence upset the dynamics of the group and affected what was said. I was conspicuously, embarrassingly 'out of place', but this was an 'opportunity', a learning experience which introduced more people, alternative narratives, different collective memories of Carnival and place.

assisted as a volunteer at MECAS²²; and by night visited and 'hung-out' at the Mandela Centre youth club and singing class²³. In Bristol, by day I worked as a volunteer for a monthly local newspaper - *The Free News*²⁴; and by day and night for the Kuumba Community Arts Project as a member of the voluntary staff at the St. Paul's Carnival office²⁵. I was omnipresent - and this was often commented upon - a distinctive White guy moving through those more 'Black spaces' of Chapeltown and St. Paul's, eager to see 'everything', be 'everywhere'. If I wasn't

²² Where I worked for one day a week to update their database of 'ethnic minority interests in Leeds' (such as support groups, businesses, religious centres) as a way of discovering new contacts for myself by practically advancing their project. I also utilized their extensive library resources - local 'Black' archives - at every opportunity. However, increasingly, I felt my time could have been spent more productively: envelope-filling had replaced database research, thus stretching my patience, especially since each visit to MECAS involved a seven-mile cycle-ride. This might be viewed as an example of a 'research opportunity' 'running dry', a promising 'lead' 'petering-out'. Squeezed by more pressing - focused - concerns, I withdrew from working at MECAS in February 1997.

²³ After visiting the centre on Chapeltown Road (see Figure 3.1) and presenting myself as a student interested in 'youth' perspectives of Carnival and place, I was invited to a committee meeting to ask permission to work in the centre as a way of making contacts, talking, listening, hanging-out. Permission was granted, thus giving me an opportunity to engage with and negotiate alternative, discrepantly-accented social encounters as different 'dimensions' of place were performed for and through me.

²⁴ A 'community newspaper' established in 1995 to highlight issues considered relevant to Bristol's 'inner city'. The paper is a prominent campaigner for issues of 'social/racial justice' (for example, it pressed for the disclosure of 'facts' surrounding the murder of Evan Bangy Berry, a well-known local Black man shot dead on New Years Day 1996 as he attempted to prevent a mugging in St. Paul's [see 3.4.1 and *The Free News* Vol.1, No.4, March 1996]), raising the profile of areas such as St. Paul's in terms of more 'positive' factors. After initially contacting the editor as a means to find new contacts, I worked for the paper for two months as a researcher, using this role to explore the area beyond (although retaining) my position as a researcher interested solely in Carnival.

²⁵ The Kuumba Project is a community arts and business centre based in St. Paul's (see Figure 3.3) which houses and promotes Black-led cultural programmes (including the Carnival office, dance projects, film and comedy nights, workshops) and provides 'Black' accommodation and services for networks (such as the Bristol Black writers' group and Rastafari Women's group) and educative and social services (such as the 'Sankore' library of "Afrikan and Caribbean history and culture" [Kuumba Project Programme 1997] and the 'Jukome' day nursery). I approached the project as an initial 'entry point', realizing that it housed the Carnival office, but also interested in how it might usefully introduce alternative facets of the social relations of St. Paul's. As a volunteer, I worked predominantly in the Carnival office, assisting with paper work, press releases and marketing, before developing a more direct 'hands on' role away from the office in other social spaces, as participant observation became more 'focused'. At this early stage in research, I was content to work within Kuumba as a means to develop a list of potential contacts and an understanding of the histories and geographies of St. Paul's. Crucially, in addition to the face-to-face research dimension, this enabled me to explore a filing system bulging with archival material of Carnival and place (including old Carnival programmes, reports and press-cuttings, and documents relating to 'community affairs').

'working' as one of the above, I was on the telephone asking - some might say pestering²⁶ - potential interviewees and 'informants', at local events (from church fetes to night clubs), on the streets, in the park, at the pub, "maximizing opportunities for encountering the area(s)...(involving a)...continuous broadening and filling out of the text and context of the research question, an immersion in the multidimensionality of people and place" (Ley 1988 pp.130). This is what Renato Rosaldo (1994 p.351) describes as "deep hanging out"²⁷: 'hooking up', participating, leaving room for - inviting - the unexpected as a way of developing options, contacts, relationships.

Each evening I would return 'home' (at first Somerset and Sheffield, then a flat in Chapelton and St. Paul's), change my language and make diary notes (see Gregson and Crewe 1997), lists, diagrams, timetables and itineraries. Priorities changed and the 'research problem' was shifted, re-aligned through the context of emergent research relations: individuals, social spaces and issues were targeted as potential 'leads', prospective directions; others were sidelined or dismissed. Faces and feelings, memories and experiences - ceaselessly modified power-infused interpersonal relations - impacted upon the body, transforming 'the self', re-articulating 'senses of place', re-directing 'the research' - somehow - through intuition and strategy, spontaneity and pragmatic rationale. From a retrospective position - as I write now - the decision-making processes of the research are not easily decipherable. Despite access to the detailed and reflexive monologues of the research diary, certain research decisions remain untraceable, forgotten. This highlights the shortcomings of a research diary - where so much that is embodied is lost in its translation and re-presentation in words - but also shows how much of the research process is ongoing, irretrievably cumulative, re-conditioned by

²⁶ Although I was careful not to overly-pressurize potential interviewees: "no" means "no"; evasion means "no" politely.

²⁷ Commenting at the 'Anthropology and 'the field'' conference, Stanford University, 18/4/98 (cited in Clifford 1997 p.56).

inclination, irreducible to a conspicuous, representable moment, turn or position²⁸. 'Origins' of direction vanish in the power-ridden situational relations of the research process. Power arrangements and thus social relations, are not static: sometimes I am 'in power' (I write, ask a question, 'look', interpret, use my various privileges; marginalize, pressurize, antagonize 'the other'²⁹), sometimes I am not (I am marginalized, excluded, misdirected, threatened, laughed-at; feel awkward, intrusive, embarrassed, foolish), most of the time it is unclear, for power interpenetrates dialogically across "webs of signification" (Rabinow 1977 p.151), is internalized, negotiated, contextually translated, creatively transmutable.

Power is felt, rarely named. Likewise, the social relations of those early participatory 'stages' of research involved 'feeling a way' before directions were 'found' and identified. The following diary extract supplies some indication of how, when power relations are confused, rights to access unclear, research can be paralysed, complexly stalled - it becomes *unsighted*:

"14/1/97: I was supposed to meet Matt (Leeds Interview 19³⁰) at the Mandela Centre for an interview, but - predictably and depressingly - he didn't turn up. I'm really sick of waiting for people now. If they don't want to talk to me, then fine...it's just the waiting around, looking dodgy, wasting time. I decided to go along to the singing class. I feel more confident in my new trainers - less 'honkified'. Chatting with the hip hop guy who likes gospel...he complained that too many people sat around, not enough people did any singing. He wanted to know why I never sang. I told him I was there to 'get a sense of the vibe' and 'hang-out' cos 'I'm interested in Carnival for this project I'm doing, so I want to get talking, make some contacts, get a sense of where Carnival fits in with everything else'...he laughed and told me I should talk to Matt. 'Great' I thought...'so where is he?'... I felt at ease with this guy. He seemed interested in what I was doing. He mentioned that he'd always gone to Carnival, but it was losing its relevance since he'd got into hip hop....Maybe I should interview him. I'm not sure who to go for - whether they want to be interviewed, whether they're 'the right type' of person...Carnival people are easy to talk to, but I need to get beyond them as well. The guy went upstairs to get some food,

²⁸ Judith Okely (in Okely and Callaway 1992 p.17) makes a distinction between what is known (the conscious) and what is untraceable (the unconscious) as experiential and participatory research develops, stating that "the fieldworker both consciously and unconsciously responds to certain rhythms and patterns as immersion proceeds".

²⁹ Although unintentionally.

³⁰ Each interview is given a number so it can be cross-referenced with contextual and biographical information given in Appendix 1. Also see 2.3.1 for further information.

leaving me in a room full of singing Black girls - all about five years younger than me. They sang beautifully - amazing voices - yet they spoke with broad Leeds accents. I felt ridiculous just sitting there listening, looking. I'd got a sense of what was going on - will go back when there are a few guys around. Although the girls ignored me and got on with it, I feel rude - an interloper - when I'm there as a silent observer, not singing, ponderously attempting conversation...as I left, a girl said 'thanks for coming'...what did I do? It was enjoyable, 'an insight', but so awkward. I felt shielded by that guy...it's worth trying again, but it's got to be more relaxed..." (Notes from my research diary).

Who was 'in power'? 'Where' was this research encounter taking the project? The diary *represents* processes of self-conscious appearance management as a presentation of 'the self' in an attempt to displace 'difference'³¹ through emulation - my new trainers. It reveals the disempowerment and frustration of rejection as a potential interviewee fails to keep an appointment³². It exposes the power of *the gaze* as the white male researcher sits, watches, listens. And yet it suggests how he - 'I' - is thwarted, enervated, confused by the paradoxes and paranoias of artificially instigated, precariously (un)managed research relationships: 'what am I doing here? How did I get here? Which way should I turn?'.

The research is about *performance*, a liminal, unbalanced 'collaborative manufacture' (see Goffman 1956) which might support dominant societal power relations - for example, my 'Whiteness' interprets 'their' 'Blackness' - before slipping underneath, caught in a swirl of indeterminacy, situationally disempowered. The researcher attempts to meet people, establish relationships, elicit 'information' by locking into their memories, the 'researched' *sometimes* comply; the researcher dresses *for* the encounter, manages his/(her) appearance and behaviour to 'fit in' without crass, obviously 'false' imitation³³, the

³¹ Which on this occasion is constituted in terms of ethnicity, age and gender.

³² Remembering that interactive 'participatory' research procedures are reliant not only on whether a potential informant will 'turn up', but on processes previous to this as the researcher attempts to recruit individuals for assistance. This research project is based on interactions with those who - eventually - 'turned up', but it is also constructed negatively through an awareness of 'what might have been': those informants who never turned up or refused to participate when first asked. I can only guess 'who' these people might 'be' (also see 2.3.2).

³³ Drawing on her experiences interviewing 'business people', Linda McDowell (1992) considers it important to dress like 'them' (also see D. M. Smith 1988). However, it is important to recognize and abide by certain rules and thus avoid transgressing prescribed roles. For example,

'researched' *may* respond 'favourably'. It is a nervous experiment, a turbulent ride. Emotions range from embarrassment and discomfort to exaltation and extreme confidence. It is a 'balancing act', a tumultuous series of negotiations which constantly re-project the research through the self-conscious assessment of each encounter in terms of awkwardness, (in)direction, 'ethics' and 'efficacy'. Just as collective memories are patterned through the prevalence of 'racial' difference and its transcendence, so is the research.

However, after weeks of preliminary 'place-learning' - tentative probing and 'thrashing about' - directions, priorities, an *agenda*, had developed to the extent that they were identifiable. Constructed positively - to address issues related to collective memories of Carnival and place, and negatively - circumscribed within the limits and inhibitions revealed by explorative research; **four main research techniques** (which, for purposes of recognition might be described as 'in-depth informal interviews', 'natural focus groups', 'participant observation', 'archival analysis') were chosen or developed³⁴. These were selected to engage with certain people as a way of discussing and interacting with Carnival - as it is remembered (verbally and corporeally), and thus re-articulated, translated, re-presented and re-produced.

my clothing style was not entirely reformed as soon as I 'entered the field', but changed slowly as I - as in other social relationships - bought items which I considered to be more 'in place'. Much of what I wore before the research process began was retained, with new styles incorporated as part of a process of social and cultural exchange (where "all identity is constructed across difference" [Hall 1987 p.44]) - a search for comfort and respect. Just as in 'normal' social relationships, appearance management and social interaction was contingent with peer group, and was thus governed by *their* rules: I could wear certain trainers for which I might be more 'socially acceptable' (Goffman [1967] might call this 'face-work'), but to wear a bandanna or adopt a Leeds/'Caribbean' accent and patois would trivialize constructs of racial and local difference, *appear* and be punished as racist satire (see Back 1996 for a discussion of ethnicities as they are (re)constructed by Black and White youth in South London through processes of syncretism and separation as boundaries are (re)created to police territories which are 'Black', 'White', 'inter-'racial', and so on).

³⁴ See 2.3 for a discussion and explanation of why different approaches were employed, and how they were used, adjusted and transformed.

In both St. Paul's and Chapeltown, cold-calling, pilot-interviewing and snowballing techniques were introducing (to myself) groups and individuals closely connected to the Carnivals. This is unsurprising since initial contact was with Carnival organizers: they provided contacts who would 'have something to say' about Carnival - their friends and counterparts; and other individuals approached with less connection to Carnival tended to apply their local knowledge, prompted by the word 'Carnival', to return names of 'Carnival people' I was already talking to. Circles of local knowledge - senses of community and place - conspired to offer a distinct cluster of enthusiastic informants who - broadly - might be termed 'Carnivalists': local Black people with a historically established ('traditional') direct organizational and/or participatory involvement with the event. To go beyond these individuals (who - generally - are 'Carnival' enthusiasts³⁵) would require more time, and involve alternative recruitment strategies as they were being pursued in social spaces such as the Mandela Youth Centre in Chapeltown. It seemed pragmatic (especially since they at least seemed willing to 'talk') at that stage to centralize the research in terms of a focus on 'Carnivalists' and their (dominant) collective memories of Carnival³⁶. These narratives could then be supplemented and contextualized with on-going participatory research in alternative social spaces of Chapeltown and St. Paul's³⁷. Then, latterly, the research could be de-centralized by discussing Carnival with new-found 'non-Carnivalist' local people³⁸ as a way of illustrating different

³⁵ Although their definition of 'Carnival' - 'what' they were enthusiastic 'about' - varies enormously.

³⁶ It should be noted here that even these individuals deny access to certain information and networks. In this regard, many of the social relations of Carnival remain inaccessible (see 2.3.2).

³⁷ However, significant 'gaps' remained as I struggled to interview 'beyond' Carnivalist circles, restricted by my distinctive positionality, hampered by my lack of social skills. For example, I had difficulty meeting and interviewing non-Carnivalist girls (see 2.3.2).

³⁸ Noting that research informants are all 'local' (living in Chapeltown, St. Paul's or a neighbouring suburb), since the project focuses on Carnival and its contextual re-articulation. Although non-local people attend Carnival, to include their narratives would confuse efforts to discuss how the events are re-constructed as constituent and transformative of place. This is not to restrict (re)constructions of place to within some imagined geographical boundary. Rather, understandings of 'place' (and thus 'Carnival') as trans-locally re-articulated, are discussed in

collective memories, discrepant senses of Carnival and place. 'Position One' - indecision, exploration, induction, exposure - edges towards 'Position Two' - decisions, structured investigation, continued exploration, induction and exposure. It is on to this stage - representations of research as it is differently staged - that the chapter now turns.

2.3 POSITION TWO:

FINDING A ROLE, DEVELOPING A 'METHOD' - ECLECTIC ETHNOGRAPHY AS PRAGMATIC STRATEGY,

"One way in which the researcher can try to get to grips with the complexity of the social world is by adopting a multiple research strategy" (Burgess 1982 p.4).

"Meaning can arise only insofar as some phrase of the act which the individual is arousing in the other can be aroused in himself. There is always to this extent participation. And the result of this participation is communicability, i.e. the individual can indicate to himself what he indicates to others" (Mead 1956 p.183).

"28/2/97..Interviewed Pamela (Leeds Interview 24) at her flat near Potternewton Park. She's very quiet, difficult to talk to. This is probably my most difficult interview so far...in her flat - not 'neutral'. It's like me coming into her home, her space, and telling her what to do. She was unresponsive, which made me talk a lot to try to get it going. It never did though. She apologised, saying she was tired. I apologised by suggesting there were far more 'interesting' things to talk about. What a mess..." (Extract from my research diary).

The research process is a performative game of positioned enterprise, innovation and opportunism. To meet people, engage in dialogue and (re)construct a basis for interpretation requires that the researcher is a "methodological pragmatist" (Schatzman and Strauss 1973 p.7), creatively traversing the interstices of the embodied chaos of social encounters and their dutiful analytical interpretation. In Chapeltown and St. Paul's, participant observation, archival searches and purposeful contact-making threw open possibilities while closing others. By

terms of how 'local' people interact with non-local products, forms, people, to re-constitute 'the local' through its relations with 'the outside'.

working within the Kuumba Project in St. Paul's, I was in contact - as a colleague - with Carnival organizers, workers and participants, as well as with other local individuals involved with 'Black arts' such as DJs, musicians and dancers. Similarly, in Chapeltown, initial contact with Carnival organizers 'snowballed' into a series of encounters with *mas* camps, Carnival workshops, DJs and musicians. *Opportunities* and *reliances* developed, incorporating and integrating what might - artificially - be divided into four qualitative research techniques *inter-connected* as constitutive of 'Position Two':

1) *In-depth semi-structured interviews*: Participant observation - working with, talking and listening to people - combined with cold-calling methods, introduced potential interviewees. Interviews were used as a way of exploring issues raised in ongoing interactions and as a basis for discovering and discussing previously undisclosed positions. In this way, interviews complement alternative methodological approaches, extending research encounters into another domain. This can - when recorded and transcribed - be interpreted through discourse analysis (see 2.4), thus exposing research encounters to an alternative interpretative process which might offer insights lost in the immediacy of 'unrecorded' communication (see for example Oakley 1981; Silverman 1993).

2) *Participant observation*³⁹: Place-learning continues, but is subsumed by purposive, relatively 'overt' interactive and performative processes where - as a *mas* camp member in Chapeltown and Carnival volunteer in St. Paul's - particular social spaces of Carnival and place are experienced, embodied and confronted as a group member negotiating, communicating and interpreting collective and subjective aims as they are (re)produced through 'teamwork'. This approach observes and *feels* collective memories as they are performed, emphasizing the importance of insights which are achieved collectively and experientially through solidarity, inter-personal compromise and contestation. Furthermore, contacts made and developed through a participatory method usefully complement interview and focus-group approaches as a basis for further interaction, by providing individuals who might be 'questioned' further as a 'follow-up', and by indicating directions which might benefit from a differently-nuanced interactive process (see for example Tedlock 1991). Participant observation thus helps to situate interview statements within their broader performative context, since respondents are interacted with 'in the round' in addition to a more limited two-way interview process.

3) *Focus-Groups*: Rather than recruiting individuals for the purpose of a group discussion - as is common practice (see for example J. Burgess 1996; Goss 1996) - 'focus groups' operated as an extension of and complement to 'interviewing' and 'participant observation' in two main ways:

a) As a 'group interview' involving two or more interviewees who already knew each other and are 'there' for a common purpose - a 'natural group' (see Holbrook and Jackson 1996; and for empirical examples, Leeds Interview 14 and Bristol Interviews 6, 18 and 23).

b) As an ongoing participatory process involving 'natural groups', recruited 'on location' (see Krueger 1988; Longhurst 1996). Examples here include Carnival committee meetings which I attended in St. Paul's, and a 'Carnival costume-making Class' in Chapeltown which met weekly

³⁹ Perhaps it is more appropriate to spin the phrase round to 'observed participation' (see Sparke 1996 p.234), decentering 'the self' through the social relationality of the research encounter.

throughout the year to discuss and develop practical and aesthetic principles of costume design and production (see for example, 4.3.1). These are 'focus groups with a difference': distinctly structured as coherent groups (with collective reasons for attendance and participation), where the researcher participates as a situated group member rather than facilitator or moderator. In this way, group dynamics are engaged with, performed, embodied and allowed to develop, without such restrictive and imposing co-ordination from an unambiguously *external* researcher⁴⁰.

4) *Archival Research*: Continuing throughout research 'in the field', newspapers, census returns, local books, photographs - anything - were rummaged through, scoured over, painfully scrutinized. This approach provides a background - context - for collective memories as they are performed and narrated *by* local people, often offering clues as to how Chapeltown, St. Paul's and their Carnivals are located - hegemonically mapped - within the city. Archives are thus forms and features of collective memory *in their own right*.

These approaches are structured to supplement one-another as part of a 'multi-method research strategy' (see for example Frey and Fontana 1993) through which multiple collective memories - as they are performed and commented-upon - are approached, interacted with and *actively felt*. This is research as 'dialogic performance' (Clifford 1986b p.16), a process of multiple relationships producing a variety of 'knowledge encounters' (Long 1992 p.27) which implicate the researcher and researched through their reciprocal, power-infused interaction. Together, the methods overlap to produce issues to be discussed, concepts to be tested, conclusions to be contested. The chapter now turns to the positional interrelationships of 'Position Two' - a politics of cross-cultural encounter, performance and deduction - to explore further the psychodynamics of these methods and how they were *mixed*.

⁴⁰ Without pretending I am no longer 'external'. But, with these 'focus groups', relations - 'insider'/'outsider' denominations - are more fluid, less defined.

2.3.1 Awkward silences and (ir)relevant chatter: the pain and pleasure of the 'in-depth' interview...

How many, what for, with whom?

Altogether, fifty-one interviews were conducted in St. Paul's and Chapeltown⁴¹. Of these, fifty were recorded by Dictaphone and later transcribed and 'analysed'⁴². Together, these interviews fill over 56 hours of taped 'material', averaging over an hour per interview, though ranging from twenty minutes to almost three hours (details for each interview are given in Appendix 1). Interviews were a central feature of the research process. The aim was not to interview as many people as possible nor talk to a 'representative cross-section' of local people⁴³; rather, interviews were applied strategically, used selectively and as (in)frequently as was deemed 'necessary' to satisfy the aims and urges of a developing research process. Moreover, interviews were not structured with the procedural rigour of a questionnaire or a 'structured interview', but were relatively unstructured, 'informal', caught unpredictably in the flow of conversation, redirected, channelled and dammed by strategic interventions from the interviewer (see Silverman 1993). Based on the social research tradition of gathering 'oral histories' (see for example Dunaway and Baum 1984; Perks and Thomson 1998), yet engaging with these histories to uncover "the deformations, evasions and repressions of memory, desire, projection, trauma, envy, anger, pleasure..." (McClintock 1995 p.311)⁴⁴, interviews are conversational performative

⁴¹ Twenty-four in St. Paul's, twenty-seven in Chapeltown. No attempt was made to have 'equal numbers' for each place. Rather, interviews were applied where I considered them useful as part of a wider multi-method approach.

⁴² One interview (Leeds Interview 17) was left 'unrecorded' at the request of the interviewee. Each interviewee was given this option.

⁴³ Although I would have liked to interview more women and 'young people'. However, it was mostly with these 'groups' that participatory research 'contact' was found.

⁴⁴ Rather than understanding oral histories as presenting knowledge as if untouched by the deforming interpretation of the researcher, they are useful *because of these influences*: as relationships, submerged in and transformed through their performative context, translated through the volatile antagonisms and commensurabilities of the research encounter (see Perks and Thomson 1998).

encounters, specifically co-ordinated through intonation, posture, facial *and* verbal expression. An interview is “a dialogue rather than an interrogation”⁴⁵ (Valentine 1997 p.111), a game of disclosure, insinuation and evasion which provides an *opportunity* to re-explore issues ‘uncovered’ through alternative approaches, encounter ‘new’ unanticipated narratives, listen to and observe definitions of the situation as they are purposefully expressed - represented - to and through the researcher and no one else. Interviews in this project are responses to opportunities: complementary and situational, they are used as initial ‘entry-points’ to develop ideas and formulate directions; and as techniques of corroboration and expansion, to stratify and test ideas through their multi-method investigation. They gain their ‘depth’ through their context: as part of a wider methodology and through the situational uniqueness of the research encounter.

Armed with a sketch-list of possible questions, a Dictaphone and pen, each interview was approached as a series of possibilities: ‘how would (s)he respond? How would I be treated? Would the conversation ‘flow’? What kind of attitudes and experiences is (s)he likely to convey?’. I would sit and plan each interview, develop themes whilst attempting to avoid anticipation of the answers. The aim - broadly - was to engage with that person’s memories of Carnival and place; but the approach - unavoidably - was one of speculation and supposition, drawing on stereotypes of ‘who’ this person might be, what they might say and how they might relate to me, for interviewees were not selected randomly, but were chosen (within restrictions) for their illustrative potential to fit imagined templates indicated by alternative research approaches⁴⁶. However, that individuals did not ‘fit’ anticipated positions is suggestive of the potential for interviews - if they are ‘open’, allowed to ‘flow’ - to introduce alternative directions and upset

⁴⁵ Yet it is artificially-instigated since most interviewees would probably prefer to be elsewhere, doing something else.

⁴⁶ And as spatialities emerged (interpreted and named by me) through an expanding multi-method research process, voices were identified or artificially located as speaking within or against these spatialities.

preconceptions⁴⁷. Although the researcher has the power of interpretation - for what is said can always be ignored or re-interpreted to fit initial conjectures⁴⁸ - by approaching interviews receptively, willing to accommodate the unexpected, every interview offers an opportunity to refine arguments and re-hone understandings of 'the collective' in 'collective memory'. Explanations for why each interviewee was 'chosen' and 'who' they might 'be' - see **Appendix 1** - are thus inadequate, simplified and outrageously incomplete. That I am attempting to name each interviewee is questionable and perhaps distasteful. But, by remembering these are situationally-specific representations, their differences defined and prioritized by myself, their 'naming' may be useful as illustrative guides, points of reference which offer more than the anonymity and unlocatedness of a pseudonym and quote⁴⁹. **Appendix 1** represents a series of characterizations and contextualizations, a cast list for a travel story or a list of characters encountered on that journey, a framing of my intentions and expectations.

Situational power games

Appendix 1 is illustrative of the situational transformations, shifting agendas, fluctuating power arrangements of 'in-depth' interviewing. David Sibley (1995 p.184) argues that interactive encounters such as the interview involve "a question of getting close to people, listening to them, making way for them". Indeed, but how 'close' can you get? How do you know you have 'made way'? Spaces of betweenness - collaborative reproductions of shared knowledge - are inhabited and vacated with every gendered remark and racialized interpretation; situationally (re)negotiated through levels of (dis)comfort; constantly re-directed according to

⁴⁷ Although interviewees might feel constrained by perceived rules and limits of the interview: forced to attend to what is 'socially acceptable', responses might be structured - staged - to appeal to the interviewer rather than offering opinions which might be more 'personal' (see Goffman 1981).

⁴⁸ Accepting that there are limits to the 'power' of the researcher: not all interviewees 'turn up', and interpretations are limited to a focus on what is said, rather than silences and misinformation.

⁴⁹ Although additional contextual 'information' is given throughout the text of this project.

discrepant and overlapping agendas. Each interview was approached selfishly, with the advancement of the project in mind; sometimes the encounter felt 'close' - if this is interpreted as 'productive', detailed, relaxed; but I was asking questions, expecting answers, it was my Dictaphone - lurking on a nearby surface - towards which eyes nervously flickered⁵⁰. Yet interview contexts, their direction, length and 'atmosphere' are reciprocally constituted, (unequally) collaborative products and processes of interpersonal negotiation, patterned distinctly by discrepant - interview specific⁵¹ - logistics of 'making way' and 'getting close'. My transforming positionality is important (and so are those of 'the researched'), not only through what it restricts - the access and 'closeness' it prevents - but also through what it enables. As Donna Haraway (1991 p.196) argues, "We do not seek partiality for its own sake, but for the sake of the connections and unexpected openings situated knowledges make possible".

These possibilities open further - and are more difficult to 'read' - when there is more than one interviewee. While I would not pretend that interviews with two (or even four [see Bristol Interview 23]) people qualify as 'focus groups'⁵², these research encounters did diffuse the intensity of interviewer-interviewee relations, with people seeming to gain in confidence through the inclusive and incorporative social structure of the social encounter (see Greenbaum 1987 p.17). I was able to 'sit back', occasionally interject, and relax, for the pressure to be ever-ready with a follow-up question diminishes with each extra interviewee. Yet these discussions did lose their 'focus' demanding that I regain *control*. Interviews - whether with one or more than one interviewee - are stimulating, generative of depth,

⁵⁰ Reinharz (1983) considers the taped interview process 'exploitative', and Western (1993 p.149) avoids using a Dictaphone in social research because "...I do not *like* tape-recording. I know how uncomfortable I would feel if I were being interviewed and saw that *everything* was going on to the record" (original emphasis).

⁵¹ Rabinow (1977 p.119) argues research 'data' are "doubly mediated" by the influence of the researcher and "by the second-order self-reflection we demand from our informants".

⁵² Particularly since these interviews were 'one-off' occasions, limited in their potential to develop definable 'group dynamics' where roles are normalized and positions stratified (see for example Foster 1989; Brown 1993).

illustrative of detail; but they are framed situations, artificially instigated, their contents instantaneously fabricated to meet perceived expectations, negotiated roles. And this is before they are transcribed, purposefully analysed as ‘discourse’ (see 2.4). To reiterate, *interviews find their strength in context*: as complementary methods within a wider methodology of participation, immersion, embodiment. They ‘work’ within these intuitive processes as gathering points, explicatory representations (for they ‘put into words’ what is felt), distorted rationalizations of ‘what really happens’. This is how interviews are treated in this research project: they gain their meaning through what else I did (see Appendix 2 and 2.4 for an example of this). The chapter now locks into those more ‘participatory’ approaches that provided the undergrowth out of which grew the interviews.

2.3.2 ‘Hands-on’, ‘hands-off!’: Mas Camp participatory research as embodied performance...

“5/12/96...Really nice atmosphere this week - arrived to the sound of soca music and Julie’s daughter and friend wining away (see Leeds Interview 4). Richard (see Leeds Interview 7) made them both a head piece - they were chuffed to bits. Richard asked how I was getting on - whether I’d made a costume yet. I explained I hadn’t because I was frightened of ‘taking the plunge’. I don’t think he really bought it, saying that I’d never learn anything unless I had the experience of doing something...I believe him - ‘experience’ has got to be the way of getting a sense of what’s going on...” (Extract from my research diary, written after attending a ‘Carnival costume-making class’).

Interviews are developed through *participatory research*. However, apart from providing contacts, ideas and directions for potential interviews, participatory research - as involved, embodied, practical, experiential - was self-sufficing, working at the vanguard of research *in its own right*. Collective memories are reproduced and contested through their individual embodied performance (see Connerton 1989); they are inseparably thought and felt (see Longhurst 1995), actively lived as they are actively told (see Merleau-Ponty 1962 and 1968; Radley 1995). Ontologically, stories - narratives of Carnival, place, identity (see Somers 1994) - are practically expressed through the enactment of collective memories; ritualized, habituated, transformed through the re-inscription of the body. Thus,

epistemologically (as approaches to knowledge reproduction) collective memories can only be 'reached' through methods which engage with what Connerton (1989 p.74) calls "the mnemonics of the body" as well as with their verbal representation. For this project, if the task is to connect with and attempt to 'map' embodied collective memories of Carnival and place, the research process has to be active, participatory, performative. In a study of popular musical theatre in Zaire, Johannes Fabian (1990 p.19) argues ethnography offers 'more' if the researcher relaxes those rather arrogant notions of 'critical distance' and attempts a self-conscious immersion in practical (as opposed to 'discursive') processes of identity (re)construction, "where the ethnographer doesn't call the tune but plays along". For this project, in addition to those more distanced participant-observation methods of 'place-learning' discussed as part of 'Position One', most time was spent and energy exerted with a 'hands-on', interactive, intensive participatory approach, through an attempt to 'feel it' as well as read 'it'; be 'in there' as well as outside or above; connected and allied rather than distant and alone.

Here, research is understood as an *investment*: it 'gets in there', 'mucks in', exchanges, shares, and the dividends flow in. In Chapeltown and St. Paul's, the social relations of the *mas* camp - small, circumscribed, frantic, industrious *forums of collective memory* - provided an opportunity for participatory research. Early in the research process, responding to invitations from Carnival organizers who I'd already contacted through cold-calling and snowballing, I visited the 'Palace' *mas* camp in Chapeltown and the base for the 'Carnival Camps Project' in St. Paul's. At first I was a nervous bystander, an awkward observer standing in the corner, watching as costumes were frenetically constructed, wishing I was somewhere else. But this did not last long: *mas* camps cannot be 'watched'; if they are to be interpreted - connected with - then they must be experienced through participation, application, sensation. From the moment Richard (Leeds Interview 7) thrust a pot of glue into my hands and asked if I was "in" or "out", and since I was delegated the job of driving the Camps' van between schools in St. Paul's,

mas camp participation developed as a major focus for the research. Degrees of 'insider-ness' and 'outsider-ness' - group goals and individual agendas, camaraderie and abjection - became day-to-day concerns, as I did the gluing, drove the van, got involved with the rhythmic embodied routine of collective memorization as it is reproduced, practically performed. This process of involvement - this *investment* - is co-ordinated and codified through differential and shifting positions, saturated with power relations which fluctuate to delineate boundaries which discern what can and cannot be touched, what - for the researcher - is 'hands-on' and hands-off'.

Negotiating 'insiderness'

Mas camps operate as groups: they are spatially defined (they have a base), socio-spatially inscribed (they have and are given spatialized identities relative to other camps), collectively motivated (they depend on joint action to achieve joint targets - Carnival costume completion) (see 3.5.1 and 4.3). To participate in a *mas* camp is to share; it is practical - necessary - that individuals work as a team, delegating responsibilities, complementing each other's activities, caring, assisting, upholding notions of 'the collective' as Carnival Day looms ever nearer. Despite initial anxieties that I was 'outside' the camps, an awkward bystander⁵³ looking 'in', and acknowledging that camp members probably shared this perception of my outsider-ness, over time - through participation, labour and a *performance of commitment* - issues of membership became blurred. Everyday I would work long hours for the Palace *mas* camp in east Chapeltown⁵⁴ or in schools and 'at base' for

⁵³ In St. Paul's there were approximately as many men as women working for the *mas* camps project. In Chapeltown, most members were women. Thus in Chapeltown, "the world *between*" myself and "the researched" has a rougher terrain and is less easily 'crossed' (see England 1994 p.86). I cannot pretend to be able to 'speak' for women, just as I cannot 'speak' for 'Black people'. What I can do is interrogate my positionalities - vicissitudes of 'inside-ness' and 'outside-ness' - by writing this into the project.

⁵⁴ Based above the Palace Youth Centre in East Chapeltown (see Figure 3.1), The Palace *mas* Camp met most evenings for at least a month before the 1997 Carnival. There are around 15 regular 'members' (including Richard - Leeds Interview 7, Julie - Leeds Interview 4, and Clive - Leeds Interview 15), with a similar number of 'part-time' members who participate once or twice a week. All local people, Black and predominantly 30-40 year-old women (with the

the St. Paul's Camp Project⁵⁵. I would cut things out, stick things together, paint surfaces, bend wires; at first in diligent silence, later chatting, asking questions, 'having a laugh' - as interpersonal relations developed, collectivized through the embodied solidarity of working together with a shared goal. Performativity (as I tried to fit in) became ritual (I had a role, a position which was reinforced through repetition) (see Rostas 1998). The research diary began to represent this, temporarily losing sight of its 'object', instead offering monologues about friendships, personalities, the practicalities of costume-making:

"18/6/97...It's really fun in the 'team' - especially Sue (see Bristol Interview 4). It's like we're all in this together - panicking, having a laugh...maybe it's the 'evo-stick'⁵⁶. I keep forgetting why I'm here - I'm more interested in getting the costumes done, helping the kids in the schools, and going down the Star and Garter⁵⁷ at the end of the day. But there's also a lot of tension - Sue and Sophie (see Bristol Interview 23) are not getting on well. I try to keep out of it, but they both confide in me to diss the other. Everyone else says it's a shame, because we're all working so hard, but it seems less worthwhile when things get nasty. I guess they're under a lot of pressure though - Sue cried yesterday...but today was really enjoyable, cracking on with the costumes, listening to some wicked tunes, a lock-in down the pub..." (Extract from my research diary).

This is important: intra-group participation and antagonism is comforting *and* unsettling, offering support *and* insecurity. It impacts upon identities - including my own - (re)locating senses of community, re-defining roles. As the Carnival

exception of Richard, Clive, an elderly Trinidadian, and members' children) *mas* camp participants are dedicated Carnivalists, deeply committed to costume-making and familiar with the ritual and process of costume design and production (see for example 3.5.1).

⁵⁵ Unlike the Palace *mas* camp in Chapeltown, the St. Paul's *mas* camp is organized centrally by the Carnival committee to orchestrate the 'Carnival Camps Project' (an educational programme which encourages local schools to participate in Carnival by helping them to design and make costumes [see 4.3.1]). Members are local volunteers, recruited through the Kuumba Project. Of a group of 14, 6 are Black women in their 'twenties' and 'thirties' (including Emily - Bristol Interview 1, Sue - Bristol Interview 4, and Sophie - Bristol Interview 22), 4 are White women in a similar age group, 3 are White men in their twenties, and 1 is a thirty-year old Black man. Unlike Chapeltown, most volunteers are from an 'arts' background, with little direct 'Carnival experience', and are previously unknown to each other. For them, Carnival is something 'of interest' rather than something constitutive of lifelong tradition. The *mas* camp worked together everyday during the month preceding Carnival.

⁵⁶ The glue used for sticking fabric on to costume structures. After a day's 'gluing' in a draughtless room, sensible and articulate individuals were overcome by spontaneous laughter, gripped by the puerile and inane. In many ways this intoxication assisted my burgeoning 'insider-ness', breaking down barriers through the collective embodiment of glue inhalation.

⁵⁷ A comfortable if smoky pub behind my flat in St. Paul's which we went to after a day of 'costume-making'.

approached - as the pressure increased - the *mas* camps in Chapeltown and St. Paul's worked harder, grew tighter. They started as a project for a project, a means of research, but they soon became a project unto themselves: the production of costumes, Sue and Sophie's disputes, my social life, worked to replace pre-occupations with 'information-gathering', and adjusted positional anxieties - 'am I welcome here'? - to a more relaxed 'I hope no one minds if I don't go to the pub tonight but I'm interviewing'. I was caught in the rhythm of costume-making (a rhythm to interpret), ensconced in the benevolent and perfidious intra- and extra-social relations of the *mas* camp.

Negotiating 'outsider-ness'

But relationships fluctuated, positionalities ceaselessly transformed. Sitting in the pub after a day's costume-making in St. Paul's, the complacency of my assumed 'insider-ness' was revealed. One camp member asked pointedly, "will you be *disappearing* to Leeds soon?"; Sue responded on my behalf: "Yeah (laughing) - he's only here for his research, he doesn't care about us all really" (Paraphrased in my research diary, 4/7/97). Although joking, Sue's comment trenchantly exposes the unbridgeable artificiality of what remained for them - at least in part - a researcher-researched relationship: I came, I saw, 'pretended' to help (I performed), *disappeared*. The insecurities of 'the researched' are unlikely to materialize as a direct snub to the researcher, but are subtly leaked, fleetingly unveiled in different ways. In St. Paul's 'they' joked, in Chapeltown 'they' (all women) laughed - as soca played on the stereo, camp members would dance, capturing the rhythm through their bodies as they continued to sew, cut, paste:

"13/3/97... 'Why aren't you dancing Tom? Go on (rapturous laughter). It's all right, we won't laugh at you (laughter)' ...so I started to move a bit with the beat - a gesture - but there was no way I was gonna get down and wine. It was really embarrassing - like I'd been exposed as a phoney, like they were joking, but really they weren't that comfortable with my presence... My outsider status - my gendered 'Whiteness' - became a figure of collective fun..." (Extract from my research diary).

Positional understandings - gendered and racialized local knowledges - interpenetrate 'researcher' and 'researched', enabling alliance, destabilizing

commensurability. Cynicism as to why I am 'there' and scepticism as to my 'right' to be there is negotiated through the help that I give (an extra 'pair of hands'), my cordiality and enthusiasm, 'their' interest in my research. My identity is multiply-inflected through differently constituted inclusivities and exclusivities of *mas* camp collective memory - as I 'feel it' through participation and as it is denied through the protection of difference. Such politics are symbolic of the practical (re)constitution of collective memories. There are gaps which I try to cross, just as there are unbridgeable gaps, inaccessibilities predicated across axes of difference which limit attempts to meaningfully articulate a 'space of betweenness' (see Gilbert 1994; Katz 1994).

Moreover, gaps are created and perpetuated as much through the *absence and denial of contact* as they are through a contact-specific cultural politics of difference. For example, despite (or consequent to) my embarrassing presence at the Mandela Singing Group (see 2.1), I did not interview many young women and girls. My Whiteness, masculinity and an excruciating collapse of self-confidence when confronted with attractive individuals who held little interest in the research, established a 'research gap' of canyon proportions⁵⁸. But even when I felt comfortable, when contact appeared close, gaps ceaselessly (re)emerged. For example, in Chapeltown I was constantly denied access to Carnival committee meetings, despite promises to the contrary. This surprised me, given the willingness of committee members such as James (Leeds Interview 1) and Richard (Leeds Interview 7) to co-operate through other forms of contact. Each request to 'sit-in' on a committee meeting was treated with an averting change of subject, or

⁵⁸ The relatively small number of research respondents who do not fit the 'Carnivalist' category represents a gap in the research process (conditioned by my outsidership) and a gap in the overall research (where the project is perhaps too Carnivalist-centric). It is tempting not to go beyond those individuals and groups who are so forthcoming, so relatively 'easy' to contact. In practice, the project required more time and resources to explore these wider local networks, although this, unavoidably, would also provide a focus which is exclusive, exclusionary and provisional. Therefore, validation is not attempted (since it is unachievable): this research is based on an attempt to find out as much as possible within a given time limit and budget as part of the social relations (the cultural politics) of the project.

an uncommitted 'yes, yes, I'll see what I can do'. My outsidersness was reconfirmed; my confidence in the strength and multi-dimensionality of the research material blighted by the *control* of respondents, friends, who had now been exposed as gatekeepers⁵⁹.

Thus, any notion of 'alliance' is imagined, just as any separation is incomplete. During research encounters - as connection was worked for and felt - sensations were deconstructed, inadequately synopsisized through 'mental notes', inaccurately memorized and later represented - elsewhere - in my research diary. Gaps were revealed, spatial separations made. But these are arbitrary interventions, convenient methods of distinction configured through the reductive urges of reflexivity. I did not work in the *mas* camp, leave it and analyse. Rather, embodied (dis)connections stayed with me, worked through me, collapsing interpersonal barriers and blocking the view which overlooks 'the field'. As Allan Pred argues:

"(T)he distinction made between 'fieldwork' and other more everyday observations and experiences is but one manifestation of a general unwillingness to accept the fact that our 'professional' and 'non-professional' lives are not in dichotomous opposition to one another, but dialectically interrelated (Pred 1984 pp.91-2).

'Outsider-ness' and 'insider-ness' (including 'home' and 'the field') are convenient marker points, but they mark spaces which do not exist: to be 'in' or 'out' requires disjunction, isolation, placement; to have an 'identity' requires relation, movement, imbrication, displacement. Identities of researcher/researched are interpersonally situated, their 'worlds' linked, their knowledges contingent, despite what it may 'feel like' - when alone, alienated, misinterpreted, misrepresented - 'at that time'. These relationships reproduce situated embodied knowledges...

⁵⁹ However, the denial of access to Carnival committee meetings is a revealing process in itself, perhaps bolstering claims made elsewhere in Chapeltown that the committee is protected from the public domain, operating secretly and covertly to reinforce the 'traditional' in opposition to the changes which widespread access might provoke (see Chapter 5). In this sense, much can be interpreted from the gaps of participatory research if they are understood in context, alongside alternative definitions of the situation.

Situated embodied knowledge

For example: during the winter in Chapeltown, even before the *mas* camps regroup, for several women and a few men, Carnival continues. Every Thursday evening, guided by Richard (Leeds Interview 7), the 'Carnival costume-making class' would meet at 'The Palace' youth and community centre to improve their skills and exchange ideas, aiming, ultimately, to produce a design to be worn by The Palace's 1997 Carnival troupe (see 4.3.1). Like a *mas* camp, each class was spent focusing (sampling, making, trying on for size) on the production of a Carnival costume as a *collective process*: routinized embodiment of costume manufacture in which the researcher could participate. Unlike a *mas* camp, each movement, change of direction, thematic decision, was preceded and followed by a pause - for reflection, discussion, polemics. The spatialities of collective memories - as they are routed, discrepantly authenticated - were given room to breathe, as they were taken out, argued-out, fought over, with the collective purpose of expanding members' 'knowledge' and advancing the 'authenticity' and skill of their craft. The costume-making class thus provided a research opportunity which is situated somewhere between participant observation (as with a *mas* camp) and 'focus-group' interaction⁶⁰. The research develops as it is embodied and performed through practice, where I negotiated my position as a group member through active contribution, aiming towards solidifying and confirming the group's goal of producing a costume; and as I listened to and engaged with this forum of collective memory, this *embodied ritual* which is verbally articulated by group members through public interpersonal reflection, mediated by the facilitator, Richard.

I was thus caught in a multiply-structured positional relationship, relieved of the burden of directing the group, complexly situated as a participant - 'one of the

⁶⁰ As a 'natural group' which (re)produces "naturally occurring data" (Kitzinger 1994 p.105) through the development of internal group dynamics (also see Stewart and Shamdasani 1990).

team', not 'in charge' - without ever 'feeling' like a member - White, non-local, male, a novice. The following diary extract represents these tactics, relations and emotions as connections are made between embodied research and interpretation:

"16/1/97...Good buzz about this week's class - just a few of us sitting around a table, practising wire-bending...which I'm bloody useless at. We've taken up the theme 'Magical Fantasy' and we're working towards a costume design on that theme. We devised ways the words 'magical' and 'fantasy' could be interpreted...this was basically a 'brainstorming session'. As we threw ideas around, memories were working overtime: 'has that been done before?', 'could we do that in Leeds?', 'can you imagine if we did that at the Queen's Show - arriving in a puff of smoke?'...Everyone was laughing, 'West Indian' accents were parodied through exaggeration, local stories shared...here I would sit back and listen"... (Extract from my research diary).

There is a situated dialectic to this research encounter: notions of 'the collective' are represented through the evocation of "we", as I feel included, connected, implicated in the joint action of costume-production as one of the apprentices under Richard's guidance. Collective memories are engaged with through participation - as I listen and 'feel', and are then regenerated and re-directed through their verbal appropriation in the research diary. I am excluded from certain collective memories through a self-imposed 'distance' between myself and stories which I don't and can't understand. (Sub)Conscious barriers to my entry are enforced by 'the researched' as they adopt positions based upon collective memories and identities to which I have no rightful ownership. It is complex, messy, but also dynamic, challenging, ethnographically productive. By 'getting in there' with an actual 'hands-on' approach, engaging with and reflecting upon the situatedness and multidimensionality of the research encounter, senses of affiliation - loyalty and belonging - are stronger, more poignant (I really did care that the costume was completed and that we were all happy with it); and senses of difference and incommensurability - exclusion and rejection - are more conspicuous, painful (I didn't want to be excluded, but accepted that I was; I didn't want to leave).

But even when access is denied, interpretation is possible, since my (self-)imposed exclusion from certain rituals provides an indication of where the racialized

boundaries of collective memory may lie, and how they are performed. My purposeful, embodied, engendered, racialized embeddedness in the psychodynamics and physicalities of the research encounter - in *mas* camps, the costume class, interviews, at the Kuumba Project, in and around Chapeltown and St. Paul's, worked as a situated dialogue, providing 'information' as "that which we want to explain" (Scott 1992 p.38). It worked towards and constituted a basis for interpretation - partial, unsighted - but a basis nonetheless. Yet it was leading up to and (re)constituting something else - a backdrop and process embodied towards an 'object'. The object is 'Carnival' itself: the event which occurs for just one day, yet is practised through collective memorization throughout the year. The talking was over, the costumes had been made; all that was left was the Carnivals. A new methodological dilemma emerges: what now for the researcher? How to engage with and 'interpret' something so big, physically ephemeral, bewilderingly protean? With a deep breath and a step into 'the unknown'⁶¹, I hit the streets - it's *Carnival time*...

2.3.3 Taking to the streets on Carnival day: the researcher as 'in' or 'of' the crowd?

"6/7/96...Arriving at the Albany Centre⁶² at 11am - anticipative, nervous, unsure what to do today, how I'd be received. The building was locked up, volunteers waiting outside alongside pupils from the 'special' school. The sun was shining at last. Time for another cigarette - a strategic pose which allows me to stand around and do very little yet look (or at least feel) at ease...gradually, then rapidly, chaotically, children began to arrive. Each school had its own organizational difficulties - missing children, staff, costumes. Faces were painted, costumes put on, masks strapped elastically to excited faces...Shaftesbury Avenue was emblazoned with colour...the procession jerked towards Ashley Road - past early drinkers outside the Star and Garter, past opportunistic 'unofficial' stall-holders selling rum, strong

⁶¹ No amount of interviewing or participant observation, no video or photograph, can prepare the researcher for Carnival as it is 'felt' through attendance and participation.

⁶² In 1996, the Albany Centre (a church converted into a community arts centre on Shaftesbury Avenue to the west of St. Paul's [see Figure 3.3]) was used as the base for the Carnival Camps Project.

lager and patties, past open doors and windows of 'passive participants'. Reaching Ashley Road - as I shepherded Easton Road school - the parade was halted, forced to await police permission to go any further. The signal was given, the police motorbike moved forwards, the masquerade had officially begun..." (Extract from my research diary after attending the 1996 St. Paul's Carnival).

Research practice *at* Carnival constitutes the final situated encounter of 'Position Two': in addition to participating in their preparation (and thus commemoration), talking about them in interviews, reading about them in newspapers, magazines and programmes, watching them on video; the events themselves - through this methodological juxtaposition - provided a textual and participatory 'entry point' into how collective memories are reproduced, symbolized, re-articulated, translated through their performance. In St. Paul's and Chapelton, although Carnival is re-remembered throughout the year and there are programmes of events which build-up to the main event, Carnival itself lasts for just one day. Its physical transience and non-verbal embodiment thus creates a problem for the researcher: how to engage with events enjoyed by so many for such a short time, and how to represent actions, feelings, sounds and tastes with words? The research has responded to this problem by approaching Carnival as it is collectively remembered throughout the year, engaging with and participating in the rhythms of its preparation, expectation and thus commemoration. This practical, performative research strategy then leads - with Carnival participants - into Carnival, sharing and (mis)understanding the events through the embodiment of its cyclical and iterative reproduction: as a *mas* camp/costume class member, Carnival volunteer, and as an ethnographer interacting with different social spaces of place, such as the Mandela Centre singing class or through 'streetwork'. Carnival 'itself', rather than disrupting this process, is situated within it, approached, experienced and interpreted through connection to knowledges - versions of collective memory - as they are reproduced *across* the research.

Thus, on 'Carnival Day', I 'entered' carrying investments, loyalties, responsibilities as someone who had worked 'in-depth' with Carnival and place for

several months. In Chapeltown, I remained with The Palace *mas* camp, helping troupe members to get into their costumes, making harnesses, adjusting straps. In St. Paul's, I continued to work with the Camps Project, given responsibility to 'look after' a school as they made final adjustments to their costumes, and *on the road* as they danced in the masquerade. This is where I 'was' for the *mas*: involved as a participant, helper, observer; connected to friends and counterparts as they continued to participate in a ritual which never stops. Significantly, I refrained from donning a Carnival costume and joining a troupe. Although this would have offered interpretive positions unreachable as an involved *mas* camp helper, I wanted to move through Carnival, see the *mas* from different participatory positions, leave the *mas* and 'check out' - participate - across the park, down the road, in the pub, as Carnival is differently performed, offering discrepant collective memories across the social relations of place. I was thus distinctly positioned at Carnival, my interpretations (re)produced from particular standpoints.

During the day - as during the year - my position, role, identity, transformed. For the *mas*, Carnival was embodied through my relations with troupe members and *mas* camp helpers with whom I had participated - negotiating 'insider-ness' and 'outsider-ness' - in Carnival for several months. I was in the crowd and contestably of the crowd, walking alongside the masquerade, connected, associated, yet never fully 'involved'. Later, as the masquerade disbanded, after the relief that the costumes - my investment - had been 'successful', connections to the event shifted elsewhere. No longer a Carnival helper with a prescribed role, no longer an interviewer or group co-ordinator, I was 'free' to engage with the events through other means. This project abounds with descriptive interpretations of Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's: I discuss the sounds and smells, the collective embodiment of the dance, the discrepant and overlapping spatialities of the events' streetscapes. But 'where' am I when all this is going on? How can I justify and verify these textual interpretations? How can I fill the gap between performance and verbal explication? Firstly, verification is not an aim, is

impossible. This is because, secondly, these are situated interpretations, extensions of knowledges (re)constructed *throughout the research* as they are re-interpreted *on the day* (and afterwards, through memory), moving through the streets as a *(non)participant*. Rather than stand in or on the edge of Carnival crowds, looking and listening in, interpreting from afar by retracing my steps as a 'flâneur', I attended Carnival with friends⁶³; we danced, drank, ate, checked things out, had some fun. We were participants - specifically situated like everyone else.

But I was different, dancing for fun whilst thinking 'what it all means'; enjoying the ambience while looking for photo' opportunities; storing 'information' for it to be written down once the hang-over had passed. Situatedness, embodied participation, occasional solidarity with 'the researched' as friends, counterparts, members of the crowd, is predicated upon an awareness and acceptance that observations, interpretations, connections, rely on inimitably perspectival expressions of power. This is because collective memories, as they are performed through Carnival and place, are named and represented by myself, understood through processes of deconstruction and theorization, framed as a partial collection of stories, narratives, contestable discourses. The research does involve 'alliance' (is collectively embodied), it opens the way for different voices (it listens, encourages the enunciation of positions), is relationally constituted ([re]constructed through specific interpersonal knowledge encounters), but it is not 'empowering'⁶⁴, for it is only me who looks down the lens, delineates a frame, has *the final voice*. I - the researcher - was waiting, always waiting, for the opportunity to write it all down. Eventually, at the end of August 1997, after

⁶³ Any participation would have been difficult if I had attended Carnival 'alone'. So, rather than dance awkwardly for ten minutes and then find somewhere to write my notes, I attended Carnival with friends - local Carnival volunteers and old university friends - to reduce inhibitions and to enter Carnival as part of a distinctly situated group of consumers/participants through which connections with wider groups - the crowd - could be made and interpreted. My friends - Black and White, men and women, local and non-local - constituted a dynamic collectivity through which my position transformed as Carnival was distinctly 'experienced'.

⁶⁴ Steve Pile (1991) asks how can we know 'the researched' are 'empowered'?

Carnival in Chapeltown, I left 'the field'⁶⁵, returned to Sheffield, began translating thoughts, concepts, perceptions, into written words. This shift in embodiment provides the framework for the final 'position', 'Position Three'...

2.4 POSITION THREE:

RETREAT⁶⁶ AND REFLECTION: THE POLITICS OF WRITING.

"I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you...I am still author, authority" (hooks 1990 pp.151-2).

"Power...is varied, multiple, heterogeneous, ambiguous and comes in different packages and configurations of domination, hegemony, control, authority..." (Pieterse 1992 p.234).

"Symbolic violence is inevitable, but writing ethnography is not, therefore, an act of oppression. The ethnographic text is of a particular and paradoxical nature which defies the simple logic of the Western power game" (Hastrup 1994 p.124).

This project engages with events and places widely understood - reified, rooted and routed - as by, for, transformed and inhabited by Black people. To 'explore' collective memories of Carnival and place has required myself - the researcher - to talk to and 'about' Black people, 'Black issues', 'Black cultures'. Moreover, many research respondents are Black women, 'working class', they live in 'the inner city'. In a discussion of White appropriations of hip hop music, Allinson (1994 p.438) argues White people are unable to hear 'Black music' like a Black person and - after centuries of filching and exploitation - should not try to represent 'Blackness', since: "(A)ny thoughtful White listener should recognize that hip hop lives and breathes as a Black thing in ways simply not open to White experience,

⁶⁵ However, interviewing did continue. I was interested in gathering post-Carnival narratives as a way of interacting with freshly re-articulated collective memories. See, for example, Bristol Interviews 21-24. Leeds Interviews were neither pre- or post-Carnival, conducted instead throughout the year.

⁶⁶ And the military metaphors continue.

White thought...(it)...cannot be our domain". Therefore, what 'right' have 'I' to discuss issues - lives - to which I am apparently disconnected? How can I know 'what it is like' for 'the researched' when research relationships are so unbalanced, trammelled within structures formed through centuries of patriarchal racisms?

Yet, significantly, the aim of this research is not to represent 'Blackness', to pretend to understand how racisms are felt, or to 'hear' 'like' Black people. Allinson's work functions on the misguided principle that ethnicities are coherently separate, re-articulated against rather than through each other. This research is based on an understanding that ethnicities are reconstructed interdependently through transference, syncretism *and* abjection. Following Bhabha (1990a pp.210-11):

"...no culture is full unto itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity".

And thus,

"...cultures are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentred structures - through which that displacement or liminality opens up the possibility of articulating *different*, even incommensurable cultural practices and priorities" (original emphasis).

'Blackness', and therefore 'Whiteness' cannot be essentialized through an appeal to their 'roots'. They are linked, overlapping, reproduced through interrelation, re-constituted through difference. This has practical, spatial implications: the researcher and researched are situated in relation to one another, together they reproduce knowledges through what Bhabha (1990a p.210) calls "interpellative practices". Each speaks from a 'subject-position' - is *situated*; knowledges formed from these positions are constitutive of this unique relationship, limited by parameters - boundaries, borders, barriers - within which this relationship is framed. Correspondingly, this project does not pretend to engage with or represent 'Blackness' or collective memories of Carnival and place from a 'Black perspective'. Rather, just as research 'subjects', it speaks from a position, offers a

story freighted with the specific relations of cross-‘racial’, inter- and intra-cultural dialogue.

But what about power? Identities are multiply-inflected, negotiated through (re)constructions of difference which cannot privilege a particular speaking position since they occupy “a ground that belongs to no one, not even its creator” (Trinh 1988 p.75). Yet relationships are unbalanced, ambiguously constituted, fissured by interpretative gaps, re-interpreted and represented by those with power, those with a voice. Katz (1994 p.497) argues that “...ethnographic authority pivots on a particular kind of presence in ‘the field’, a space constituted apart, that has currency in spaces - both physical and discursive - that are not the field in which the ethnographer works as interlocutor”. So what did I do? I left ‘the field’, went ‘home’, analysed interview transcripts, attempted ‘representation’. Or so it seems. ‘Position Three’ did involve a return to ‘the academy’, to discourse analysis and creation, but the spatial disparity between ‘field’ and ‘academy’, ‘them’ and ‘I’, is not tenantless, for it is criss-crossed by connection, inhabited by a commonality guaranteed through the reciprocity of a research relationship negotiated by “seeing others against a background of ourselves, and ourselves against a background of others” (Fischer 1986 p.199). This project is replete with stories of research relations which fluctuate, are discrepantly situated; demanding that I - the researcher - enunciate their spatial dialectics and thus qualify research ‘findings’ as specifically situated, relationally interpreted, inherently (inter)personal, and *nothing more*. ‘Ethnographic authority’ is denounced⁶⁷; positioned, embodied interpretations are acclaimed. That there are gaps as well as shared associations is a fact(or) of this situatedness, and is written into the research. The project is thus ‘about’ my ‘Whiteness’ and how it is re-

⁶⁷ Yet the processes of research which I have gone through enable/allow a position from which other positions can be critiqued.

constituted through 'their' 'Blackness'⁶⁸, if research relationships are to be reified in these terms.

But this does not mean I refrained from attempting to 'get close' to 'the researched', to discuss (tell a story of) their definition of the situation as it is re-articulated through the research encounter. Beyond 'face-to-face' and 'hands-on' research, as I transcribed interviews, re-read my research diary, linked together, organized, deciphered prevailing intuitive directions, 'contact' was maintained. Each interviewee was sent a transcribed copy of their interview with a request that they make changes, additions, corrections and clarifications⁶⁹; friends remain friends. And I have changed, am translated through the interactive processes of research which are retained - embodied - as I write today.

Yet this is not to claim some form of accountability. Instead, research continues as an embodied interactive process as I (re)listen to interview tapes, 'analyse' texts, codify transcripts, 'tidy it up', write it 'all' down, re-visit the places and their Carnivals (see 2.4.1). I would listen to interview tapes after each interview, make notes, search out themes. Also, particular non-verbal aspects of interaction were noted. Then, each interview was transcribed, (in which everything - each "uhm" and "you know" - was written down⁷⁰), read and re-read through a form of 'discourse analysis'. Drawing on the work of Wetherell and Potter (1992), interviews were coded through the identification of an 'interpretative repertoire' of "discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (*ibid* p.90). Appendix 2 offers two extracts of a coded interview transcript from an interview with Wayne (Leeds

⁶⁸ Remembering that not all respondents are 'Black' (see Appendix 1).

⁶⁹ Although, of the 51 interviews which were re-distributed, only 6 were returned with amendments.

⁷⁰ Understanding the interview as a conversation with two contributors, each relationally re-constituted through the other. Each 'uhm' and 'you know' is thus integral to the dynamics of the 'conversation', as thought processes inter-develop, pause and re-start (see Mishler 1986).

Interview 11). Here, interpretative repertoires of 'Afrika', 'The Caribbean', 'Chapelton' and 'hybridity' are labelled through a developing colour-coding system. These spatialities are identified through my expectations as a 'researcher' familiar with a 'diaspora/cultural politics of place' 'literature', and for their commonality across interview transcripts and through the other related research activities, where they are filed together or noted for their continuity and disparity and used as a way of understanding how discourses of Carnival are organized and *reconstructed*. Texts are thus used as *narratives*, anecdotes, accounts of collective memory situated through the research encounter and alongside theoretical expectation and 'material' from other research methods (see Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Wetherell and Potter 1992). (Re)coding⁷¹ is dependent on my situated interpretation of the encounter, my non-innocent 'stagings of the world' (Katz 1994; also see Haraway 1991). The research is accountable unto myself, (re)organized and (re)presented intuitively and strategically through the recollection and interpretation of lingering sensations; verbalized through the appropriation of transcripts⁷², archival material, my research diary; and then written down - made sense of in writing - for "experience became experience only in the writing of ethnography" (Tyler 1986 p.138).

The epistemological status of research findings (including the various themes and codes identified) is therefore not one based on the assertion of various 'truths'⁷³. Neither, since it has many theoretical influences and criss-crosses numerous concepts and practices, does it occupy a position as what Anselm Strauss refers to

⁷¹ Initial codes were adjusted to incorporate newly devised themes; codes were merged together; some codes were abandoned; 'key words' and potential quotes were emphasized.

⁷² Transcripts transform 'what is said' into a manageable written text. This involves "mutilation" (Samuel 1998 p.389): cutting out pauses and repetitions, imposing grammatical forms, rearranging speech. 'What' is said can be lost with the elision of 'how it is said', for my interpretation of how 'what I heard' should 'look' is dependent upon an inevitable distortion as 'the aural' is changed to 'the visual' (also see Portelli 1998 p.64).

⁷³ It should be re-emphasized here that discourses identified and developed through this research are based *solely* on specific research encounters, not on those the research failed to encounter - the missed opportunities and gaps mentioned in 2.3.2. This weakens the epistemological status of the research yet further.

as a 'substantive theory' (see for example, Glaser and Strauss 1970; Schatzman and Strauss 1973). Instead, the arguments, discussions, illustrations - the positions - presented as text through the analysis of discourses which *I* detect, identify and name, should be regarded as *grounded* in different theories where the ground has been constantly shifted through the exploration (linkage and separation) of multiple narratives 'in the field' and as I write⁷⁴. They are just ground into something new: the importance of multiple co-existing relational identities.

The practical coding process outlined in **Appendix 2** provides an example of how one interview was understood contextually through the identification of what Glaser and Strauss defines as 'key links' (Glaser and Strauss 1970). But because it is presented out of context, in isolation, it fails to satisfactorily reveal its position within an ongoing process of redefinition as I encountered different and similar positions, linked them together, categorized them apart. This 'method'⁷⁵ might be loosely defined as 'discourse analysis': a constant process of comparing interview transcripts, performing participatory research, wading through the archives; a process misrepresented by a singular, clinically presented example of a coded interview transcript. **Appendix 2** fails to reveal the messy, disrupting, chaotic complexity of ceaselessly re-grounded discourse analysis; it fails to incorporate the density of 'unofficial' implicit coding; and it fails to evoke the ways multiple competing and corresponding identities were encountered through a research process which increasingly sought to accept this complexity and use it as the ground to write upon.

⁷⁴ Anselm Strauss uses notions of 'grounded theory' to discuss how, amongst numerous links across different texts, one specific link or set of links is sufficiently 'strong' to be configured as 'running through' as a 'key link' or grounding for the entire project. Because the link is based upon processes of discourse analysis, it is afforded significant epistemological status, coming as it has from messages and representations made by 'actual' informants (see for example, Glaser and Strauss 1967; Corbin and Strauss 1997; Strauss 1983; Fairclough 1995).

⁷⁵ If we are to use words embedded in discourses of scientific exactitude and rigour (see Denzin 1997)

The discourse analysis employed in this project is not that of speech-act orientated studies which seek out conversational coherence (see for example Coulthard and Montgomery 1981). Neither is it a discourse analysis motivated by a desire to expose the ways actual societal inequalities are perpetuated through narrative continuities (see for example Foucault 1980)⁷⁶. Rather, the emphasis here is on identifying *any* kinds of discursive patterns, focusing in detail on those patterns which are most conspicuous, and situating these within the contexts of their practical performance - on the streets, through music, at *mas* camps. It is from here that a more 'grounded theory' emerges: the complexity - the dialogism - of an intertextual research process is used to reveal competing and complementary discourses as a way of illustrating (but never proving) the multiple spatialities of identities; the contestability of cultural meanings. It is when one person seems to offer definitions of the situation which occupy more than one apparently contradictory discourse that this argument is at its strongest. It is here that the inseparation from multiple discourses - the relationality of the subject - is reaffirmed as a grounded theory which runs through the project (see for example 7.1): identities (as discourses) are relational, overlapping and internally contradictory; not separate, unequal, incommensurate (see for example Somers 1994).

This point (re)emerges through multiple discourses with such consistency as to be posited as a 'theory' without infidelity to the research data. It - as a basis, a grounded theory for this project - has significant validity. However, in contrast, the themes and codes identified through a deconstructive immersion in the texts of this research project - the isolating and naming of discourses - do not have such epistemological status: they are contestable, a means to an end. They have developed through rigour, deep reflexivity and chaos, are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln and Guba 1985 p.290), but they offer just one approach within one

⁷⁶ These two approaches are incorporated within wider processes of discourse analysis, but I did not enter research relationships with their agendas.

set of rules within one set of boundaries. In this sense, the qualitative research text operates as a specific form of discourse based on the appropriation and translation of numerous other discourses and feelings (see Van Maanen 1988, 1995a, 1995b). Thus, “(H)ow you arrive at some view about what social practices are taking place in a domain may be quite different from how you *justify* that conclusion” (Wetherell and Potter 1992 p.101; original emphasis). What I write is guided by a multitude of subtle knowledges within complex relationships as much as through more systematic processes of discourse analysis; yet these knowledges are not themselves sufficient to claim veracity for what is produced. Much of the research analysis was messy, intuitive; some of the time I was unaware that analysis was taking place at all. It would therefore be irresponsible to attempt to describe this in an explicit or codified way.

Instead, the research text - what I am writing now - is thus a pause, frame, an “arbitrary closure” (Hall 1987 p.45) presenting a series of positions as they are re-articulated through research encounters, hijacked by language⁷⁷, embellished and linked to pass for an argument. Moreover, photographs⁷⁸ and illustrations are used to support *and* question arguments, painstakingly chosen from a range of carefully ‘shot’ and selected alternatives; and music (and other texts) is interpreted and described to sustain analytical direction, despite the contestability of what the music ‘means’⁷⁹. This thesis collates these multiply-constructed stories; it is the final performance, socially constituted to meet the demands of ‘the academy’ whilst struggling to remain connected to a muddled and dense network of ongoing research relationships. Arguments, positions - situated knowledges - are thus

⁷⁷ Recognizing that language “...cannot be regarded as a transparent, truthful medium through which the world is simply apprehended” (Opie 1992 p.56).

⁷⁸ Over 200 photographs were taken prior, during and after each Carnival. My lack of photography skills often produced poor-‘quality’ photographs, but aesthetic quality was considered a bonus: photographs were selected for their ‘message’ in the context of a specific argument.

⁷⁹ And this ‘contestability’ is identified through verbal commentaries offered by interview and archival material.

heterogeneously determined, power-ridden, gap-riddled, incomplete, forgetful, provisional, tentative, artificially frozen, *extremely contestable*. It is my 'creation', yet is derivative of 'others', since it is relationally constituted, predicated across inter- and intra-personal difference through a contingency with the "inappropriate/d other", a straddling of 'the gap' between myself - 'the researcher', and 'them' - 'the researched' (see Trinh 1986-1987 p.87). The (in)commensurabilities 'discovered', 'explored' and negotiated through the social relations of research, produce a text which is written to expose their dynamics. Each chapter is assembled through the identification of "systems of signification" (Wetherell and Potter 1992 p.90): recurrent and varying issues⁸⁰, spatialities which are stated, performed, identified through the unequal collaboration of researcher/researched. The chapters offer positions - not answers - and each thus ends without the confirmatory confidence of a position-sealing conclusion, but moves into the next position or back to the previous one as a position intertwined with other positions, (de)linked as part of a broader argument. Representations are made, themes, patterns, groups, directions named; they are discussed further; but then are undermined, destabilized through counter-position and indeterminacy, re-positioned as unverifiable, unrepresentative, specifically located, unequally though relationally (re-) and then (re)constructed.

2.4.1 A postscript: returning to Carnival in St. Paul's...

'Position Three' (2.4) employs another military metaphor in its title: "retreat". Early in the research process, such metaphors were used unintentionally. They just seemed to correspond with how I felt as I negotiated encounters with 'different' people in unfamiliar places. But as the research process developed, research relationships became personal and work became play; respondents became friends and the *mas* camps became projects invested with energies previously reserved for 'leisure'. Military metaphors accordingly changed in meaning, and were used - as in Position Three - to problematize the dualisms between 'researcher' and

⁸⁰ The search for variability is as important as the search for coherence.

'researched', 'home' and 'field', 'work' and 'play'. As discussed above, these tensions produce conflicting interpretations of the positionality of the researcher: I was a 'team member' and local resident, yet I *retreated* to write this thesis; I was a 'friend', yet I write about my friendships; and I was a Carnival participant, yet I listen to the music that 'others' hear and present what *I think* it means. The 'retreat' is far from complete: its strategy sabotaged by a complex of social relations derivative of research which I came to enjoy.

This is why, at the end of June 1998, I returned to St. Paul's for a week of meeting friends and making costumes, leading up to Carnival Day on the Saturday. This is why I'll be there again in 1999 and in Chapeltown this year and the next. I wasn't there as a 'researcher'⁸¹. I simply felt I should be there (*I wanted to be there*): to 'catch up' by 'feeling it', 'living it', 'tasting it'. 'Back' at the *mas* camp, I was returning with everyone else; this was a *social* event. We made new costumes, remembered old ones, 'asked after' each other, shared individual memories to (re)develop collective memories. The process of 'Carnival time' is therefore cyclical: each year collective memories are augmented through their continued embodiment. This is something with which I could participate. But it is also linear: different issues have arisen since the last Carnival, the Carnival theme changes, there are variations in personnel⁸². This is a shortcoming of the research: Carnival develops beyond it; this thesis is already 'out of date'. 'This year' I met 'new' people, encountered different issues, became aware of missed opportunities⁸³. The research (re)developed its *temporal perspective*.

⁸¹ This wasn't a 'counter-attack'.

⁸² For example, between the 1997 and 1998 Carnivals, the built environment of St. Paul's has altered due to the implementation of traffic-calming measures and streetscape 'enhancements' such as new seating. Moreover, specific elements of the Carnival have changed. Two new schools participated in the Carnival Camps Project, one school had withdrawn; there were new Carnival staff, others had left; there were new sound systems and 'acts' (including Radio One's Tim Westwood), many played again.

⁸³ For example, while sitting in the Carnival office eating my lunch, Roni Size (the renowned Bristol jungle DJ; see for example 6.1) walked in. For two years I had attempted to interview Roni. He had agreed an interview but, each time we arranged to meet, he would call with an excuse. I eventually conceded that I'd never meet Roni. He was always touring or collecting

But this is not why I went to Carnival in 1998. I went for fun. On Carnival Day I felt relieved of the pressure to interpret: to be 'everywhere', see and hear 'everything'. Just as in 1997, I went with friends, danced, had a few drinks. But 'this year' I participated in Carnival seeking nothing but enjoyment. So why am I writing about it now? Why have I *retreated* to abstractions such as 'linear' and 'cyclical time'? The answer perhaps is that my positionality is conditioned by three years of research, culminating in this thesis. I am socialized to 'the academy' and I cannot escape. I don't think I will ever be able to attend Carnival without deconstructing its 'meanings'. The gap between 'researcher' and 'researched' will far outlive this project, for I will always *retreat* from collective memories whilst participating in their reconstruction and transformation...

awards; a pestering student was not high on his agenda. Yet *here he was*, standing before me. He asked who I was, remembered my name, looked anxious. But I had no time to pressure Roni into an interview: I had a train to catch. He had appeared as a reminder of a missed opportunity, and it was too late to fulfil the opportunity since the linear time of Carnival was stretching beyond the cyclical emphasis of this research.

CHAPTER THREE

WELCOME TO ST. PAUL'S, GREETINGS FROM CHAPELTOWN

"There are good reasons for assuming that places symbolic for and valued by Black people exist in Britain" (Western 1993 p.167).

"Each place is a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations...the juxtapositions of these relations may produce effects that would not have happened otherwise...all these relations interact with and take a further element of specificity from the accumulated history of a place, with that history itself conceptualized as the product of layer upon layer of different sets of linkages both local and global to the wider world" (Massey 1995 p.68).

"St. Paul's is still a community Carnival because a lot of people in the community seem to get involved and do a lot of work to get it going...I actually live in St. Paul's and I live right in the heart of Carnival...I wouldn't live anywhere else" (Bristol Interview 1, pp.1-2).

3.1 DECONTAMINATING THE 'INNER CITY', CONTEXTUALIZING THE COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF CARNIVAL,

This chapter extensively explores collective memories of those more 'bounded' senses of place expressed, understood and transformed through processes of Carnival. Using a range of ethnographic sources, it expatiates the significance given in **Chapter One** to 'place' as a prevailing concept and 'feeling' as collective memories are re-constructed through their interactions with 'the global'. The chapter details this focus in terms of the ways the Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's are remembered, practised, embodied and represented through divergent senses of place. Carnival is involved in the *struggle over a sense of place*, suffused with a cultural politics of journeying (Gilroy 1993b) which re-makes place through contestations over varying racialized spatialities of collective memory, community and 'tradition'.

The chapter begins by introducing the places of Carnival - Chapeltown and St. Paul's - in terms of their integrative and segregative positions within the physical and imaginary spaces of the cities of Leeds and Bristol. It is argued that despite astonishing cultural diversity within the places, and despite contrasting migration histories, local politics and built environments, these two areas are similarly depicted, represented and *mapped* as marginal 'inner-city' areas. In the dominant socio-spatial discourses of Leeds and Bristol, their external boundaries are fixed and folkloric - everybody knows where they begin and end; and their internal meanings - 'what happens inside' - are marked by a 'descriptive unity' (Keith 1993 p.53) that pathologizes, criminalizes, racializes these places as decaying, violent and Black¹. The conflation and spatialization of these discourses of stigma work to establish and perpetuate segregation and legitimate political practice. They are the prevailing weapons and defence mechanisms of a

¹ And there is considerable semantic cross-over between these terms. For example, to be Black in some racist discourses is 'to be' a criminal. To be young, male and Black, is to stack stigma upon stigma (see Garrison 1979; Cashmore and Troyna 1982; Solomos 1988).

hegemonic power and popular geography which “actively *produces and reproduces difference* as a key strategy² to create and maintain modes of social and spatial division that are advantageous to its continued empowerment” (Soja and Hooper 1993 p.184, original emphasis). Chapeltown and St. Paul’s are therefore as integral to the city as they are separate, unwanted, rejected. They are a necessary abject: ambiguous spaces of fear and desire which are expelled from the mainstream collective memory of the city without ever breaching its central constitutive boundary.

It follows from this that if the wider city (re)constructs itself through an abject comparison from which it can’t be separated, then the figures of difference - the ghettoized spaces of Chapeltown and St. Paul’s - (re)construct themselves through the internalization, negotiation, contestation and mimicry of these collective memories. **The second part of the chapter explores the ways the meanings of Carnival interact with an awareness of how Chapeltown and St. Paul’s are represented.** Because Carnival is interpreted and read with a consciousness of its position in place relative to the wider city, its meanings are often (re)constructed through that relationship as an ‘othering of the self’. Carnival is thus conceptualized and objectified variously as something that counters or opposes dominant images of place; that brings the ‘community’ together despite discord, vice and crime; that is ‘free of trouble’ as if this is unusual given the location. This establishes Carnival as integral to processes of place-building. The meanings of Carnival offer clues regarding the meanings of place and the boundaries of community. Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s work as symbols and processes of the social and spatial relations of the city: fragmented, contradictory, but always rationalized through an awareness of the dominant and popular geography of place.

² Although I would question the extent to which spatializing processes are self-consciously and collectively ‘strategic’.

Bound-up within the spatial dialectics of Carnival, place and collective memory, is the constant overlapping and separation of community and place. Although place and community (as imagined constructs) are often purposefully separated for the sake of theory³, their boundaries sometimes overlap, become intermeshed, indecipherable, strategically and accidentally applied in unity. Here is a simple example: Chapeltown and St. Paul's are stereotyped as 'Black places'; this stereotype is sometimes internalized (although it is also contested) by 'Black' (supposing that the term is used by people of African and Caribbean descent⁴) residents of these areas; (re)constructions of the 'Black community' become interchangeable with the 'Black places' in which they live - St. Paul's and Chapeltown. It doesn't matter that these places are ethnically diverse or that ethnicities are themselves diverse (see Hall 1992b); it doesn't matter that Black people live outside of these places in other parts of the city; because for some people at certain times and for different reasons, constructs of race, place and community are conflated, collectively remembered to make sense as one. **The third part of the chapter explores the ways Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's is actively (re)constructed in form and meaning to *tell stories about place* in terms of *versioned collective memories of place* which are coded to represent the 'Black community'.** Specific reference is made to how Carnival is organized, officiated and thematically directed as a selectively inclusive collective memory which commentates upon 'local issues', 'local people' and 'local events', where the 'local' is naturalized as 'Black'. Here, Carnival operates as an '*inscriptive*' and '*incorporating*' defining process that articulates a particularly racialized sense of place (see Connerton 1989 p.74). It pushes alternative communities and discrepant senses of place to the margins, collectively remembers

³ Agnew and Duncan (1989) argue that one reason for the devaluation of 'place' in the social sciences was its confusion with concepts of 'community' that increasingly appealed to 'parochial' and 'outdated' notions such as neighbourliness and benevolence, which are supposedly more akin to *gemeinschaft* situations (Tonnies 1955).

⁴ Brah (1992 and 1996) discusses the ways people of 'Asian descent' variously employ and disengage the referent 'Black' as part of a political and cultural process of self-identification and cross-diasporization that uses the term strategically, depending on how 'Black' is racialized in different contexts.

a togetherness, a 'we t'ing' which at least momentarily accepts and thrives on a discursive collective memory or identity continuum of 'Black place, Black community, local Black community event'.

These are invented senses of place and community: cultural identities - *discourses of position and place* - which are performed, staged and narrated through the ritual spaces of Carnival. But they are also *embodied and felt*, incorporating the sensual into a process of remembrance which is as actively lived as it is actively told. Mike Featherstone argues "it is the co-ordination of bodily gestures and movements which have never been verbalized or subject to reflection; the familiar smells and sounds; the ability to touch and look at things which have been charged with symbolism and affect" that help to "formalize the relationships which cement the social bonds between people", that - by extension - help to (re)construct notions of belonging, identity, place (Featherstone 1995, p.178). *Collective memories are translated through their embodiment* (see 1.2). Discourses of Carnival and place tell stories that unfold and are transformed through lived experience, through bodily expression, through the development of a collective rhythmic process which builds up, authenticates and reformulates senses of a normative and ritualized Carnival. **The fourth part of the chapter engages with the embodied collective memories of Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's.** Processes of Carnival costume-making and dancing at *J'ouvert Morning* in Chapeltown will be featured as examples of how traditions of Carnival and place are reproduced through individual and collective procedures which are routinized and repetitive through pattern and form but are also innovative, subject to translation. Costume-making within a *mas* Camp is part of an active process of *memorization in context*, where socially constituted bodies practice the past, remember that past, and transform that past to (re)create a contemporary sense of place. Dancing at J'ouvert Morning offers a less organized recollection and re-invention of the local through the affectual unity, rhythmic solidarity *and* playful innovation of performative bodily movement (see Schechner 1993). The social relations of the present are predicated upon collective memories of the past which

are re-enacted, anticipatively (re)represented, relativized through the social relations of place.

These social processes of interaction constantly re-draw the boundaries of community and (re)construct senses of place through their performance. They work to authenticate and code Carnival practice as a defining factor of community that commentates on and embodies a collective memory of place. And yet, the symbolic, social and political meanings of Carnival, *and* the constituent forms within Carnival, are not framed in time and space, are not fixed. Paul Connerton makes the point that to study the formation of memory is to study transfer (Connerton 1989). Memories then are subject to change: to loss, omission, addition. But this approach to transfer can be too limiting, prescriptive, linear. **Instead the final part of the chapter seeks to spatialize processes of collective memory at Carnival by articulating the multidimensionality of the local - the discrepant, contradictory, but relativized cultural identities of Chapeltown and St. Paul's.** It has already been suggested that dominant collective memories of Carnival (as a normative and regularized ritual) in each place are sustained through parallel discourses of place and community (see for example, 1.2 and the above discussion). These are the internally (re)constructed popular geographies of Carnival and place. But they are contested, played with, mixed. They have a 'social centrality' that people are aware of and might allude to (see Hetherington 1996 and 1997; Shields 1992)⁵, but are surrounded by processes of syncretism, interchange, new ethnicities constituent of new senses of place. Moreover they are part of that process: unknowingly or in denial, bounded senses of Carnival, community and place, are punctured by the contestations of multiculturalism, entangled in a complex of intercultural exchange.

⁵ 'Something' or 'somewhere' has a 'social centrality' because it "provide(s) a focus for (the) articulation of identity and a sense of belonging" (Hetherington 1996 p.33), through a "wilful concentration which creates a node in a wider landscape of continual dispersions" (Shields 1992 p.103).

There is a “politics of indeterminacy” to Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s (Mercer 1990 p.49), where its spatial dialectics of protection and exchange prevent it from getting a grip on where it is coming from, where it is going to and where it is now. These events are local, they tell stories of place, re-define place, communalize place⁶; but they are also saturated with memories from elsewhere (such as the *different* islands of the Caribbean [see 4.2 and 4.3]), tied to contemporary diasporic connections (including the (re)construction of a mythical ‘Afrikan’ homeland [see 4.4, 6.1 and 6.2]⁷), hybridized with cross-cultural and cross-diasporic identities and forms. Yet this is how ‘place’ should be understood. This is something like the ‘progressive sense of place’ that Doreen Massey describes (see Massey 1994 and 1995), where places are (re)constructed through processes of translocal spatialization that enmesh global collective memories with local collective memories without ever destroying the integrity or possibility of an inimitable local focus. Likewise, Mouffe’s insistence that we inhabit multiple communities (“as many, really, as the social relations in which we participate and the subject positions they define” [Mouffe 1988 p.44]) and that socio-cultural identities are conditional and precarious, helps to explain how individuals and groups in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s negotiate and traverse multiple approaches, practices and memories of Carnival without ever settling in one *position* in a single *situation*. But because these movements are monitored and objectified by the ‘imagined community’ of place, they are representational acts based on ‘situated knowledges’ of the social relations of place (see for example Haraway 1990). To ‘jump-up’ or not to ‘jump-up’, to ‘play *mas*’ or not to ‘play *mas*’, to listen to soca or to reggae, is to engage in the cultural politics of Carnival and place and is constituent of the processes of racialized exclusion and inclusion which re-define ‘place’, ‘community’, ‘Blackness’, ‘Britishness’, and a thousand other markers of difference.

⁶ And therefore internally segregate place because a community is a partial construct, as purposefully exclusive as inclusive.

⁷ See for example James 1992; Hall 1995.

3.2 GETTING A SENSE OF PLACE IN CHAPELTOWN AND ST.

PAUL'S.

3.2.1 The Beautiful sisters that walk 'the mean streets of Chapelton'⁸...

*"We've got everything in Chapelton
That you can find anywhere else. A sex shop, pub after pub
A supermarket full of white shelves
Playground and waste ground
And even a park
But it's too dangerous to walk there after dark.*

*Dirt and grime is the sight of Chapelton
And the shout of anger is the sound.*

*We've got red brick walls with posters on them
But no one reads what they say
'Bring Anwar's children home' one said
But someone tore it away.*

*Black and White
Is the sight of Chapelton
And the shout of anger
Is the sound."*

(Alan Cotton, September 1985).

Prior to visiting Chapelton for the first time and prior to living there, my preconceptions of 'what Chapelton is like' and 'where Chapelton is' relied on two major sources: the local television news and the Leeds/Bradford 'A to Z'. As a passive viewer and uncritical believer in the authority of the map, I gleaned this much: Chapelton is a decaying 'inner city' area in North Leeds, tucked between the Harrogate Road and the Gledhow Valley (see Figure 3.1); it is rampant with crime and prostitution, sporadically prone to violent disorder, and

⁸ From an article by Derek Naylor, 'In a Bonfire's ashes - the days of hope of a suburb', *The Yorkshire Post*, 12/11/75: 12.

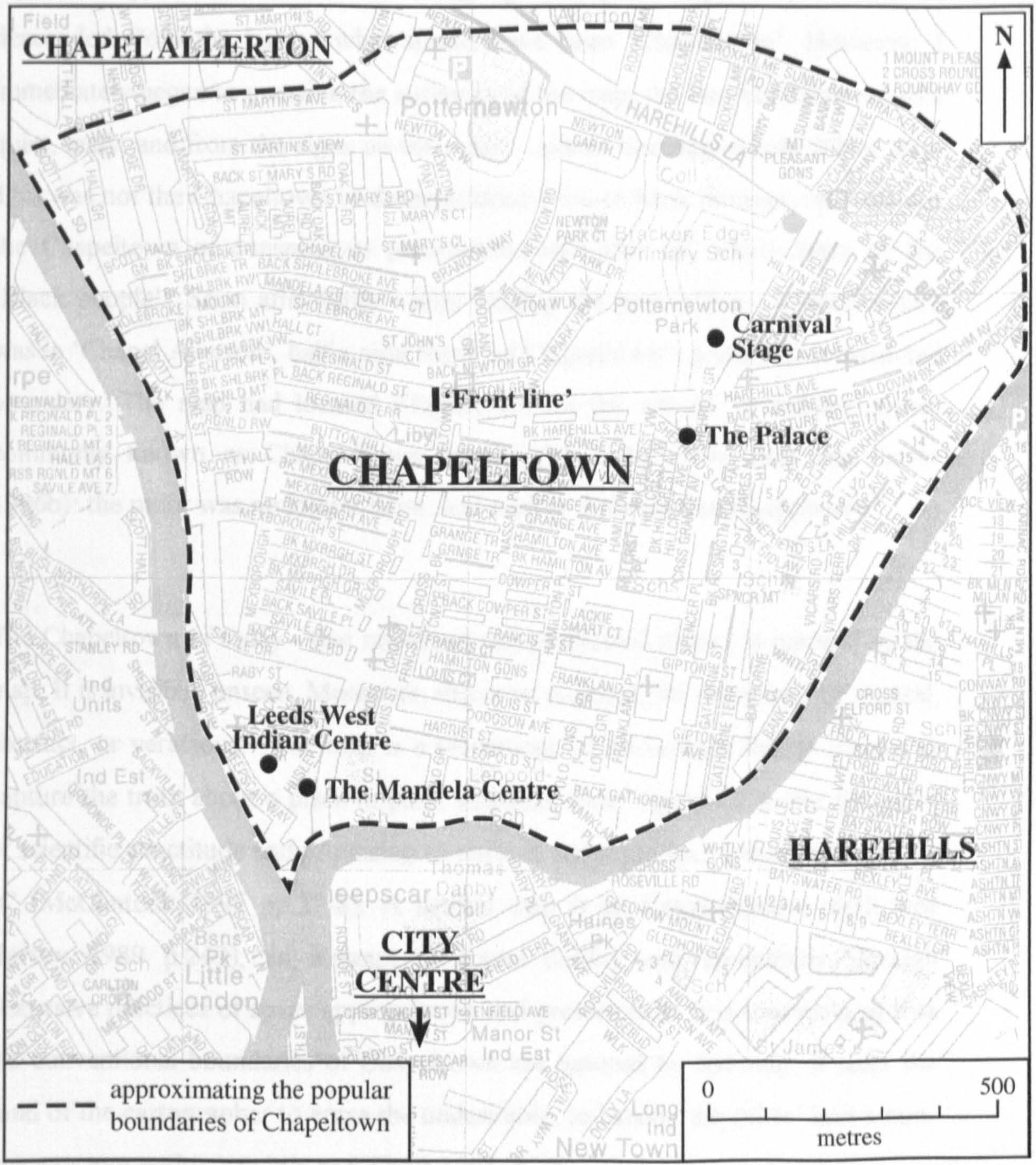


Figure 3.1: Mapping the boundaries of Chapeltown.

therefore it is no accident - by their logic - that this is where the 'Black people' live. But if I had *really* accepted this without any doubt or cynicism, my preconceptions would have become jumbled, less coherent, when I first caught a bus to 'Chapelton' in June 1996. Using my shining new copy of the 'A to Z', I descended from the bus at what should have been 'Chapelton'. However, I immediately began to question the authority of the map: the bus had taken me to a quiet, leafy, and from the signs on the street - almost homogeneously *White* area. This was not the Chapelton of dense gridded back-to-back terraces; this was not the Chapelton of conspicuous prostitution; and after all, where were all the 'Black people'? Soon afterwards - after visiting the post office - I discovered I was in 'Chapel Allerton', half a mile North of Chapelton's popularly constructed boundary. The map had located Chapelton on the site of "a delicate green, commonly known as Chapel-Town Moor" (Thoresby 1816; also see Farrar 1996b): the moor was no longer there, and neither it seems was Chapelton.

The Chapelton of today - that racialized and ghettoized *place* - is ignored by the map. It is invisible, unseen. Moreover, this is no accident, for maps are not neutral, abstract, or veracious: "The map is a technology of knowledge that professes to capture the truth about a place in pure, scientific form, operating under the guise of scientific exactitude and promising to retrieve and reproduce nature exactly as it is" (McClintock 1995 pp.27-8). A neutral map is an Enlightenment myth (see Harvey 1989 p.249), an attempt to frame fluidity and complexity through discursive practices of space appropriation and prescription. It is unsurprising that the conventional boundaries of Chapelton are ignored by the map: it suits the hand of the cartographer to erase the undesirable, to banish 'the other' into a non-space or non-entity (see Pile and Thrift 1995, p.48).

But for all their efforts, those at the Leeds/Bradford 'A to Z'⁹ can't hide or confuse what for many is there, is a 'reality', is 'Chapelton'. There is a popular geography to Chapelton. People who assume that they 'know' Leeds are aware that if you live in the area bounded by Barrack Road, Roundhay Road, Spencer Place, Harehills Avenue and to the west of Chapelton Road as far as the A61 Scott Hall Road, then you live in Chapelton (see Figure 3.1). If you live on or close to these boundaries then you can still proclaim yourself a proud citizen of Chapelton or you can excuse yourself by explaining that you live in Harehills (if you live to the east), Chapel Allerton (to the north), Scott Hall (to the west), or Sheepscar and Little London (to the south). There is nowhere in Leeds with as precise a physical definition as Chapelton. This is because there is nowhere in Leeds so talked about, written about, mythologised, feared. Since the 1930s when the Leeds Jewry began migrating northwards due to the slum clearance of 'The Leylands', an area close to the city centre (Farrar 1988), Chapelton has been an unremitting 'zone of the other', psychically loaded with varying discourses of 'race', pathologized and exoticized, dramatically (re)constructed through a contrasting yet complementary dread and fascination (see hooks 1992; Pieterse 1992; Young 1995).

Chapelton in 1956 was described as "a little Israel in full working order" (Stott 1956, in Farrar 1996b), a "miniature Jewish state in action" (Scott 1956 in Farrar 1988 p.95), racialized as ambiguously aberrant: intriguing yet alien. In 1973, after many Jews had moved North to the suburbs of Chapel Allerton and Moortown, replaced by Caribbean migrants (from the middle and late 1950s) and people from the Indian sub-continent (in the 1960s), Chapelton was dubbed "the Colony within" for a series of articles in the Yorkshire Evening Post (Naylor 1973; also

⁹ Although, like before (see footnote 2), it is unlikely that the map inaccurately locates Chapelton through 'strategy'. It is tempting to regard this misrepresentation of Chapelton as linked to discourses which problematize Chapelton (such as some media representations), but it is unlikely that 'those at the Leeds/Bradford 'A to Z'' or 'the hand of the cartographer' are part of any spatializing conspiracy. This impression *only* develops when representations of Chapelton are regarded cumulatively.

see Farrar 1996b), constructed as culturally rich - "a melting pot for immigrants from many lands for many years" - *and* as extraneous, incompatible with the cultural structures of Leeds, slowly building a "quiet unrest that could lead to a Black revolution" (see Farrar 1996b p.12). Chapeltown's status as a *place of immigration* was being augmented through a dominant¹⁰ mythical re-construction as a *Black place*: "...in present day Chapeltown, the majority of faces are Black. It is a quarter principally but not entirely occupied by West Indian immigrants" (Thompson 1971; also see Duke 1970 p.vii). Discourses of race and place were conflated to abjectify the area as a "forbidding zone" (Farrar 1996c p.304), a "no-go area" with a "catalogue of problems" where "the notoriety of Chapeltown is a blot on the image of Leeds and West Yorkshire as a whole" (*Yorkshire Post* Editorial, 8/1/97).

But this notoriety is due in large part to decades of media mis-representation: pathologies of 'Black culture' that lead to the reproduction of racist stereotypes (see Lawrence 1982; Solomos 1988; Keith 1993), discourses of disorder, crime, vice, aggressive Black masculinity (and the list here is endless), (re)constructing a myth of place which "transforms history into nature" (Barthes 1973 p.129), operating as the "stigmatization of space" (Keith 1993 p.61), a pretext for every debate, reference or allusion to Chapeltown. The Leeds press has - through accident or design - inculcated a 'reality for Chapeltown' based on the documentation of what it considers to be 'supportive evidence'. Whether covering

¹⁰ Despite the dominance of discourses which present Chapeltown as a 'Black place', numerous processes of racialization operate simultaneously. Chapeltown is not represented through the media with the totalizing homogeneity of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, but is spatialized and racialized through discrepant and complementary pathologies and exoticisms of 'Blackness', which work through and against reconstructions of 'Jews', 'Asians', 'Eastern Europeans', general poverty and prostitution. Compare, for example, a *Yorkshire Post* article (29/12/75 p.9), where Chapeltown is constructed as "a Yorkshire soho of 23 nationalities", with Brian Thompson's comments in 1971 (p.117): "Chapeltown...looks like any other part of Leeds, except the great majority of faces are Black...it is otherwise no more colourful or exotic than any other working class district".

the 'riots' or disturbances such as those of 1975¹¹, 1981¹², 1987¹³, or 1994¹⁴, where Chapeltown is (re)constructed as a "time-bomb"¹⁵, an unsettled and explosive "badland" (Furbisher 1991 p.9); or whether 'giving account' of the criminal history of the area, where we are reminded that it was in Chapeltown that Peter Sutcliffe ('The Yorkshire Ripper') killed six women between 1975 and 1977 (Furbisher 1991 p.9)¹⁶, and that it was in Chapeltown that Mr Popovic, an elderly

¹¹ On 5/11/75, over 100 'youths' attacked police cars with bricks at the Bonfire Night festivities on Spencer Place in east Chapeltown (see Figure 3.1). A 2-3 hour 'running battle' ensued, in which five policemen were injured and a number of police cars seriously damaged (see Farrar 1988 p.100). This was the first 'large scale' violent incident in Chapeltown, attracting national attention (see *Race Today*, December 1975), and featured in the local press with typically exaggerated alarm. *The Yorkshire Post* sought to besmear Chapeltown in the guise of a 'positive' article entitled "In a bonfire's ashes - the days of hope of a suburb" (Naylor 12/11/75 p.12), by complementing the good and peaceful nature of the Black elders whilst detailing how "the mean streets of Chapeltown have become a breeding ground for disillusion and now destruction" caused by the "self-imposed apartheid" of "those bearing the British tag" - the Black youth.

¹² In July 1981, Chapeltown 'rioted', or at least it was grouped together with other 'inner city' areas that experienced large-scale disturbances during this period. On the 13th of July, over three hundred 'riot police' were deployed to 'contain' as many as five hundred Black and White youths who were attacking police and looting shops. On this, "Chapeltown's night of violence" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 13/7/81 p.6; also see 16/7/81 p.13; 28/7/81 p.3), forty-three police were injured and the damage was costed at over two million pounds (Farrar 1988 pp.102-3; also see Farrar 1981). Chapeltown fitted neatly into an increasingly doxic representation of disaffected Black youth living in 'those' hostile and blighted 'inner cities' (see Robson 1988; Keith 1993).

¹³ In "twelve hours of violence", youths again hurled bricks at police, and taxis were burnt-out in response to an apparent "wrongful arrest" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 22/6/87; 24/6/87; 24/7/87 p.1).

¹⁴ Twenty-two police officers were hurt "as youths ran riot" after two policewomen arrested a "youth" as part of their investigations into a BMW 'ram raid' attack (*Yorkshire Post* 15/10/94 p.1). Here reports went beyond a blanket spatialization of Chapeltown as a volatile, dangerous place, and instead targeted a particular area of Chapeltown: the 'frontline' at the junction of Chapeltown Road (the main arterial route through Chapeltown) and Reginald Terrace, outside the Hayfield Hotel (which Vivek Chaudhary, writing in *The Guardian*, refers to as "the pub from hell" [see Figure 3.1]). Headlines such as "Riot anger flares on city 'frontline'" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 17/10/94 p.3), or "Frontline Yorkshire" (*Yorkshire Post* 13/7/81), seek and work to glamorize and antagonize the concept or prospect of confrontation through a construction of place that forms a stage for particular identities to thrive (such as those of the 'Black youth'), for the legitimation of specific police practices (such as 'fishing raids' [Keith 1988]), and the wider play of social relations that construct Chapeltown and its 'heart' - the 'frontline' - as a problem.

¹⁵ *Leeds Other Paper* 26/6/87 pp.6-7.

¹⁶ Yallop's analysis of Sutcliffe's 'career' attempts to contextualize the 'scene of the crime' by depicting Chapeltown as a sleazy and seedy landscape of vice (Yallop 1981; also see Farrar 1996b p.12). Dominant discourses that construct prostitution as Black pimps controlling White women, worked to couple a fear of 'the Yorkshire Ripper' with a castigation of Black men. This shows how Chapeltown is complexly and subtly racialized.

Serbian, was robbed and killed when asking for directions¹⁷, Chapeltown is simplified - made sense of - through multiple complementary and conflicting *processes of racialization*. Problems of prostitution, street crime or urban deprivation, are bounced off and channelled through discourses of race that spatialize Blackness through metaphors of 'the ghetto' or 'the frontline'. Different racisms work to construct different 'problems', connecting Chapeltown's status as a 'red light district' to the supposed existence of Black pimps; and linking Chapeltown's gangs of hooded muggers, vandals, and drug abusers (those 'frontliners' - see Farrar 1996b p.15) to a particularized construction of Black masculinity which is young and refractory, derivative of a context of broken homes, cultural placelessness and a lack of opportunity (see Hall *et al* 1978; Solomos 1988; hooks 1994).

So Chapeltown is Leeds' abject: a seditious domain of a self-ascribed and externally prescribed 'otherness' that incurs the racist wrath of the mainstream and increasingly prosperous city. With its imagery of violence and decay comes an imagery of Blackness, an imagery of place. (Re)Constructing Chapeltown is a "means of spatialization" (Sibley 1995a p.9), a way of situating places within the 'symbolic order' of the city¹⁸ that provides a rule book or guide to comprehending what happens in that area and to how to react, plan and *inflict* policy. But there is a problem with all of this, a problem of substance, a 'reality gap'. The hitch is that Chapeltown doesn't strictly abide within the constricting pathologies of this

¹⁷ "Living with fear in the suburb of death" (G. Flinn, *The Yorkshire Post* 10/4/96 p.5). Also see "Random death in the life of a Leeds suburb (M. Wainwright, *The Guardian* 13/4/96 p.27): "(T)he story could hardly have been more horrible: a pensioner dragged from his car after asking the way; kicked and beaten and left to die in the street, for the sake of his wristwatch, his wedding ring and a pathetic £50".

¹⁸ Lacan (1973) refers to the 'symbolic order' as a context for the restructuring of 'the subject', a means of relating to others through social and cultural symbolism. This might be through images of difference such as the 'stereotype' (Gilman 1985; Rapport 1995), through defilement and pathology (see for example Douglas 1966), or through a complex overlapping of 'same' and 'other' where 'the other' is necessary for the (re)construction and positional elucidation of 'the self'. In this sense, Chapeltown is a necessary node in the socio-spatial relations of Leeds: contingent, inseparable, internalized.

dominant “representational space” (see Lefebvre 1976; 1979; 1991); it doesn’t quite fit the bill. For example, the built environment of Chapeltown is not that of a popularly imagined ‘inner city’ (Keith and Rogers 1991). There are no tower blocks in Chapeltown, no graffiti-ridden, urine-stenched subways. There isn’t even the expanse of cramped and crumbling back-to-back terraced houses that form swathes around central Leeds.

Although the local media have represented Chapeltown’s housing in terms of the “frightening squalor” of “a wet hell called home” (Lazenby 1980), and there is no doubt that many properties are substandard¹⁹ and multiply occupied (see Farrar 1996c and Leeds City Council 1994), housing associations have renovated many properties and council properties are in similar (dis)repair to anywhere else in the Local Authority area. What’s more, the housing in Chapeltown is incredibly mixed²⁰. Taking a stroll from Spencer Place in the east across to Sholebroke Street a mile to the west (see Figure 3.1), you pass through a fractured landscape of shaded avenues where grand terraced houses push through the trees; of windswept terraced streets criss-crossed by narrow alleyways that join the overwhelming red brick of the back-to-backs²¹ (see Figure 3.2); and of early red brick council housing or more recent housing association properties, filling in the gaps where the terraces once stood. To the north is Potternewton Park, an impressive bowl of grass and mature deciduous trees; to the east is the dense bank of back-to-backs that is Harehills, visible from Chapeltown as a rugged skyline of jugged roofs and chimney pots; and cutting approximately through ‘the middle’ of

¹⁹ Farrar (1994) documents the appalling conditions many Chapeltown residents encountered when they first arrived in the area as ‘immigrants’ (also see Duke 1970), but comments elsewhere that this situation is much improved, with indices of overcrowding, amenities etc. suggesting that the area’s housing conditions are only “slightly worse” than the average for Leeds as a whole (see Farrar 1996c p.310).

²⁰ Farrar (1995 p.8) attributes the zonal arrangement of the different housing types of Chapeltown to the pattern of Sixteenth Century field lay-outs and to Victorian commercial decisions (also see D. Ward 1962).

²¹ Although these aren’t ‘genuine’ ‘back-to-backs’ with a shared rear wall. Rather, they are tightly gridded terraces with back yards which pour onto a shared alley-way.

Chapelton is Chapelton Road - the 'heart' of the area - climbing gently from the city to the suburbs of the north, lined with a mixture of Victorian shopping parades (but many of the shops have gone), and large grey terraces. The built environment of Chapelton is a landscape of contradictions. It is softened by trees yet harshened by litter and dereliction; it is spacious yet cramped; handsome yet frayed; it is of 'the inner city' and yet it upsets that very notion, exposing it for what it is - a social construction.



Figure 3.2: Terrace after terrace off Mexborough Avenue, Chapelton, March 1997.

Likewise and inseparably, the people of Chapelton do not conform to the area's dominant stereotype. It might be the major area of Black settlement in Leeds, but the majority of people living in Chapelton are not Black (if 'Black' is interpreted as people of 'African-Caribbean' descent). According to the 1991 census, of the 14,000 people living in 'Chapelton', 28% described themselves as 'African-Caribbean', 'African', or 'Black other', 29% as from the Indian sub-continent, and

39% as White²². This hardly fits the stereotype of a homogeneous mono-ethnic 'ghetto'. Internal constructions of Chapeltown have developed as much through the area's diversity as through its externally constructed uniformity. The social relations of Chapeltown run through discrepant collective memories of place that are inflected with and organized through influences that include those of The Punjab (the migratory starting point for the majority of Chapeltown's 'first generation' Indian 'immigrants'), Mirpur (in Pakistan), Sylhet (in Bangladesh), several Eastern European countries, Ireland, and a variety of Caribbean islands²³. This square mile of urban space is, according to local councillor Garth Frankland, "probably one of the most organized in Western Europe" (in Wainwright 1996 p.27). Senses of place are (re)constructed through processes of cultural interchange and political unity, productively thriving in spaces of interaction, such as the community centre, the schools, the richly and diversely stocked food stores, on the streets; but also through internal segregation, disunity, a socio-cultural distancing where cultural groups confine themselves to their homes, or perhaps the Sikh Centre, the Pentecostal churches, or the Latvian Welfare club.

The 'African-Caribbean' population of Chapeltown fits within this multiplicitous notion of place (see Duncan and Duncan 1988). Hanging from the ceiling in the Leeds West Indian Centre on Laycock Place in Chapeltown are the flags of numerous Caribbean nations. They symbolize a togetherness, a pan-Caribbean ethic that has emerged through the shared effects of island-blind racisms (James 1992), politically united through organizations such as the 'United Caribbean Association' (UCA) - a strong pan-Caribbean campaigning group based in Chapeltown. From some angles they appear to hang together, overlap, are staggered; but from other angles they hang separately, there are significant spaces

²² Acknowledging the arbitrariness of these categorizations (and the artificial separation of space into units that can be measured) and the inaccuracy of the census where, for example, "up to 25% of young men in their twenties living in the inner cities are missing" (Hanlon 1994 pp.33).

²³ Martin Wainwright, writing in *The Guardian*, refers to Chapeltown's "polygot pubs which regularly have customers from 17 different countries of origin" ('Random death in the life of a Leeds suburb' p.27).

between them. Black people in Chapeltown are collectivized through their colour and their contemporary context, but they also have histories - *different* histories - and the history of Black people in Chapeltown has developed through their convergence *and* detachment. But there is a dominant history within these plays of difference, one that can be traced to the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis. It was from these '*Beautiful sisters*' - two tiny islands in the Eastern Caribbean - that thousands of people set sail or flew in the 1950's and 1960's, and it was Chapeltown - a cold landscape of cheap bed-sits - where many of them eventually settled. Unlike most places in Britain with a high level of Black residency, dominated by traditions and 'routes' which are Jamaican, Chapeltown has its own particular 'flava': it has been shaped and (re)constructed through processes of cultural interchange that have relied heavily on the cultures, identities and collective memories of a St. Kittian and Nevisian perspective.

Rex, a long-term Chapeltown resident, suggests that these influences cannot be ignored:

“...the St. Kitt's/Nevis family nexus is an extremely effective informal way of defining and sort of not exactly homogenizing, but it does have a tremendously powerful integrative function for the area” (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.8²⁴).

The 'Beautiful sisters' are represented and collectively remembered through the flags in people's cars, familial relationships, friendships, music, cuisine. They mark Chapeltown through iconography and atmosphere, they offer a sense of place. But they do not define Chapeltown, they are part of 'the' place without ever constituting 'that' place. Rex continues:

“...I think the second thing about Chapeltown...(is)...other nexuses...so I'm thinking of things like the Jamaica Society, the Barbados Society, and in its heyday the United Caribbean Association...the degree of social, political and cultural organization in the area is - you know - extremely effective at bringing people together in different ways... There's a tremendous personal commitment to the fabric of community as a whole but also people have had this commitment to all sorts of ways of organizing themselves...” (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.8).

²⁴ Remember, Appendix 1 supplies more biographical and contextual information regarding the interviewees.

Chapelton has a series of 'social locations' (Back 1996), it has many parts. Some parts are discrete, others communal, all are related. Senses of place are (re)constructed through physical encounters that involve the meeting and selective syncretism of cultures: this is the *embodied (re)construction of place*. But they also emerge through processes of othering or non-encounter, where cultures, generations, 'other communities' are relativized vicariously: this is the *disembodied (re)construction of place*.

Each of these discordant senses of place has a position within Chapelton, and each operates knowingly and often in reaction to dominant evocations of place that thrive on campaigns of negativity against somewhere which is apparently sleazy, disgruntled, intemperate. It is this complexity that recreates and reconstitutes place, drawing and re-drawing boundaries within, across and around Chapelton, opening up the area to its divergent histories, its global links, whilst thematically and strategically restricting these flows by authenticating a sense of place. This is the context that is of and transformed by the social relations of Chapelton. The Leeds West Indian Carnival is part of that context, part of those social relations, part of the collective memories of place.

3.2.2 Remembering Jamaica in Bristol's 'shanty town'²⁵...

*"A suh dem seh to me.
"Whappen darta you cool?"
Boy whata sufferation
innah St. Paul's City.
What a sight in brawd daylight
But wit
St. Paul's City is
like a concrete jungle
where hopes and aspirations
stumble
tumble and
crumble
Most people nah wan fe give up de place
them love St. Paul's even inah disgrace..."*

(Jean Morris 1985 p.13).

Living in St. Paul's, like Chapeltown, was energizing, affecting. I can say this without plunging into discourses of exotica or romanticism where the richness and diversity of cultures are celebrated - made sexy - by the transgressive wanderings of a White middle class male²⁶. St. Paul's is a challenging place, it demands attention, captivates the senses, it makes you want to find out more. The front garden of my flat overlooked Sussex Place, a small triangle of grass in the middle of St. Paul's. Behind Sussex Place is Grosvenor Road, a narrow street flanked on one side by shops, on the other by houses (see **Figure 3.3**). On a sunny day groups of middle-aged and elderly Black men sit around playing dominoes or ludo on tables which they've dragged from inside; shoppers stand and chat outside 'Tony's Afro-Caribbean Foods'; cars glide past with the sounds of reggae, jungle, hip hop or R&B splashing out of their open windows and rooftops; and unkempt

²⁵ The name given to St. Paul's by Ken Pryce in his 1979 book *Endless Pressure* - an 'ethnographic' approach to 'West Indian lifestyles' in the area.

²⁶ For a discussion of the 'dangers' of this, see for example Jackson (1993); Okeley and Callaway (1994).

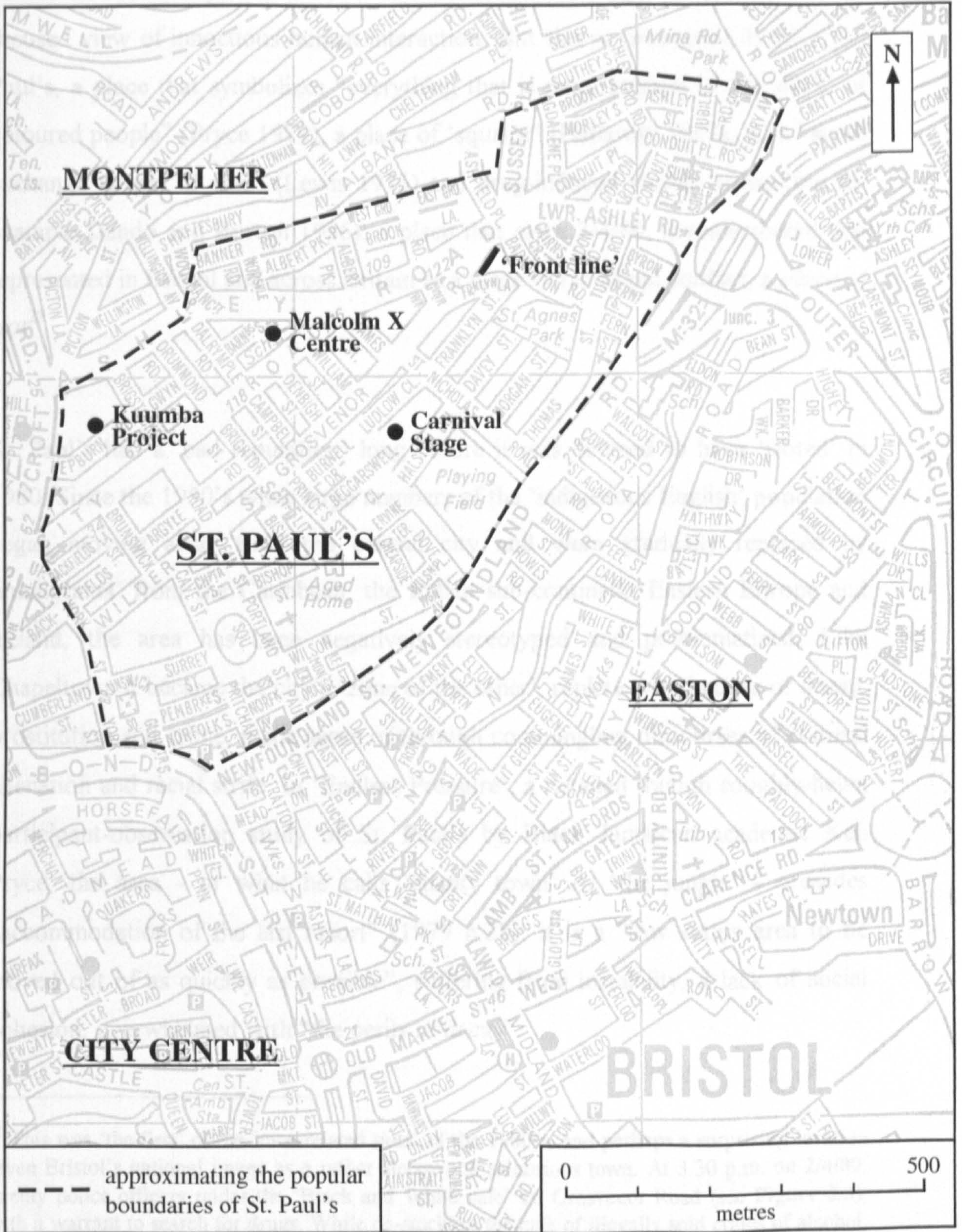


Figure 3.3: Mapping the boundaries of St. Paul's.

White guys lie in a drunken or stoned slumber amongst the dandelions and daisies of Sussex Place. If you turn down the volume it's an image of serenity, a soft-focused view of innocuous human interaction. But this is Grosvenor Road in St. Paul's, a place that symbolizes "everything that is most profane in the world of coloured people" (Pryce 1979), a place of 'squalor' (Hallaway 1967), with "stock exchange streets of vice" (Lewis 1975) and drug-induced violent crime (see for example Dando and Burton 1996); a place that since 2/4/80, is remembered and represented in Bristol and across Britain as a place of racialized conflict, a *place of riot*²⁷.

St. Paul's had a 'bad reputation' long before it was deemed to have 'rioted' in 1980. Since the 1950's when large numbers of the 'indigenous English' population began moving away from the central city and were gradually replaced by 'immigrants' from the Caribbean, the Indian sub-continent, Eastern Europe and Ireland, the area has been negatively stereotyped and problematized. Like Chapeltown it became the city's 'zone of the other', replete with images of decay, prostitution and crime, made sense of through commingling discourses of cultural alienation and racial strife. In 'Endless Pressure', a detailed though roughly-hewn participant-observation study of St. Paul's by Black Jamaican academic Ken Pryce, the area - or what he calls 'shanty town' or 'the jungle' - provides "accommodation of the last resort" (1979 p.28): it is a "low status area to be moved out of as quickly as possible", suffering from instability, a lack of social cohesion, overwhelmed with "the perils of decay".

²⁷ This was 'the first' of the 'race-related riots' of the 1980's, and perhaps a surprising location given Bristol's national image as a rather sleepy and salubrious town. At 3.30 p.m. on 2/4/80, twenty police officers raided the 'Black and White cafe' on Grosvenor Road (see Figure 3.3), with a warrant to search for drugs. While de-stocking the cafe of illegally sold crates of alcohol, a 'flashpoint' or fracas occurred, the police were attacked and stoned, forced eventually to leave the area. Between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m., there were series of running battles between 'riot-equipped' police and groups of Black and White youths. Fifty police officers were injured, eleven civilians were hospitalized; twenty-five police vehicles were damaged, six of them 'burnt-out'; twenty-one buildings were damaged and widespread looting was costed at £150,000 (Johnson 1996 pp.40-44). Significantly, St. Paul's was left 'un-policed' from 7.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m., concretizing the area's reputation as a 'no-go-area' and provoking intense alarm elsewhere (also see Reicher 1984).

Doubtless, much of this is true. For example, much of the housing in St. Paul's was in poor condition: large houses originally built for wealthy families and their servants were multiply-occupied, overcrowded and physically deteriorating (see Richmond *et al* 1973), sanitary facilities were the worst in Bristol (Pryce 1979), and between the houses were the rubble strewn spaces of half-complete slum-clearance schemes or bomb-damaged properties that hadn't been demolished and replaced more than thirty years after the Second World War²⁸. Conditions have since improved (but have not been transformed), and this can largely be attributed to remedial responses to the 1980 uprising. St. Paul's is no longer a 'shanty town' - the events of 1980 took care of that - but that reputation lingers, and it is the memory of 1980 that has given St. Paul's' problem image an added notoriety as "the toughest of the tough" (Johnson 1996 p.44), the domain of the 'mob', a landscape of insurrectionary and rampaging Black masculinities. Regardless of the invidious vicissitudes of racism and conditions of squalor that the Black people of St. Paul's endured, and ignoring the fact that many White people sided with the local Black population or that police practice was at best questionable and at worst wholly inappropriate²⁹, the 'St. Paul's riots' were used by the media to establish 'St. Paul's the place' as a symbol of the malcontent and depravity of young Blacks that was relocatable to other discursively constructed 'inner cities' (including Chapeltown), and that confirmed these people and these places as an 'alien wedge which was seen and "...which was increasingly seeing itself as outside the moral and legal restraints of the wider society" (Solomos 1988 p.190; also see Hall *et al* 1978; Gilroy 1982; Gilroy and Sim 1985).

²⁸ On October 2nd, 1967, a petition was sent from the 'St. Paul's District' to Bristol City Council, calling for action to improve domestic facilities and housing safety, and to control the spiralling local rat population. The accompanying letters express a desire to escape from such miserable conditions where "we are still *shackled* here" (my emphasis) (Source: Bristol Racial Equality Council archives).

²⁹ Harris and Wallace (1983) present a critical interpretation of the "confused and confusing accounts" of the 1980 disturbances. Amongst a range of useful interjections to dominant stories of 'what actually happened', they assert that the "rioting crowd" was racially mixed (1983 p.190), and that the police were often "selective in statements" (1983 p.61; also see Johnson 1996 pp.40-41).

Before and especially since 'the riots', representations of St. Paul's have been caught up in a "clichéd ontological spiral" (Keith 1993 p.53) which provides a discursive context - a way of making sense - of events, stories, social relations and identities in that place. It is externally portrayed, politicized, negatively racialized and *collectively remembered* as a 'Black area' (see Appendix 3 for a stark example), and this provides the Black people of St. Paul's with a shared identity that collapses notions of a Black place on to notions of a 'Black community' which has developed through the 'Endless Pressure' of living in a place like St. Paul's (see Pryce 1979). It doesn't matter that the majority of people living in St. Paul's are not Black or that the majority of Black people living in Bristol do not live in St. Paul's³⁰, the area symbolizes - is popularly imagined - as a Black place and as a radical, combative and deeply *rooted* Black community. Steve, a local Black DJ, agrees with this racialization of space:

"It's cultural, it's got a strong culture down here, it's stronger than what you'd think. You'd have to go really deep into London or Birmingham to find people as cultured as down here. Certain people, because you've got to remember the boats came in here (laughs)...and the people, a lot of the main people, a lot of the people that are deep, those kindred Jamaican people stay here...that's why you've got a strong Jamaican presence in Bristol - you know - it was even stronger going back in the Eighties - you know... There you go, St. Paul's riots" (Bristol Interview 15 - Steve: p.6).

For those Black Bristolians who do not live in St. Paul's, it is likely that they once did or that their parents or grandparents did, and many remain linked to the area through familial ties, shopping patterns, church attendance, or dancehall nights and other cultural events including Carnival. It is no coincidence that several Black publicans live and work within half a mile of Grosvenor Road, or that the Sankore

³⁰ Census details are not revealing since the district is cut across by wards which contain other areas. Yet Paul (Bristol Interview 16) - a worker for Bristol racial Equality Council - is clear in his understanding of the demographics of the district:

"Of course there was a time when a high proportion of Bristol's African-Caribbean population lived in close proximity or in St. Paul's...now that is no longer the case at all - right. You've got to remember to start with, St. Paul's is 70% White...what is clear is that the majority of Black people do not live in St. Paul's, and I mention that because I think it surrounds the sort of mythology of St. Paul's and Bristol" (Bristol Interview 16 - Paul: p.5).

library of Afrikan and Caribbean history, 'Black Roots Books', and the 'Bristol Sickle Cell and Thalassaemia Centre' chose a location in or on the edges of St. Paul's, rather than over the M32 in Easton where many more Black people live. St. Paul's has enormous symbolic and cultural significance for Black Bristol: it is loved as much as it is reviled, (re)constructed out of a mixture of pride and shame, where shame only exists because there is a sense of belonging, ownership, pride.

This tiny area, so close to central Bristol, is close to the city's 'heart' in other ways. Senses of place for Black people in St. Paul's have developed through an awareness of their position within the wider histories of the city of Bristol. Processes of racism, exclusion and alienation are contextualized, made more significant, because they are in Bristol: a city built on the pillages of imperialism and genocide of the slave trade, its history "written with the blood of Africa" (Scobie 1972 p.19). Since the ending of the London-based Royal African Company's monopoly of English trade with West Africa in 1698, and until the official abolition of the trade in 1807, over 2000 vessels set sail from Bristol in search of slaves (Richardson 1985). Conservative estimates suggest that during this period Bristol ships transported over half a million West Africans to the Caribbean (Richardson 1985). The wealth accrued from this trade was enormous: it lined the pockets of the city's 'Society of Merchant Venturers' - the "Mafia" anchor-men of Bristol's maritime trade (Richardson 1985) - enabling them to live in the Georgian splendour of the burgeoning spa suburb of Clifton, high on the hill above the city and St. Paul's; and it created the wealth for the development of other plunderous trades and industries including chocolate (such as Fry's), tobacco (such as Wills), and insurance (Bristol today, bar London, is the main insurance/financial services centre in the UK).

The modern city of Bristol stands as a monument to the slave trade and its excrescent industries: it is in the buildings (such as the Colston Hall, an entertainment venue donated by merchant and plantation owner Edward Colston,

or the impressive Wills tower at the University of Bristol), in the parks (such as 'The Downs' in Clifton - an important leisure space for 'up and coming' merchant classes), and most of all it is in the collective memories of the antecedents of those who suffered the brutality of this trade - Bristol's contemporary Black population. However, in those discursive spaces that dominate the popular histories and geographies of Bristol, the atrocities of slavery and its influence on the city's development are ignored, hidden, forgotten. Modern Bristol has re-packaged itself with a 'shining new past' (Bennett 1988) based on a maritime heritage landscape around the docks of the central city. Recent events such as 'The International Festival of the Sea'³¹ in 1996 and 'Cabot 500'³² in 1997, present uncomplicated and sanitized memories of Bristol as a port city, bathed in the glories of past expeditions, dressed up in the fanciful attire of a seafaring age of discovery, exotica, masculinized gallantry. This singular version of history adds to the marginalization and alienation of the city's non-White population. It offers a specifically racialized history of Bristol, a history that excludes contributions from Black people (from the blood and sweat of slavery and cheap labour to the cultural vitality of the city's dance music scene) by pretending they are not there, that *they are not of the city*.

³¹ The 'International Festival of the Sea' was billed as "the largest gathering of small craft that this country has ever known..." (International Festival of the Sea brochure 1996). In May 1996, great swathes of Bristol's harbourside were closed to the public, accessible only with a ticket (which were £20 for Bristolians). It was a 'heroic spectacle' of more than 700 vessels, almost 1000 performers, and 360,000 ticket-holders (Atkinson *et al* 1996), collectively celebrating the partial histories of Bristol's maritime resplendence whilst eliding other histories and discouraging entry and contribution from those who might question the 'institutionalized forgetfulness' of the event's agenda (Bennett 1988; also see M. Crang 1996).

³² Cabot 500, like the Festival of the Sea, was an exercise in place-marketing. Its centre-piece was the construction and re-launch of 'The Matthew', a ship that set sail from Bristol in 1497 "...to seeke out, discover and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions of provinces...which before this time have been unknown to all Christians" (International Festival of the Sea brochure 1996). That ship, captained by John Cabot (real name: Giovanni Caboto, an Italian conveniently adopted as a Bristolian), is represented as having 'discovered' Newfoundland, and therefore 'The Americas'. Its re-launch in May 1997 was used to celebrate Bristol's maritime heritage and, on arrival, Newfoundland's 500th Anniversary celebrations. No mention was made of the subsequent genocide of indigenous people, or of the ways these 'discoveries' opened the way for the brutalities of slavery and imperialist aggression.

By extension, the suppression of certain histories and the aggrandizement of others has a socio-spatial impact, working to centralize the spaces of civic pride and ambition such as the harbourside (where for example a new arts centre has recently been allocated £65 million of National Lottery money) through the effacement and attempted abortion from the city's fabric of those spaces that contribute to those different histories, the most prominent of which is St. Paul's. Senses of place in St. Paul's (re)develop through the internalization and negotiation of its dominant representation as a 'Black place', a 'Place of the other', a 'place outside Bristol'. Earlier, Steve (Bristol Interview 15 p.6) made the point that "you've got to remember, the boats came in here". Few Black people living in St. Paul's need this reminder. There is a hard-edged and combative politics in St. Paul's. It is expressed in the column inches of '*The Free News*' or '*The Evening Pist*' (two local publications with a specifically local agenda that regularly contest the area's negative publicity or its omission from the wider histories of Bristol, the latter operating as a counter discourse to the city's '*Evening Post*'); on the airwaves of 'Powerjam FM' or 'UNITY FM'; and in the committee rooms and cultural programmes of the Kuumba Project (see 2.2.3) and the Malcom-X Centre³³. A 1980 edition of 'Grassroots', a now defunct Black newspaper, dubbed the 1980 disturbances '*The Bristol slave rebellion*', and followed this up with a series of poems and articles that attempted to represent the "truth" about the events. Here is one of the poems:

*"Dis ya town build offa Slavery
dem grow fat offa wi. Relics of
the chain dem still ahn yah. dem
a try fi put wi back ina it"*

(Grassroots 1980 p.8)

Collective memories of slavery are linked in this poem to the contemporary marginalization of Black people, which in turn is coded - spatialized - through the

³³ A community/arts centre on Ashley Road, St. Paul's (see Figure 3.3).

(re)construction of racially symbolic and collectively meaningful places such as St. Paul's (because the poem is 'about' 'riots' in St. Paul's). In this sense, dominant collective memories of St. Paul's are inseparable from the brutal histories of Bristol: they rely on each other as a means to negotiate position and meaning.

As already mentioned, a relatively settled outcome of this process of place-fixing is the establishment of St. Paul's as a 'Black place'. Finer processes of racialization may criss-cross this definition, and it may be contested by non-Black (and here this includes 'Asians') residents of St. Paul's, but most Bristolians would understand a cultural shorthand that in this instance conflates race with place. But beyond this definition of St. Paul's as a 'Black place' (and away from the statistical inaccuracy of this), the signifier 'Black' fails to reveal that the migratory 'routes' of Black people in St. Paul's and throughout Bristol is overwhelmingly *Jamaican*. Moreover, the Jamaican 'immigrants' who travelled to Bristol 'came' predominantly from two rural parishes: St. Thomas and St. Anne's (Bristol Interview 16 - Paul: p.2). Senses of place for Black people in St. Paul's are in many ways derivative of a specific connection to Jamaica. This is evidenced in familial links and processes of return migration, and in the dialect/patois of older generations. But St. Paul's is also (re)constructed through connections to mainstream and alternative Jamaican cultures, symbolized through the ubiquity of the colours green, gold and Black (see Figure 3.4); given a soundtrack through the pervasiveness of reggae music; philosophized through the widespread 'dread ontology' of Rastafarianism.

However, senses of place in St. Paul's constitute more than this: they operate within processes of cultural transformation, interpenetrating differently racialized and differently contextualized cultures; they are of the local as part of the national within the global; they confront, negotiate, even anticipate the product and direction of the mix. It is these dynamics, these relationships, that give St. Paul's its energy. This is what made living there so '*affecting*'. The popular boundaries



Figure 3.4: *The flags of Jamaica and Ethiopia flutter over Grosvenor Road, St. Paul's, July 1997.*

of St. Paul's (see **Figure 3.3**) stretch from the north-east corner of Bristol city-centre, along the edge of the busy and commercial A38 or 'Stokes Croft' to the west, across the tree-lined Ashley Road to the north, and back along the enforced division of the M32 and Newfoundland Road/A4032 to the east. They encircle wide Regency and Georgian terraces with their pastel-coloured facades (see **Figures 3.5** and **3.6**), some closely packed Victorian terraces, clusters of local authority maisonettes, a small park, several shops and pubs. It is a very small 'place', a mere 'pin prick' in the 'inner city' (Bristol Interview 20 - Charles). And yet, there is no place so famous, so semantically charged, in the whole of Bristol. This impression of otherness cannot be excluded from the varying definitions of 'place' from within St. Paul's. But that is just part of the story: senses of place in St. Paul's are (re)constructed through the productive tensions of its 'multiculture' (see Back 1996), through cultural interchange and separation, political unity and discord, through a provisional, trans-local *and* recognizably local re-definition of itself. It is these social relations that provide a frame, a background, the

transforming structures for Carnival; and the St. Paul's Carnival contributes towards the re-construction of these divergent senses of place.



Figure 3.5: *Faded glory? The grand terraces of City Road, St. Paul's, June 1997.*



Figure 3.6: *The Boarded-up 'glory' of Brigstocke Road, St. Paul's, June 1997.*

3.3 CARNIVAL IN 'THE GHETTO': TOWARDS A RECONFIGURATION OF PLACE,

"Identity depends on conditions of existence which are contingent, its relationship with them is absolutely necessary" (Laclau 1990 p.21).

"...perhaps, instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact...we should think, instead, of identity as 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall 1990 p.222).

"...Chapelton has had a lot of negative publicity, and the Carnival is something that is very prominent and - you know - and I personally believe I do love Chapelton, and I am very concerned with my roots and my history and I think as a Black person, regardless of what you achieve, you're morally responsible and obligated to share and stay within your roots" (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.5).

This part of the chapter introduces the Carnivals in Chapelton and St. Paul's through a discussion of the ways local residents internalize and negotiate collective memories of the racialized abjection of where they live - Chapelton and St. Paul's. As has been shown, these are discursively constituted places. They are actively (re)created, imagined and located within the cityscape through processes of signification and differentiation which ascribe them with meaning. They have a dominant place identity which has developed syntagmatically through "the social production of memory" (see Keith 1993 and 1987; Bonnett 1996), giving them a metaphoric linkage through their discursive (re)representation as aberrant, criminal, sleazy and tempestuous - ideological (re)representations that rest on and re-work the signifier *Black*. Examples drawn mainly from interview discussions are used here to situate the Carnivals within the ideological terrain of the city, where Carnival itself works as a representational device that understands, negotiates, and reworks dominant collective memories of these 'inner city' areas³⁴.

³⁴ And here each Carnival is introduced and discussed through an understanding of how they have developed from different organizational and institutional contexts. Put briefly, Chapelton Carnival operates through the control of a voluntary Carnival committee of approximately 12 local Black people. This institutional structure (and many of the personnel) has remained unchanged since the first Carnival in 1967, although Leeds City Council Leisure Services has in recent years had an increased role in terms of funding and safety/structural regulation. Similarly,

These are *versions* of Carnival, processes of story-telling which articulate the spaces of Carnival from within a reification of the 'self' as 'other': what Homi Bhabha calls "the ambivalent identifications of the racist world...the 'otherness' of the self inscribed in the perverse palimpsest of colonial identity" (1990b p.188 and p.203; also see Hall 1990)³⁵. It is from these moments of essentialism - 'necessary fictions' of 'arbitrary closure' (see Hall 1987) - that ascendant representations of place are contested, reworked, parodied. There is a common language that speaks of or against Chapeltown and St. Paul's and therefore their Carnivals, as being of (materially and discursively) a mythical (and different groups are differentially aware of the extent and direction of this mythology) 'inner city'. Here place and Carnival are inseparable.

3.3.1 Internalizing otherness...

In 1967, the year of the first 'Leeds West Indian Carnival', Black people in Chapeltown were working in the worst jobs for the lowest wages, living in cold, damp and overcrowded houses, greeted by pubs, shops and property landlords with a sign that said "no coloureds". They had moved to Leeds after a promise of good employment, quality housing, a welcoming and receptive local population, and yet 'the mother country' provided them with none of these things. Respect must be given to those who had the determination, the bravery to initiate, organize and publicly flaunt symbols of 'their culture' through the street performance of Carnival. It was not easy for them. Economic marginalization and spatial

St. Paul's Carnival relies on local authority funding and licensing. But there are fundamental differences. For example, there is one paid Carnival worker and a Carnival office based at the Kuumba project (see 2.2.3). Moreover, in contrast to Chapeltown, this structure is more fluid, with regular changes to personnel, a less predictable income, and, due to the event's origins as a 'festival', greater freedom to widen the meanings of 'Carnival' (see Chapter 4). These contextual and organizational factors impact upon the ways Carnival is conceptualized, represented and performed. For this reason, they feature, at least implicitly, throughout the thesis.

³⁵ A new vocabulary which re-spatializes Carnival and place is denied. Instead, the meanings of Carnival are trapped within the dominant texts of the city; Carnival is 'metaphorically placed'. See Lury 1996 p.22 for a discussion of the "...*metaphorical* placing of the object" (original emphasis), in terms of an objectification of the signifier 'Black'.

segregation had created a different agenda, a new set of needs: why 'jump-up' when there was work to do, when political rather than artistic solidarity was needed? Initial organizers - some local Nevisians, St. Kittians and a Trinidadian, and some Trinidadian 'overseas students' at the university - were trying to establish an event that visibly proclaimed and exaggerated their difference on the streets of a seemingly 'racist Leeds', but they also had to convince local Black people that Carnival was important, that it was necessary, that it was more than just a 'jump-up'.

"At first it was a dream of mine - growing up in the Caribbean from a very strict religious background I've always wanted to be involved in Carnival but I wasn't able to because of my strict religious background (laughs)...but it was just a dream of mine and then I came here. We never had much going for us and I felt very strongly about what I would want to get involved with. And I think that we need something to bind us together and have something to look forward to. So I did some research on me own and some - funny enough - some West Indians didn't agree with me, because strictly speaking a lot of West Indians have a complex about Carnival. The religious ones think it is the devil's work and the others who will jump-up...they didn't look at it with pride...They think "oh well we didn't come here to look like fools in the street for the White people to laugh at us..."..." (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.2).

James - a Carnival organizer 'from' Nevis - needed to persuade a differentiated local Black population, of whom many still considered themselves to be Jamaican or Barbadian (islands with discrepant masquerade traditions) that Carnival was productive, fulfilling, a unifying "creative art" (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.2), and that it was therefore something to be proud of, something with an integrating function from a deep culture which could withstand any sideline laughter from ignorant White people.

Initial senses of doubt and low self esteem, coupled with the perception that Carnival was irrelevant, *out of place* in contemporary Leeds, have since waned and are less evident today. After permission was granted by the UCA for the formation of a Carnival sub-group, and after several acrimonious splits followed by the development of new Carnival groups, Carnival in Chapeltown has since expanded into the biggest calendrical event in Leeds. Its size (attracting crowds of more than 60,000 people), its relative inclusiveness (it is pan-Caribbean and few

types of participation are solely Black³⁶), and its emphasis on tradition, authenticity, a 'trueness to roots', have given it and its context - 'Black Chapeltown' - a visibility, a new position within popular geographies of Leeds. However, those initial stutters, those insecurities that represented Carnival as something for White Leeds to laugh at, are suggestive of a kind of self-othering or introjection³⁷ that still exists, though in a different shape, thirty years on. Carnival's contemporary prominence means that it occupies a representative space, a space that represents Chapeltown and therefore Black people to the city of Leeds. Its position, its context - Chapeltown - is internalized and given meaning through collective memories of the social location Chapeltown has in Leeds: it is known as a Black area, a problem area, and these present factors that cannot be separated from how stories of Carnival are told and how these are read. Frantz Fanon's paradox that "the Black man's soul is a white man's artefact" remains relevant, because identities (of places, individuals, events...) are predicated upon the (re)construction of difference, and this implies, even necessitates, that an awareness of the self relies upon an attempt to imagine how others see you. An awareness of Carnival (if that is something you identify with), relies on where it is (Chapeltown), and how this place is 'seen' (negatively 'Black'). The concern is no longer that White people may laugh, but that they will seek in Carnival confirmation of Chapeltown's disreputable status.

It is therefore no surprise that Black people in Chapeltown often discuss Carnival through processes of spatialization that give the event a social location by virtue of its context in the imagined cityscape:

"...Usually you would expect the Carnival to bring positive aspects, but you find the media is always looking for the trouble that's going to come, and if it doesn't come, well you get a little spot there that says "Carnival in Leeds, blah blah, it was OK and this number of people attended and", that's it, that's

³⁶ Yet most participants (even onlookers) are 'Black', of 'African-Caribbean' descent.

³⁷ David Sibley uses the term 'introjection' to discuss processes where the 'outer world' is encountered and internalized as a way of self-othering, or to find a relativized position. It differs from 'projection', which occurs simultaneously - where feelings and identities are attributed towards others (Sibley 1995a p.129; also see Klein 1960 p.5).

it. But that's the media in Leeds and West Yorkshire in general - you know - and that's it. It doesn't matter what good goes on in here, it's only the bad that is emphasized. So we could have the most brilliant Carnival with the largest amount of people, and we'd only get two seconds" (Leeds Interview 6 - Eleanor: pp. 4-5).

Dominant representations of Chapeltown as a place of crime or "trouble" may be contested, but the language of crime, the codes and discursive structures that define Chapeltown, are not escaped: "(T)here is no way simply to avoid the definitions of discourse" (Fuss 1989).

Likewise in St. Paul's, Carnival occupies a discursive space which defines it in terms of where it is, and therefore in terms of trouble or non-trouble. Buju (Bristol Interview 13), a Rastafarian youth worker, understands how St. Paul's is normatively spatialized:

"When you look at the actual Carnival day itself - right - you find people - you know - there's always this negativeness about St. Paul's, always St. Paul's it's about the muggers and the bloody drugs and the crime and this and the Black people and - you know what I mean - but come Carnival day and you find people from all social classes and you see them and there's no threat - right - you get more problems in a bloody Bristol City Vs Bristol Rovers football match..." (Bristol Interview 13 - Buju: pp.4-5).

But this internalization of dominant representations of place is not the same as their acceptance. Carnival is (re)constructed as something that is 'positive', something that brings people together, smoothes over difference, contests stereotypes of criminality, 'big-up' the area. Andrew, a Carnival organizer explains:

"... We are in a sense saying to the media, the politicians and whoever tries to portray this community in a kind of very negative way - you know - for their own ends to perpetuate their own agenda, that actually St. Paul's has many different aspects to it, and the fact that it can organize one of these events, a huge event like this which has such an impact both regionally and nationally...it's testament to the fact that St. Paul's is different, there are different aspects to it - you know - and it's not just an area which breeds criminals, drug addicts and prostitutes" (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.4).

Here Carnival is used as a symbol and mechanism that reconfigures place. This process is both extroverted - it targets those powerful groups who live in those more favourably represented spaces and places of the city - and introverted - it draws in, and celebrates notions of community, where discourses of community fit

easily into discourses of place. A. P. Cohen (1985 p.21) describes 'community' as a "discursive construct that is utilized as an ideological resource in situations where inside/outside definitions are discussed". Discourses of Carnival from local residents often operate on the axis of this inside/outside dualism, defending and attacking, inwardly nurturing a sense of place as a sense of community, and outwardly projecting this 'we t'ing' as a matter of pride.

3.3.2 Re-defining otherness...

Carnival then is (re)constructed as a mode of protection and projection, an incorporating technique that represents a flourishing and unified 'community' to the rest of the city. However, because senses of place are organized through the contact, flow and interaction of multiple communities, the representational space that Carnival holds for a place works as a site of multiple contestations. In July 1968, the 'St. Paul's, Easton and Montpelier Festival'³⁸, a precursor to the St. Paul's Carnival, held its first events. There were sports and dominoes competitions, art and craft exhibitions, a folk concert held by the local United Nations Association, an Indian Mela, a joint display by 'West Indian' and Irish dance teams, all culminating in a street procession of floats with different 'national' themes which was watched over from a platform by the Deputy Lord Mayor. The St. Paul's and Environs Consultative Committee on Social Welfare - a predominantly White group of local councillors, welfare workers and representatives from the local churches - had instigated the event as a piece of 'social welfarism', aimed at lifting local spirits in Bristol's "decaying core" (BBC Documentary *Celebrate What?* 1968), but also as an exercise in 'race relations', a means of representing unity in diversity, of building up a sense of community

³⁸ Easton is a neighbouring suburb to the east of St. Paul's. It was savagely split from St. Paul's with the construction of the M32 in the 1970's. This separated many friends and families, physically and psychologically isolating St. Paul's from a suburb with which it had many close ties. Montpelier is a tiny area of narrow Georgian terraces which rise over the hill immediately to the west of St. Paul's. It is popularly represented as a very mixed area, with lots of students, 'trendy' middle class residents, 'hippies' or 'crusties', as well as a lot of Black people. Like Easton, its proximity to St. Paul's has led to its memorial reconstruction as a place with many social and cultural links to its neighbour (see Figure 3.3).

based on the multiplicity of place (see Wood 1992). One of the early organizers - Reverend Roy Blake - asserted that there were two main purposes for the event's inception:

“...First, to show outsiders who only know St. Paul's from what they read in the papers, this is a lively, interesting place, where a great variety of people have settled down to live together with a surprising degree of tolerance and mutual respect. And secondly, and more importantly, this is our festival, put on by us for ourselves” (BBC Documentary *Celebrate What?* 1968).

The festival was designed as a means of “getting to know each other” (HTV Documentary: *What's Happening in St. Paul's?* 1968), it was about multiculturalism (as opposed to multiculture), diversity (as opposed to difference), the inseparability of community and place (where ‘community’ is represented as inclusive of everything within a ‘place’). By the mid-1970's the event (now called the ‘*St. Paul's Festival*’) was indulging in an extravagant multiculturalism that celebrated in the juxtaposition of Latvian singers and Scottish dancers, steel bands and weightlifting competitions (St. Paul's Festival programmes 1968-1975). Increasingly it was a show for Bristol, a dramatization of multiculturalism which attempted to counteract St. Paul's' negative image through a display of exotica. It presented a version of community which was predicated upon the same boundaries of place without accepting that different communities operated within and across St. Paul's, that these different communities had their own senses of place, and that the priorities of these senses of place were not evident in the contrived multiculturalism of the festival (*Free News Special Issue* July 1996 p.6). It projected an image to the outside with increasing disregard for the social relations of St. Paul's: for many local people it was facing the wrong way.

By the 1980 disturbances, external representations of St. Paul's were increasingly labelling the area with stigmatized notions of Blackness: St. Paul's came to symbolize Bristol's Black population. Slowly and complexly the representational space of the festival was realigned, reconstituted to represent ‘place’ through the communalization of local Black identities. Put simply, St. Paul's was a ‘Black place’ (where myth is internalized as fact), the festival was a ‘community event’,

the 'community' was 'Black', the event had to be Black. Selective and exclusive senses of place were combined with an ethnically sealed notion of community to represent 'festival' as an event organized by and for a local 'Black community'. Francis Salandy, the then Chair of the festival committee, explains:

"Members of the Black community were in more control of the decision-making and the festival did not become purely an exercise in community relations by White people who usually assumed a controlling role and decided what the Black community wanted" (Francis Salandy, Chair of the festival committee, in a letter to the Commission for Racial Equality, 20th of September 1979).

The event's structure was unchanged - a week of activities followed by a procession of floats - but its ethos, direction, representational identity, was transformed. Notions of 'community' no longer attempted to include all those supposedly 'discrete ethnicities' (or 'nationalities' - see HTV Documentary *What's Happening in St. Paul's?* 1968) of place, and instead accepted popular geographies of St. Paul's as a 'Black place'. This was evident in the themes chosen for the event each year by the organizing committee to raise and promote perceived 'issues of community' to members of that community and to those outside looking in:

"...the themes used to be more radical in the sense that back in the early eighties - you know - as a way of making a statement, the Carnival took a stance that it was gonna choose themes that projected a feeling within the community, and so we chose things like 'uprising' and 'survival'...It was a highly politically-charged environment at that sort of stage and we wanted to make a statement...we wanted to say 'look, these things have been happening in the community and we're celebrating the fact that in 1980 the people went out on the streets to reclaim their community...' (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.5).

Moreover, the change of name - from 'Festival' to 'Carnival' in 1991 - can be linked as much to internal senses of place which defined St. Paul's as 'Black', as it can to a wider sense of 'Black community' espoused through an identification with 'African-Caribbean Carnivals' in other cities such as Leeds, London or Port of Spain, because these diasporic connections are contingent upon the construction of a local community that can objectify itself as being part of a wider community. What is significant are the ways the event is given position or location through the re-workings of dominant senses of place which contrive to represent St. Paul's as Black and a problem.

Different *versions* of the event - from 1960's discourses of multiculturalism to late 1970s-1990s discourses of a 'Black community event', provide commentaries over the meanings of place. They evoke senses of community that are wrapped up, (re)packaged through transforming collective memories of place. What they all have in common are the ways they appeal to, authenticate, constructedly root themselves to the local. They offer a defence of the local from the stigmatizing discourses of outside, they offer different senses of inclusiveness and togetherness as a way of finding a position within wider maps of the city, and they offer a way of projecting that localness beyond the boundaries of place, as a way of extolling the artistic vigour of a downtrodden area. Carnival reproduces and expresses collective memories of place through its recurrent (re)construction as something by and for local people. It is interpreted through discourses that uphold a kind of "neighbourhood nationalism" (Back 1996 Ch.3³⁹), temporarily and selectively compressing notions of 'community' within the boundaries of place.

Furthermore, as the events in Chapeltown and St. Paul's have grown and become more popular with White *and* Black people from 'outside', perceptions that the localness is being lost or violated have become apparent. In St. Paul's a common complaint is that Carnival stalls operated by local people have been displaced by non-local stall-holders, or that local artists have been pushed further down the main stage bill by national and international performers, thus "cramping the community vibes" (Bristol Interview 3 - Rodney: p.2). In Chapeltown and St. Paul's, any 'trouble' at or around the event is immediately blamed on 'outsiders'. The areas' bad press is seen by some local people as culpable for criminal activity which happens within the boundaries of these places from people who live outside: dominant senses of place that criminalize St. Paul's and Chapeltown attract individuals and groups whose normative behaviour is that of the criminal. Rodney makes this connection:

³⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) promotes a similar concept when he talks of 'local patriotism'.

“...There is a lot of things going on in St. Paul’s that kind of cut down all the bad things that the press are saying about St. Paul’s. Because really and truly, all those kind of things that we hear about in St. Paul’s, all the people are partaking in bad things, they don’t live in St. Paul’s...St. Paul’s has always been an area that draw, like a magnet, draw the youths in from all over the place, and they gather here, but they don’t really live here. St. Paul’s has always been a good place...” (Bristol Interview 3 - Rodney: p.4).

Here the ‘local’ is defined by a perceived ‘community’ who live there, not by what happens within its boundaries. Carnival and place are judged by their localness, their internal consistency and sense of community, not the negative influence of outside infiltration.

The meanings of Carnival - the stories it tells - are entangled, trammelled with (re)constructions of place and community, constantly caught up in processes of relativization which position the events within a place that is part of and located through the spatialized and racialized discourses of the city. Carnival in St. Paul’s and Chapeltown is always situated somewhere within discourses that problematize and ghettoize these areas. The events are differently understood as countering, transgressing or resisting these stereotypes, by offering alternative collective memories of place such as non-criminal, multicultural, or proudly Black. But they can never be separated from these stereotypes: they are always remembered, anticipated, semantically arranged through an awareness that they are inseparable from the place they are in, and that these places are definitively branded by the popular geographies of Leeds and Bristol. Jean Baudrillard states that “identity today finds itself in rejection; it hardly has a positive basis any longer” (1994; quoted in Robins 1996 p.81). In this sense, Carnival in Chapeltown (see 3.3.1) and St. Paul’s will always be collectively remembered (performed and transformed) as Carnival ‘in the ghetto’.

3.4 TALKING LOCAL: CARNIVAL AND THE STORY-TELLING OF PLACE.

"A locality is the trace of an event, a trace of what had shaped it. Such is the logic of all local myths and legends that attempt, through history, to make sense out of space" (Bakhtin 1986 p.189).

"Telling stories is an ontological condition of social life and central to identity formation" (Somers 1994 p.616).

"This year...Carnival will miss the help and presence of Evon 'Bangy' Berry, whose voluntary contribution to Carnival was always a strong and reliable link in the chain. With respect to Bangy, and in his memory, we say that all Carnivalists "come in peace and friendship"" (St. Paul's Carnival Programme 1997 p.3).

Discursive processes of spatialization provide Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's with dominant senses of place which are structured through the mythology of 'the ghetto', are negotiated, re-worked and told through the *stories* that pervade the events. This part of the chapter presents Carnival as a representative space that commentates on or tells stories of the local, where 'the local' is defined in terms of a constituent and reified 'Black community'. The longevity of the events, their (re)construction as a tradition of place, their integrality to the social relations of place, elevate Carnival as symbol of community and place that is patterned by, represents and transforms, *collective memories* of the local. Chapeltown and St. Paul's are *heterotopias* of the city (Foucault 1986; 1989) - places of otherness, spaces of difference. Their Carnivals (which are, through metaphorical (re)construction, owned by place), have a social centrality within the marginality of place, organizing and organized by the social relations of place, offering a means of local identification, belonging, affectual togetherness, through the ritual and innovative spaces they occupy. Stories of place are told through processes of collective memorization that are both *inscriptive* and *incorporating* (Connerton 1989; Edensor 1997). They are inscriptive because they are discursively constituted, represented in the practical and organizational agendas of Carnival. They are incorporating because they are interpersonally relayed, understood, and differently interpreted by local subjects who participate in

Carnival and negotiate the invented boundaries of community and place. Through the embodiment and translation of collective memories, the stories told by Carnival (as narrative and inscriptive) and across the context of Carnival (as an incorporating collective appreciation of the meanings of place) work as a means of identification, an “identity rhetoric” (Rapport 1995 p.271) that makes sense of place through an appeal to plurality and collectivity. This makes Carnival representative of place (to the inside and the outside), but it does not ‘mirror’ place: it articulates place, is articulated by place, and the stories it tells or are told about it cannot be understood outside their relation to the senses of place to which it connects and transforms.

3.4.1 The inscriptive story-telling of Carnival: The tragedy of Evan ‘Bangy’ Berry...

1996 was a particularly unhappy year for St. Paul’s. It was “a bloody year that shocked the city” (*Bristol Evening Post* 18/7/’97), a year of tragedy where St. Paul’s or more accurately, the ‘St. Paul’s area’ was “rocked” by a series of shootings, murders and sudden deaths. The *Evening Post* gives a helpful chronology of these events (see **Figure 3.7**), delighting in revealing the details of ‘what happens in St. Paul’s’. The first event, the first tragedy of 1996, occurred on New Year’s Day: Evon Berry, the caretaker of the Malcom-X Centre, was shot in the head and killed while attempting to stop a mugging on Grosvenor Road in the middle of St. Paul’s. The murder of Evan Berry, or ‘Bangy’ as he was popularly known, deeply affected local people. He was well known and well-liked in St. Paul’s, a ‘community figure’ with a high public profile. Moreover, the way he died, symbolically extending his role as a caretaker, “giving up his life begging for peace” (*Free News* Vol.1 No.4 March 1996 p.11), angered, frightened, saddened local people perhaps more than any event before and since the 1980 disturbances. A tree was planted in his memory in St. Agnes Park, and City Road (the longest, widest and busiest road in St. Paul’s) (see **Figure 3.5**) was closed for his funeral, packed from end to end with a crowd which had come to pay respect. St. Paul’s was thrown into a mood of intense contemplation. In some ways,

Bangy's death reinvigorated local senses of community: it provoked thought, shattered illusions, urged the need for unity; in other ways it worked to dismantle community by prompting anger, unease, trepidation:

"...on the surface people are trying to pretend everything has returned to normal but it hasn't because there's a lot of underlying currents running around. You've got little pockets of guys all over the place, maybe forming a little group, posse, gang or whatever...I think a lot of people's triggering off a lot of violent feeling in people as well, where people are tripping for the slightest little thing which they wouldn't normally trip on..." (Bristol Interview 6 - Inna Sense: p.1).

But these disparate senses of dread and communality were both channelled through collective memories of Bangy's death, made sense of through the construction of an interpretative community as 'Black St. Paul's'. Bangy's death was a major event in the process of place re-construction. Such was its impact that for a while it metonymically configured St. Paul's, working as a defining moment in the collective memorization of that place.

Timetable of violence

BETWEEN December 1995 and the end of January 1996 in St Paul's and the surrounding area, a series of violent attacks shocked the city. This is the order in which they took place.

- **DECEMBER 19 1995** — Franklyn Lane, St Paul's. A man was blasted in the shoulder and arm with a shotgun.
- **DECEMBER 21 1995** — Burnell Drive, St Paul's. A 29-year-old man shot in the arm after arguing with a man outside his home.
- **JANUARY 1 1996** — Sussex Place, St Paul's. Evon Berry shot in the head and killed while trying to stop a mugging.
- **JANUARY 7 1996** — Amateur footballer Mark Crouch, aged 23, was stabbed to death during a street brawl in Lockleaze. Kristen Browning, aged 21, of Romney Avenue, Lockleaze, was convicted of his murder.
- **JANUARY 20 1996** — Khalid Mahmood butchers his children Saega Mahmood, aged 14, and sisters Saema, 11, and Uzma, nine, at their home in West Grove, Montpelier.
- **JANUARY 31 1996** — A man was shot dead in Grosvenor Road, St Paul's.

Figure 3.7: *The Bristol Evening Post* (18/7/97) helpfully maps out the 'meanings' of St. Paul's...

Significantly, a key forum or node within this interpretative community is Carnival: Carnival organizes and is organized by the stories of identification (loss, affection, belonging) that constitute the (re)construction of place and community. It has a role in the *inscriptive* collective memorization of place. Organizers of Carnival - The 'St. Paul's Afrikan Caribbean Carnival and Arts Association' - often express a sense of responsibility to the 'community', a pressure to respond to and relay local issues, feelings, stories. Andrew - a Carnival organizer - argues the event is integral to a sense of place because "it's part of the renewal of the community" (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.6), bringing people together, collectively remembered, collectively anticipated as the time "when you see the Black population of Bristol all out, all dressed up...in a small area with a very small community...where everybody knows each other" (Bristol Interview 16 - Paul: p.7). Bangy's death was significant to many local people, and this meant it was significant to Carnival:

"...one thing we wanted to do this year...was to remember Bangy...whether in the programme or on the main stage or something, something just to remember Bangy and also - you know - especially because he was always working for Carnival. And also remembering other people that's passed away or that's in prison waiting for charge or whatever. You know, just to remember them really because the *Carnival is part of the community and it's still thinking about people*" (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.10).

Carnival inscribes a collective memory of place, it is constructed as an event of and for an imagined local community. People expect something from Carnival, it has a "burden of representation" (Mercer 1994 p.8), and it responds through the direct telling of stories.

Inscriptive memories of Bangy were represented at Carnival in 1996 through the organization of a ludo competition at the Malcom-X Centre (he was an avid ludo player and he hand-crafted ludo boards) and through a tribute in the Carnival programme. In 1997 and 1998 Bangy was again mentioned in the programme, and in 1997, a tribute record by local reggae artist 'Dallas' was promoted in the build up to Carnival and performed on stage on the day. Carnival was telling a story of place, connecting a historical event to contemporary cultural identities through an

interpretation and subsequent commentary of 'the local'. The discursive memorization and memorialization of Bangy's death as translated through Carnival, added to and re-worked the social agendas of place.

Memories of Bangy and therefore the issues and identities of place were also represented beyond the 'official' texts of Carnival, inscribed down on the streets amongst the explosive rhythms of the sound systems. Paul Gilroy theorizes the sound system as a diasporic and transnational medium and form of expression, a way of reaching out and connecting with 'interpretive communities' that transcend place: "(A)s the sound system wires are strung up and the lights go down, dancers could be transported anywhere in the diaspora without altering the quality of their pleasure" (Gilroy 1987 p.210). But also, within this transatlantic 'pleasure', as part of the 'routed' dance phraseology of 'sound system culture', are local inflections, stories of place. Bangy Berry was "a sound system man". Every Carnival he and a group of friends would string up their system outside the Black and White cafe on Grosvenor Road. They were part of a 'scene', an 'interpretive community' that was local, recognized and identified through a sonic and embodied interaction with a particular site within a particular set of streets at a particular time. They were part of Carnival, they personified those streets, they contributed towards local collective memories of Carnival and place.

This memory continues and transforms in the contemporary St. Paul's Carnival. Most of the sound systems at Carnival are local. Uniquely, local DJs and promoters - the 'Federation of Musicians and Entertainers', or the 'Federation of Sounds'- meet annually to co-ordinate the allocation of sites for each sound system or 'sound', to ensure that there is a range of music or 'sounds' and more importantly, to safeguard the continued pre-eminence of local sound systems. Organizers of Carnival are keen to protect this localness, to promote local talent, to "keep it real" (Quote from anonymous jungle artist on Radio One's 'One in the Jungle', October 1996):

"We're very strong about that and we want to develop and have a locally-based event that's providing opportunities for local people...we've made the sound systems just a local affair very purposefully because we want, again we want to have that important local link with local people..." (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.3).

Carnival then facilitates a representation of the local by encouraging a selection of local sound systems. But this localness is not fulfilled or defined just because the sound systems and their DJs are from St. Paul's and the surrounding area: this is not enough. It is what the sound systems say that is important. It is the stories of the local, the inscriptive discourses of memory that saturate the soundscape of St. Paul's on Carnival day, fizzing and reverberating through the narrow streets; shouting, singing, free-styling messages of solidarity and communality; appealing to and (re)interpreting senses of place:

"Come and listen to what people are saying - you know - they have got all these feelings which they have inside of them which on Carnival day is the only day, is the only way they can actually express themselves. You go to a dance hall and you don't do that on a dance hall, but on Carnival day you've got all day, you can plan your lyrics to your music or anything...There's two particular sounds and all they do is preach peace...That's what that day is, it's just to preach peace and enjoy yourself, get together and enjoy yourself one day of the year" (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.11).

Collective memories of issues and events which are painful and distressing are re-packaged and re-told through uplifting discourses that re-assert the need for community and urge the need for peace. These are local stories, local issues, represented, told through a local Carnival. Events such as Bangy's death re-focus these stories, deepen the inscription of memory. This was expressed to me by Ronnie, an established local reggae DJ:

"The reality for us is that we feel that nothing transfers a message, especially to a community like us, better than music...If we are part of a community, then it is important for us to start doing some things. I mean the Bangy thing was what triggered some of that. After Bangy's death there was a realization that perhaps we weren't working as close as we should be as a community...it's brought home that sense of '*where do I fit into this community and what is my responsibility in this?*' Because this could have been my father, my child, my son'. So I have a *responsibility* to use one of the biggest tools I have which is the sound systems because I think one of the things people don't realize is how influential music is in terms of a community like this. The sorts of things that we have to do, if you are a part of that, it's very very influential" (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: p.13).

On the streets of St. Paul's during Carnival time, the DJ, like the African griot (see Chernoff 1979; Owusu 1986 and 1988), the Trinidadian calypsonian (see Warner

1982), or the 'African-American' rapper (see Fernando 1994), operates as a social commentator, a contextualized storyteller. He or she listens, identifies, and then reifies and symbolizes *a version*⁴⁰ of the collective memories of community and place through the power of orature. DJs are 'the eyes and ears' of an imagined community, a collective and reciprocal rallying point for senses of place: their microphones and *those* speakers combine to *inscribe* meanings, memories, cultural identities, on to the streets, through windows, into homes. At Carnival in 1997, at the sound system where Bangy used to hang-out, the street was packed full of people skanking to reggae revivalist tunes. Standing on tables around the sound system, in the middle of the street, were DJs and dancers, taking it in turns *and competing* on the 'mike'. They were preaching peace, dedicating sounds, mentioning friends, families, issues, events. A traditional and diasporic fusion of social commentary and pounding rhythm was transformed into an expression of 'the local': a contemporary and contextual call and response that connected to, interpreted, toasted, and expressed a sense of belonging and duty, a compassion for place. Although performed and consumed through a range of subject positions - the competition - there was a local collective theme: the memory of Bangy Berry. This was Carnival as embedded in the local, Carnival telling stories of place.

3.4.2 The Incorporating memories of Carnival: Remembering Bangy...

The orature of inscription eschews individualist notions of community where it is solely the 'cultural brokers' of Carnival (DJs, organizers, musicians, costume designers etc.) (see Kong 1995) who mark the boundaries, sets the rules, name the enemies. Instead, inscriptive collective memories - stories and knowledges - are actively reconstructed through *incorporating collective memories of Carnival and place*: differing engagements with the events and discourses of the past and present work to articulate space and locate the individual within spatialized

⁴⁰ It is 'a version' because collective memories are contested and communities are conflictual, performed and consumed in different ways by different people.

communities through rapid and temporary negotiations over senses of belonging, ownership, and the directions these groupings should take. These are the stories told through the repetition of ritual, the disruption of significant events, the dislocation of translocal syncretism. Paul Connerton (1989 p.6) argues that “(T)he world of the percipient, defined in terms of temporal existence, is an organized body of expectations based on recollection”. Incorporating collective memories function through a re-representation of expectation and anticipation based on what has gone before, what has changed, and how this might transform the normative frameworks of a ritual event. Carnival’s position as a major and routinized event in the social landscape of St. Paul’s means that it is invested with a power and symbolism as a spatial and temporal marker - of difference, of place, of community, of season. The changing social relations of St. Paul’s are relativized through the social relations of Carnival, and what happens in St. Paul’s is remembered through Carnival and re-anticipated in terms of how Carnival might interpret and deal with what has happened since the last Carnival. Bangy’s death not only prompted an outbreak of inscriptive collective memories at Carnival, but it reconfigured how Carnival was approached, anticipated, interpreted, collectively remembered. Different people found different locations, different spatialities, from and through which Carnival was approached, represented, practised and remembered. These are *incorporating* acts and intentionalities, methods of *(re)collection* realized through a “multitude of individual acts of self-identification” (Bauman 1991p.136)⁴¹: collective memories predicated upon translation.

As part of a dialogue with the inscriptive texts of Carnival, local people in St. Paul’s are constantly creating their own meanings, capacities and positions, caught up in the ongoing negotiating processes which fix and authenticate Carnival in terms of what, who and how it represents. Bangy’s death was an event that worked to re-spatialize Carnival because it forced and highlighted processes of re-

⁴¹ Some of which are detailed throughout this project.

positioning between Carnival, individuals, and constructs of incorporation, collectivity and locality. This extract from an interview with Peter, a young local musician, provides an example of how these relations are differentially interpreted:

T. Fleming: "...do you think Carnival is important in, say the first Carnival that comes along after an event...do you think it's important in focusing people's minds - you know - it makes this Carnival more important in the sense that this is the first Carnival since then, this is the first time we're here together...do you think it has that sort of resonance...?"

Peter: It depends. Like when Bangy died all you could think by the Carnival...I know personally that Bangy would have been there playing his sound - right - because their sound system was strung up right there (just outside) and all the other guys were there but Bangy wasn't there...because Bangy was such a prominent member of the community and he was involved in music and sound systems and everything...I think with him, yeah" (Bristol Interview 17 pp8-9).

The boundaries of community, the importance of a physical location in space ("just outside") and the significance of individuals and groups within 'community', are conflated, combined to locate Carnival as an incorporating site of collective memory within a distinctively spatialized set of social relations. Carnival is a time for getting together and remembering or forgetting. It is "one of the main events in the community" (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.2), a time and space where friends and family meet up, "where the community comes together", where there's "an opportunity for people to meet each other at the Carnival venues, perhaps stand and talk to each other and exchange news of what has happened over the last couple of months" (Bristol Interview 20 -Charles: p.1). It is anticipated, remembered and collectively practised as an identity forum, a conflux of incorporating *local* narratives which re-define place. The tragedies of 1996 heightened an awareness of Carnival's role as a representational space that inscribes and also as a represented space that incorporates, that focuses processes of identification and brings divergent senses of community and place together as a unified collective memory.

Everyone remembered the tragedies of 1996 through Carnival, but these memories were interpreted and acted upon in different ways. For some there was an

expectation of trouble, a fear that the congested streets of Carnival would be used to camouflage revenge attacks:

“...if something happens, by the time the next year comes around, people can still remember it...this year there was all that scope around what happened at New Year (Bangy Berry’s murder) and stuff like that...I know enough people who say they aren’t going and are going out of town, they don’t want to be here because they are scared of the trouble. I have the same fears” (Bristol Interview 6 - Inna Sense: p.6).

For others, the non-attendance of Carnival prevents the guilt of celebration after such tragedies:

“...last Carnival some people said they weren’t going because of what happened to Bangy...some people didn’t go out of respect or they didn’t want to go because they felt so cut up about it...I think it deals with different people in different ways” (Bristol Interview 17 -Peter: p.9).

Yet for many, Carnival was an opportunity to pay their respects, to collectively remember, to participate like they had always participated, but to imbue *their* Carnival with the recollection and recognition of what had changed since the last Carnival. The whole process of the event ritualizes local social relations as a testimonial for the collective memories of community and place. It is fun, it is aestheticized and authenticated, its form and meanings are passionately contested, it constantly transforms. But there are *moments of unity*, spaces of clarity, and the St. Paul’s Carnival of 1996 inscribed and incorporated a *collective memory* of place that was unanimously shaped and affected by the events and sagas that followed the death of Evan Bangy Berry. It told and was used to tell the stories of these events, reflected, dutifully remembered; it actively reproduced place through a symbiotic process that confronts *and* embraces the popular geographies of the local.

3.5 FEELIN' THE LOCAL FLAVA; CARNIVAL AND THE EMBODIMENT OF PLACE.

"Human beings desperately need to belong to communities that give guidance and meaning to their lives; and moving rhythmically while giving voice together is the surest, most speedy, and efficacious way of creating and sustaining such communities that our species has ever hit upon. Words and ideals matter and are always invoked; but keeping together in time arouses warm emotions of collective solidarity and erases personal frustrations as words, by themselves, cannot do" (McNeill 1995 p.1).

"My embodied understanding doesn't exist only in me as an individual agent; it also exists in me as the co-agent of common actions" (Taylor 1993 p.53).

"(Carnival is) ...an activity which they can take part in and get lost in mentally and physically and spiritually, and become almost unconscious and go with the flow...and feel connected..." (Leeds Interview 18 - Harry: pp.17-18).

The stories Carnival tells to reconstruct senses of place - its inscriptive and incorporating narratives - are not solely expressed through verbal discourses, but are dynamically articulated through processes of performative bodily expression, interaction, identification. Collective memories are translated through embodiment as they are stated linguistically (see for example Connerton 1989). Robyn Longhurst is critical of the ways geography has been built on a mind/body dualism that elides the body as "geography's other", where the body "has been both denied and desired depending on the particular school of geographical thought under consideration" (Longhurst 1995 p.99; also see Pile 1994 and 1996). Stories are not simply told: they are enacted, habituated, gestured, postured, memorized through the performative languages of socially constituted bodies (Merleau-Ponty 1962 and 1968; Radley 1995). This part of the chapter brings the embodiment of Carnival into focus through a discussion of how collective memories of Carnival and place are palpably (re)constructed through their physicality, their sensory and performative interaction with the spaces and bodies of the event. Using examples from my participatory experience with *mas* camp costume-making and from watching and listening to the stories of J'ouvert Morning dancing in Chapeltown, the body will be *thrust* to the fore to discuss how bodily movement in the Carnival

process is ritualized, habituated, culturally encoded and decoded to give meanings to these actions that constitute the event, remember previous events and anticipate future events: “(O)ur bodies...stylistically re-enact an image of the past, keep the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform actions” (Connerton 1989 p.72). Bodily movements provoke memories; memories provoke bodily movements.

By making a Carnival costume or by dancing on the streets on Carnival day, individuals are engaged in a process of memorization and cultural identification that remembers when, where and why this activity was last performed, how it is culturally significant, to where it might lead. The details of this process of remembrance are mapped out in terms of who is performing (the spatiality of the socially constituted subject), where they are performing (the spatiality of context), to whom they are performing (the spatialized audience/other). These are contingent upon the socio-spatial relations of the event - the discrepant and collective memories of Carnival as understood within a relational symbolic order of place. Physical movement/bodily action, is not innocent, impulsive, instinctive: we move towards, against, away from cultural-political boundaries of signification; we strut across them, gyrate within them; we actively perform our identities through gymnastic plays of difference which are socially constituted, discursively embedded in the meanings of what we do and how we move.

3.5.1 Sticking together identities: Carnival costume-making in Chapeltown...

In an attempt to compare Carnival and Christmas in terms of their differing positions in the ‘temporal consciousness’ of Trinidadians, Daniel Miller (1994 p.83) argues that Carnival is less ritualistic than Christmas; the bacchanalia of Carnival, its licentious ‘disorder’ give it a transience which deviates from the transcendent “unchanging line of descent” and religiosity that characterizes Christmas. While I would agree that the ethics and aesthetics of Christmas are more settled than those of Carnival, it would be wrong to assume that Carnival

does not have a sense of order, ritual, regularity (see Chapter 5)⁴². Also, I consider it unlikely that Christmas is not transforming, that it is not differently and contextually consumed, or that its performance is not dislocated and contested. The Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's have their own normative frameworks, recognized structures, idiosyncratic, contextualized routines. For example, in Chapeltown there is a dominant collective memory of place, a local knowledge which understands that Carnival begins each year on the penultimate Sunday in August with the 'Prince and Princess Show' at the West Indian Centre, followed on the next Friday by the 'Queens' Show' at the same venue, J'ouvert Morning on the Monday morning, the Carnival procession later that afternoon, and the final 'Last Lap dance' to take revellers through to Tuesday morning. Of course there are discontinuities or changes in the overall programme (a 'Calypso Monarch' competition has been re-introduced for the Saturday night, a reggae festival and dance pulsate throughout the Sunday), but the elemental structure has remained the same since the event's initial stutterings in the late 1960's.

"It's like the days just kind of blend in and you don't know...you start on the Sunday, I try not to come out of my house until late because I need to get as much rest as I can...you might float about Sunday, you go to the all-nighter to J'ouvert Morning and then you won't finish J'ouvert Morning until about nine, half-eight; and then you go home and get showered, get dressed; and then you've got to go back, come back down for Carnival afternoon, Carnival day..." (Leeds Interview 21 - Darcus: p.15).

There is an established *temporal consciousness* to the event, concretizing its timetable within a broader calendar of place; and the event has a *spatial consciousness* because these activities have developed within specific locations, strengthening Carnival's symbolic integralness to the built *and* socially meaningful spaces of Chapeltown.

⁴² Kevin Hetherington (1997 p.35) makes the point that every social location, no matter how 'transgressive', 'marginal' or 'paradoxical', has its own way of ordering, for "ordering is a performance context: social, technical, material, temporal and spatial, and this context is not fixed but open to infinite change and uncertain consequences" (also see Strathern 1991; Rose 1993 p.149).

Processes of Carnival costume-making fit in with these temporal and spatial structures - these ritualized collective memories - of Carnival in Chapeltown. Every year after the winter, numerous *mas* camps gather together in houses, churches, annexes and youth centres across the Chapeltown area to begin the design processes that lead eventually to the production and performative display of one or many Carnival costumes⁴³. I 'entered' this cyclical and transforming process on a hot Saturday afternoon in August 1996, as I popped my head round the door of the Palace *mas* camp and asked Richard⁴⁴ (Leeds Interview 7) if I could 'help out'. Carnival was under three weeks away, ragged debris of half-finished costumes lay across tables and covered the floor, Richard was panicking.

"You see, it's got to be right. I could knock up a few costumes any day of the week, but it's got to be right, right for Chapeltown. I'm proud of what we can do and I want all those other *mas* camps to envy what we do...that's why I'm here now when I could be sunning myself down Roundhay Park" (Paraphrased from notes in my research diary, 6/8/96).

Ruth, a large middle-aged Black woman, stops sweeping fabric fragments from the floor, rests her chin on the end of the broom, and joins in the conversation:

"Last night I got in from here and was so tired. My husband says 'look at you woman, you tired out over Carnival and everything else is a mess'. I said to him Carnival is most important. For now until we walk down Chapeltown Road, we have to strive for it - you know - get it together so we can be proud...every year it's the same, it's always a rush at the end, but that's part of it...we're working up to when the curtain goes back and she (the Queen) steps down the aisle (at the Queens' Show). That's why I'm here now you know..." (Paraphrased from notes in my research diary, 6/8/96).

The intentions of Richard, Ruth and the other costume designers and makers in this hot, heaving room of creativity, are aimed temporally towards a ritualized Carnival period collectively remembered through previous events, and spatially towards the contexts of Carnival - The West Indian Centre and its Carnival marquee (see Figure 3.1), and the streets of Chapeltown.

⁴³ Sometimes only a 'Carnival Queen' costume is made, but it is more usual for accompanying 'Carnival troupe' costumes to be made as well. These can number from less than ten to as many as can be recruited to join the troupe.

⁴⁴ We had met before.

The ethic of work and the development of design ideas, their fulfilment and their processes of production, are conceptualized, imagined in terms of what they are for, what they will produce and how they will be received *and judged* in those collectively remembered ritual spaces of Carnival in Chapeltown. Dave, a teenage costume designer, explains:

“It’s like a routine...when I were making it (the costume)...if I get fed up with it, the one thing that I look forward to is the Queens’ Show and Carnival day, and that’s the sort of thing that gets me going, keeps me going. It’s our target...it’s like when we’re making costumes, we always try and make them as best we can...” (Leeds Interview 25 - Dave: pp.9-10).

This target, these collective memories, provide ample motivation for the completion of ‘high quality’ costumes. It is within these rhythms of concentrated work, these spaces of labour and creativity, that memories are re-evoked, confronted and re-charged through the pain and pleasure of *contemporary* costume production. Yet because I did not share these memories, because the pain and pleasure was new to me, I had difficulty understanding the necessity of working such long hours and striving for such perfection when - after all - we were making a costume to be worn once, maybe twice. My research diary provides some commentary of my agitation and fatigue as I was pressured into performing my *commitment to the cause*:

“...God I’m knackered. What am I supposed to do? Everyday I turn up and they ask me where I’ve been. I work until 11pm and they ask me where I’m going. How hard am I supposed to work? I feel like I’ve got to work really hard to gain their respect, but I’ve got other things to do...I can’t believe how hard they work and what perfectionists most of them are. I asked Richard if people would really notice if I didn’t bother putting sequins under the wings of the swan, and he said of course they would and that was exactly the kind of thing Chapeltown people would be looking for. Come on! The thing is going to be bouncing along the street, surrounded by other bouncing costumes. But no one else seems to question the need for such rigour...everyone has an unquestioning dedication to ‘the cause’...Maybe that’s because they can remember last year and the year before; they know what it’s all about. They’ve had the satisfaction and can remember the importance of competition...” (Notes from my research diary, 15/8/96).

And significantly, the emphases of the anecdotes and pseudo-analysis found within my research diary changed as my investment in Chapeltown Carnival - my embodied, performed identity - changed over time. This is illustrated in a research

diary extract from July 1997 when, upon returning to Chapeltown, I noticed that costume-making and *mas* camp membership *felt different* to the previous year:

“...Went down to the Palace and spent the whole evening cutting shapes to be used on the ‘magical fantasies’. There were four of us doing the same thing...at first it was really boring, pointless. But I started to get into it, started chatting, having some fun. It’s like different to last year. Now I’ve got memories to share, I know what we are working towards, it feels like it matters. People joke about how my skills have improved; we all joke about how the costume will look as it goes down Chapeltown Road. I can visualize that now. I also want it to look better than the other costumes. It’s good to feel involved...” (Notes from my research diary, 26/7/97).

Briefly, superficially, I found connection: my previous Chapeltown experience stimulated a willingness to work hard as a way of reaching out and touching, feeling the power of collective memory. Other members of the *mas* camp must have felt this collective memory with an urgency and historical depth multiplied many times over. For them, the ritual of work, the struggle for perfection and the significance of competition, all operate as defining principles of specific *mas* camp memories as they are transformed through their embodiment year after year in the rooms and on the streets of Chapeltown.

Collective memories of competition at Carnival in Chapeltown (where ‘the best’ Prince, Princess and Queen costumes, ‘the best’ troupes and ‘the biggest’ troupes are selected by panels of judges [see 5.2.1]) work to focus processes of costume-making in terms of the empirically founded boundaries of aesthetics which they are operating within, and in terms of the boundaries of identification that separate each rival *mas* camp. Each camp is spatially segregated, hidden in a ritual of secrecy to prevent the leakage of design ideas for Queen costumes to other camps before the official shows. The venues for each *mas* camp become sites of group identification, clandestine vaults of activity that establish a setting for team work and provide a basis for the othering of competing *mas* Camps:

“I find it interesting...it make healthy fun. You know, I mean, some people are maybe not sporting enough, are maybe bad losers...I don’t care. I’m making what I’ve got to design and that’s what I’m gonna make and - you know - that’s it. Some other thing is you design a costume and you put down the minimum on paper in case someone find it and you can’t...you know, to ensure you keep the jack up your sleeve...” (Leeds Interview 2 - James: p.12).

Mas camps might be structured around certain families or perhaps a youth project (such as The Palace Project in East Chapeltown⁴⁵) or church (such as St. Martin's church in North Chapeltown), but rivalries are also expressed across the communal contact zones of Chapeltown: over the bar at the West Indian Centre or the Silver Tree Club, in schools and churches, at parties, in queues at the bus stop. As Carnival approaches, the event insidiously seeps into conversational repertoires, gradually supplanting other topics with speculation over who's wearing a costume, what each costume might be, who's going to win. These are discourses of place: articulations or stories of sentiment and preference that give meaning to the socio-spatial relations of the *mas* camps. An awareness of these objectifying commentaries is located, internalized and *worked* within the *mas* camps themselves. Each camp is aware of its position, its competitive standing and rating within discourses of place, and this competition works to build collectively memorized positionings through the *embodiment* of a ritualized costume-making process: "(S)ubject and object, mind and body, the visible and the invisible, are intercalated; the 'rays', the lines of force, indelibly etch the one into the other" (Grosz 1994 pp.102-3). To make a costume *in this context* is to engage with the networks of signification that spread filliform throughout the social spaces of Chapeltown.

Picture this... It's a warm and fuggy August night in Chapeltown. The streets are shaking to the splutter of break beats, the drilling resonance of dub and the polished harmonies of R&B. Groups of Black teenagers and young adults are sitting on the walls outside their houses on Cowper Street and Grange Avenue. They are relaxing, 'chilling out' to the sounds. Nearby on Shepherds Lane, on the upper floors of a converted end-of-terrace house, The 'Palace Youth Project' *mas* camp is in full operation, assiduously preparing troupe costumes for the forthcoming Carnival. It's hectic, the heat is oppressive, the fumes from glue are

⁴⁵ From which much of this participatory project emerged.

debilitating. Gathered around a large table are five Black women - Sarah, Ruth, Jo, Michelle and Sammy - all in their thirties or forties, long-time Carnivalists and *mas* camp members. Around their feet numerous children are playing, running after each other, shrieking, laughing, occasionally tugging on their mothers' legs for attention. With my limited assistance the adults are systematically cutting shapes from a dense foam-like material, organizing the cut-offs into piles and gluing straps onto each shape. These are the arm pieces for the 1997 troupe costume entitled 'Magical Fantasies'. Once cut and glued, they are taken upstairs to a dark and cramped room where Richard (see Leeds Interview 7) and Ian - two middle-aged Black men - spray each costume component with an array of effulgent colours before hanging them from the ceiling to dry in a neighbouring room (see Figures 3.8 and 3.9). All the time soca music - their preferred 'Carnival music' - provides the sound track, its rhythms tearing through the building, connecting with the industrious movements of the costume-makers. Occasionally the connection is too strong for Sarah to resist: she puts down her glue and foam and begins to dance, to *wine* to the crisp vivacity of the beat. Ruth joins in, then Jo, Michelle and Julie, some of the children. With one hand on hip and one in the air, knees bent and back slanted behind, they wine around the room, an effortless and uninhibited stomp through their collective past, an *embodied collective memory* of an unspoken and exclusive interpersonal identification. Then abruptly, with lashings of laughter, they stop, return to their work.

But the rhythm continues. It's in the frantic activity of the hands, the dedicated concentration of faces; it saturates every action, every movement; it perforates the body, relentlessly carrying it through the stifling heat and toxic atmosphere, towards the memorized spaces of Carnival⁴⁶:

⁴⁶ McNeill (1995 p.49) uses ethnographic examples from the Nineteenth Century to discuss the embodied rhythmicity of work: "...in Madagascar, a Frenchman reported seeing women planting upland rice by forming a line across the prepared field, bending to place a single seed on the ground and then stepping it into the earth, thus moving forward rhythmically 'like a troupe of dancers'".



Figure 3.8: *Spraying the Magical Fantasies, The Palace, Chapeltown, August 1997.*



Figure 3.9: *Magical Fantasies hanging out to dry, The Palace, Chapeltown, August 1997.*

"...It's amazing how everyone seems to wake up and kind of click into gear when they arrive at the Palace. People who have been at work or looking after kids all day kind of trudge in, dump their bags, complain about being knackered. But after a few minutes they are transformed. When the music starts and as soon as they are settled - sewing, cutting, gluing, painting, carving - a new special kind of energy seems to take over. Last year I was always tired. This year I'm starting to feel the energy. Perhaps this is the 'Carnival magic' that people talk about: an infectious rhythm which takes over when we're all working together...Michelle calls it the 'Chapelton Carnival routine'...It's definitely something that develops over time. It's not really consciously learnt, but it's practised. Its significance seems mapped out in terms of what it represents, what it all means..." (Notes from my research diary, 16/8/97).

Costume-making within a *mas* camp is predicated upon a memorization of culturally meaningful postures (see Connerton 1989), and structured through an awareness of how these bodily actions are socially constituted: practical, relational, expressive (see Shilling 1993; Shotter 1993; Grosz 1994). Julie (Leeds Interview 4), in an interview conducted before an evening of costume-making, remembers how costume-making feels:

"I just love being there, taking part, it's like working in a team. I don't know, but it just feels - you know - like everyone is in this together, blistering ourselves like, but *we know what it's for*. I just love this time of the year when it all gets really busy and we go upstairs, get working, have a laugh. It's also a good time for chatting like (laughs), getting nostalgic about it all to help us concentrate on the job..." (Leeds Interview 4 - Julie: p.3).

Indeed, there seems to be a seamless continuity between how costume-making is embodied - what is done - and how it is commented upon - what is said and how it is said. Later that evening in the *mas* camp, the room is full of chatter, breaking through the soca, providing commentary. Strong Leeds accents are occasionally abandoned for the exaggerated prose of a St. Kittian or Nevisian patois:

"I love this bit (Julie is squirting glue over a huge foam wing), gets rid of my aggression. Oy Jo, come 'ere woman, come let me show you somethin' (laughs)...(Jo puts down her scissors and walks towards Julie)...Do you remember when you sprayed white paint on me jeans? (asks Julie)"

"Yeah, it was the best Carnival I've ever done ya know. I haven't laughed so much since" (replies Jo).

"Well, dis woman is gonna be my best ever Carnival" (Julie turns round and squirts glue over the legs and midriff of a hastily retreating Jo).

"Within minutes they have returned to their work. They are concentrating, plotting further surprises for future Carnivals...the *mas* camp seems strengthened by this sort of thing. It's about having a laugh, friendships,

recklessness...this is necessary to maintain the drive towards Carnival day”
(Notes and paraphrased quotes from my research diary, 18/8/97).

The embodiment of costume-making means that the prescription of a *mas* camp identity is given. What these specifically intoned verbal comments do is supplement this collective memory through clarification, confirmation, illustration, frivolity. Conversation is almost entirely directed backwards in time towards the features and flavours of previous Carnivals:

‘What I wore that day in Potternewton Park’; ‘how drunk you were’; ‘do you remember when this happened?’; ‘we should have won that year’; ‘the whole of Chapeltown was there’ (abstracted and curtailed examples of conversation themes recorded in my research diaries during the many months I worked within a *mas* camp in Chapeltown).

And this historical perspective is then re-directed to anticipate what will happen in the next Carnival - what will be familiar, what might be different, how it will feel:

‘I’m going down the West Indian Centre earlier this year, it’s always too crowded otherwise’; ‘I’m not going down Chapeltown Road wearing those on my feet, they’d kill after all that jumpin’-up’ (*ibid.*).

“With the Palace this year we were here every day, one day from nine ‘til the early hours...you don’t eat or drink properly, you breath Carnival. It’s like you’re in a daze. Nothing else gets done...until somebody in the family asks for something...but you can’t, it’s Carnival” (paraphrased in my research diary 12/12/96).

“For some of us, it’s the first time we’ve really had the time to talk since the last Carnival. It’s definitely a kind of talking shop...and a workshop (laughs). We catch up on everything, share things - you know - while we are sweating away, working bloody hard, getting in the mood...” (Leeds Interview 4 - Julie: p.5).

Anecdotes - verbal collective memories - offer security; they enhance the solidarity of the embodied collective memory. But the body is primordial, words are contingent. What matters is that these people are in this room at ‘The Palace’ in Chapeltown, creatively working together as they have done for many years, corporeally linked through a repetition of physical movement and interpersonal co-presence and reciprocity: “body-practice is the construction of community” (Thrift 1997 p.143). This is the *flow of Carnival (re)production*; a flow which, as I worked in Carnival for a second year, began to infiltrate and affect me. Conversations about Carnival and place emerge from these developing affiliations. They are a logical outgrowth from an individualized collective consciousness

habituated and performed through what Connerton reifies as “the bodily substrate” (1989 pp.70-71) or what Radley deconstructs as the “elusory nature of the body-subject” (Radley 1995 p.5). Processes of spatialization - identity (re)production through difference and distance - are already in motion; words provide assistance, but they never pre-empt the body as it remembers and thus prepares, works, limbers up for Carnival.

3.5.2 “The rhythm is massive”: *J’ouvert Morning and the embodiment of place...*

The social sciences and the humanities don’t seem to like a dance. Yet dance is “a bodily activity in which many people participate at various stages of their lives, sometimes by themselves, in couples, or in groups, in a wide range of social settings, from street dancing to dancing halls, discos and raves, to parties, dinner dances, weddings and church socials” (Thomas 1995 p.3). Perhaps the academics are the ones standing around the edges, heads down, nervously tapping their feet; or perhaps they are the ones who stay at home, watching from afar. What is more likely is that dance is constructed as something that “lives beyond the rational auspices of Western societies” (Thrift 1997 p.145; also see Ward 1993): it is not about power, it is not about space, it lacks historicity, it is gratuitous rather than purposeful, it is about *play* with the politics emptied out (see Bauman 1993; Game and Metcalfe 1996)⁴⁷. Or perhaps dance is misconstrued and avoided because it is part of “the ongoing, underlying process of off-balancing, loosening, bending, twisting, reconfiguring, and transforming the permeating, eruptive/disruptive energy and mood below, behind and to the side of focused attention” (Schechner 1993 p.43). Like music, it defies satisfactory representation through the written word⁴⁸: it moves, contorts, bumps and grinds against any attempt at distanced

⁴⁷ Nigel Thrift (1997 pp.145-50) discusses how the concept of ‘play’ is peripheralized, trivialized and misunderstood in ‘classical’ texts (also see Schechner 1993 p.27).

⁴⁸ And this *gap* between the immediacy and non-verbal ‘feel’ of dance and music and their subsequent linguistic representation presents an ongoing problem for this research project (see for example 2.1). Perhaps, aware of this complication, academics are wary of attempting interpretation. This is unfortunate since much can be learnt through processes of representation and subsequent discussions of the merits and defects of such linguistic appropriations.

theoretical objectification. But maybe this is why dance is important, why it demands attention - its rhythm and movement, its physicality *and* its social constitutedness, situate dance within and across spaces of leisure, culture and politics. Dance has histories, and these are “re-enacted through movement” (Nettleford 1996 p.xiv); it has geographies, is “context determined” (Kinni-Oluanyin 1996 p.47); and it has politics, because the body-subject is (re)constructed and deconstructed, is “a site of cultural consumption” (Pile and Thrift 1995 p.7), “an externality that presents itself to others and to culture as a writing or inscriptive surface” (Grosz 1989 p.10), a performative process which is open to contestation. Dance is integral to individual and collective memories of Carnival. It (re)negotiates these spatialities. Carnival is integral to senses of place in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s. Senses of place can be found within the dance.

‘J’ouvert Morning’ is one of the main events of Carnival in Chapeltown, and Chapeltown is the only place in Britain with a ‘J’ouvert’ event in its Carnival. ‘J’ouvert’ is probably derivative of the French term ‘jour ouvert’ (opening day) or the French for ‘I open’ (*Yorkshire Evening Post* ‘Carnival Special Publication’ 1997 p.4). The ‘J’ouvert’ event developed in Trinidad as the opening period of Carnival. Daniel Miller conceptualizes J’ouvert (which he spells ‘Jouvay’) as Carnival at its greatest moment of ‘inversion’: it’s the time when ‘the inside comes out to open’, and the ‘dark turns to light’, when J’ouvert bands (or troupes) dressed in mud and ashes or old clothes “assemble before dawn to reveal themselves in first light as ‘truth’” before the established order (Miller 1994 p.112; also see Harney 1996 p.194). For Miller, Trinidadian J’ouvert represents Bakhtinian notions of ‘the grotesque’, a Rabelasian image of gross abandon, disorder, ‘commess’ or confusion (see Kinser 1990; Folch-Serra 1990). But in Chapeltown, it is different: regardless of the merits of Miller’s theoretical approach, Chapeltown is not Trinidad, J’ouvert has new forms, new meanings, it has *found a new context*. Since J’ouvert Morning was introduced to Chapeltown (the idea of a *local* Trinidadian) for the twenty-fifth anniversary Carnival in 1992 as an ‘innovation’ *and* as something to commemorate twenty-five years of

Carnival (Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha: p.19), the event has grown to be one of the most popular features of Carnival; it has been welcomed and incorporated into the wider traditions of Carnival in Chapeltown:

“...one of the things that makes Leeds Carnival a little bit different is that a lot of people in Chapeltown go to J’ouvert Morning, which starts about six o’clock in the morning...that’s one of the traditions of the Carnival that’s been brought over here now...and it’s getting more and more popular. Some people have said that they like it more than what happens on the day...” (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.5).

But on J’ouvert Morning in Chapeltown there are no feral mud and ash-coated men, running uproariously through the streets; there are no semi-clad rag-wearing women simulating lewd behaviour outside the local churches. J’ouvert in this part of West Yorkshire has developed its own traditions, its own *normality*: collective memory is transformed through place. It’s about soca music and dancing: “If you go to J’ouvert Morning, you go to dance and that’s the only reason” (Leeds Interview 21 - Darcus: p.10).

Approaching Chapeltown from the west at six o’clock on the morning of Monday, 25/8/97 - Carnival Day - the pogoing rhythms of a soca beat penetrate the still skies above the tower blocks and waste ground of the Meanwood Valley. As I move closer I can hear shouting. At first it’s just a fuzzy, unintelligible sound, but as the copper-green domed roof of The Northern School of Dance on Chapeltown Road comes into view, the words become clear: “Wake up Chapeltown, wake up Leeds: it’s J’ouvert, it’s Carnival” (notes from my research diary, 25/8/97). Arriving at the West Indian Centre next to Chapeltown Road, the source of the sound becomes evident: a large green tractor pulling a cart loaded with sound systems and lingered Black men is moving slowly up the hill towards the middle of Chapeltown. Following and surrounding this vehicle of soca-sound is a crowd of several hundred people: predominantly young, overwhelmingly Black, enraptured with the movement of the dance. They ‘jump-up’, projecting their arms skywards whilst leaping into the air; they ‘wine’, bending their knees to the floor, thrusting their pelvis towards the person in front; they run and chase each other, hide in the crowd before jumping out and wining against somebody else. As this

pulsating, indefatigable mass of movement progresses through the streets of Chapeltown, it attracts, compels people out of their beds and on to the streets. Groups of girls run out of their houses, forcing down pieces of toast before joining the swarm of the dance; an elderly woman, dressed in a nightie, clutching a tooth brush, steps out of her garden on to the street, manages to bend her knees, to swoop, sway and then jump in the air; and small groups of men, adorned with lace and elastic, coated with clots of make-up, escape the lure of their bathroom mirrors and (re)present themselves to the dawn streets of Chapeltown (see Figures 3.10 and 3.11).

These individual features are caught up in a dynamic swirling ball of movement. Within the interior spaces of the crowd there is variety, individuality, in dance, dress, attitude; but from the sides, the front, the back, the J'ouvert crowd moves as one. Taking direction from 'The Godfather' and his associates on the mike, the dancers "move to the front...move to the back...left...right...", propelling as a mass in one direction, then surging in the other. Contemporary soca tunes are juxtaposed against old favourites like Byron Lee and The Dragonaires' instructive 'classic' "Follow the Leader", feeding Carnivalists with music that purposefully collectivizes, provides the rhythms for unity. This is as local as Carnival gets: Chapeltown is felt, embraced, explored, as J'ouvert pours through the streets. Almost everyone is recognizably 'local' and of a correspondingly (re)constructed 'Black community'.



Figure 3.10: *A pyjama wine on Harehills Avenue, J'ouvert Morning 1997, Chapeltown.*



Figure 3.11: *The J'ouvert mas rolls down the hill, J'ouvert Morning 1997, Chapeltown.*

The performance is internal to Chapeltown; the dominant phraseology of the dance is read through and across an identification with certain collective memories of place. Other senses of place are not excluded but are relativized. As the J'ouvert throng rumbles and roars along the eastern edge of Chapeltown, curtains start to twitch, doors are tentatively opened, and Chapeltown's 'Asian' population is forcibly woken up. Their presence as onlookers guarantees the uniqueness of the Chapeltown J'ouvert experience - for them and for the dancers: each is aware of 'the other', identities or identifications interpellate across the interfaces of the street, recombinant senses of place are developed. But for those caught up in the rhythm of the crowd - the sensuous swing of the dance - senses of place are (re)constructed through collective memories of 'Black Chapeltown'. Here there is a racialized interiority to the 'we t'ing': other influences of place are negotiated and semanticised, but notions of 'the we' are essentialized, bounded, authenticated. There are different collective memories, reconstructed through racialized accommodation and separation. Returning to Darcus, a local Black teenager:

"...the thing about Chapeltown is it's such a small place and everybody knows everybody and come Carnival day it's a chance just to see everybody you haven't seen for ages - you know 'how are you doing'...it's a special day when everyone comes out...it's like no other day that happens in any year...I look forward to being able to just dance with anybody on the day..." (Leeds Interview 21 -Darcus: p.4).

The 'everybody' is 'Black' Chapeltown; the dance is an incorporating *presentation* of this imagined community.

To dance is to participate in the (re)production of affiliative meaning, to articulate the complex of 'self' and 'community' through dynamic processes of bodily movement.

"Dance can...be considered the fabrication of a 'different world' of meaning, made with the body. It is perhaps the most direct way in which the body-subject sketches out an imaginary sphere. The word imaginary is used here in the sense 'as-if', suggesting a field or potential space. The dance is not aimed at describing events (that is, it is not representational) but at evolving a semblance of a world within which specific questions take their meaning" (Radley 1995 p.12).

To wine up against somebody else or to jump-up in unison, is to realize and express collective memories of community, conviviality, belonging. People grip, stroke, touch each other; they press together and dodge and dive away from each other as part of a "*potential space* in which individuals can evolve imaginary powers of feeling" (Radley 1995 p.14 original emphasis). They are dancing across physical boundaries, negotiating social identities, materially and socially representing perspectival positionalities through the contact and fluidity of the dance. When Sarah (yes - Sarah of the 'Palace' *mas* camp), in a discussion of dancing at J'ouvert Morning, said to me: "my mind says no, but my body can't help itself" (paraphrased in my research diary 19/8/97), her 'mind' was reluctant to dance because 'it' realized her 'body' wasn't physically 'fit'; her 'body' simply had to dance because to dance at J'ouvert is a necessary ritualized form of identification for 'her' as a socially constituted body in Chapeltown. Dancing at J'ouvert - because it is a particularly constructed local event - is all about 'taking part', seeking inclusion; a "fleeting symbolic fiction of contrived intimacy and unity" (Valentine 1995 p.479), a performance within a "community of sentiment and interpretation" (Gilroy 1993a p.252). Sarah separates 'the mind' and 'the body', but they work as one, situated across each other as part of a process of social and cultural positioning, joined through an inseparable mix of spontaneity and intentionality, deconstructed through what they produce - the *flow of the dance*.

But if to dance at J'ouvert is to make a connection (spontaneous and contrived) with notions of community and particular senses of place, what happens when these (re)constructions are contested or differently interpreted? You may dance expecting understanding and inclusion, but you may be ridiculed, castigated, misinterpreted. Miller discusses the ambiguities of intentionality and interpretation that pervade debates around women 'wining' at Carnival in Trinidad (see Miller 1991 p.333 and 1994 p.113). For some 'to wine' is to knowingly exhibit oneself, to be lewd, erotic, to play with the libidinous desires of watching men. For others, wining represents lesbianism - is associated with 'zamees' - because it is as likely

to involve a woman-to-woman dancing relationship as man-to-man. But Miller settles on the argument that wining is an 'autosexual' act, a temporary withdrawal of 'normal' sexual relations, a short-term liberation from prescribed modes of conduct. But what is perhaps most apparent is that wining or any other *projection of identity* works as a site of "hybridity, interdependence and ambivalence...(as a)...moment of openness to otherness, a moment of subversion of regimes of meaning and power" (Lewis and Pile 1996 p.26). Because "bodies are maps of power and identity" (Haraway 1990 p.222), and dance "is about *play*" (Thrift 1997 p.145), different movements, routines and ways of dressing at J'ouvert (re)present, refract, subvert and transgress normative interpretations: they upset the rules. For example, for many of the cross-dressing men at J'ouvert in Chapeltown, it's 'a laugh', an obvious inversion; for others it's an opportunity to fulfil a fantasy within the comfort spaces of 'home'; whereas for many non-cross-dressers, it's disgusting, aberrant, inexplicable. Whatever its meanings (its intentionality and effect) (and this chapter is not the place to discuss the complexities of different transvestisms), cross-dressing works as "the transgressive embodiment of ambiguity" (Garber 1992 p.103; also see Butler 1990), disrupting the boundaries of imagined communities and collective memories of place. It provides an example of how *different people dance for different reasons in different ways*, regardless of any pretence or *idealization of 'community'* or 'sense of place' where there is a "will to realize an essence" (Nancy 1991 p.xi).

Collective memories are splintered by individual movements, whilst sustained through a relationality predicated upon identification. Rowe and Schelling (1993 p.17) assert that "continuities of collective memory are cut across by discontinuities which break or transform them". Embodied collective memories which are danced on the streets of Chapeltown during J'ouvert are unsettled and transformed by innovative dance patterns, idiosyncratic interpretation, breakdowns in continuity between signification and effect. Moreover, J'ouvert is positioned as part of the multiple spaces of the local: it relies on and contributes to a hybridization of cultural identities/identifications; it dances across the world, leans

backwards and forwards, drawing on Trinidad but thriving on experimental possibilities which vividly interact with the contemporary social relations of Chapelton (such as the watching 'Asians'). Dancing differently embodies progressive senses of place: the body quivers, is a kink in the flows of multiply spatialized identifications; a dialogical performance as transformative practice; it reconfigures senses of community and place through physical, spiritual and vicarious *connection*.

"People who truly dance are those who have never bartered the fierce freedom of their souls, never strangled their hunger for rhythmic movement, never frustrated their joyous physical response to music and song. Furthermore, when such beings dance, for them all time stops; the air draws back and the past, the present and the future merge into a single indescribable jewel in eternity" (Primus 1996 p.3).

The dancer is positioned as part of a symbolic interpretative space that collaborates with other dancers as a "performed connection" with 'community' (Rose 1997 p.197). This 'community' is authenticated, has a deep sense of history; but it is also disrupted, fractured, encountered from 'inbetween' (Bhabha 1990a and 1994), through *fluxal, unbounded, deterritorialized spatialities* that are fleetingly encapsulated in the body-subject of the dancer. A 'sense of place' becomes a collective memory of allusions, a provisional and relativized point of collection that expresses multiply scaled networks of socio-cultural identifications by recoiling to a positionality which understands and authenticates an enclosed version of the local.

3.6 TOWARDS A RE-VERSIONED SENSE OF PLACE,

"Individual or group, we are traversed by lines, meridians, geodesics, tropics, and zones marching to different beats and different in nature...The lines are constantly crossing, intersecting for a moment, following one another...it should be born in mind that these lines mean nothing. It is an affair of cartography. They compose our map. They transform themselves and may even cross over into one another. Rhizome" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 pp.202-3).

"...you may have a Black community, but you've still got diversity within that community - you know - you have different groups who think in different ways..." (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.2).

This chapter has manoeuvred its way through those more bounded senses of place that are interpreted, articulated, embodied, told and transformed through the representative spaces of Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's. It has discussed how Carnival and place have become identified, semantically inscribed and located within morphological and discursive maps of the city, to ascribe event and context with particularly racialized and pathologizing sets of stereotypes. These stereotypes have been shown to order and collectivize senses of place, community and Carnival by providing a definitional stability through which stereotypes are internalized as hegemonic contexts for Carnival: "...rather than scourges of the alien, stereotypes may be seen as facing primarily inward: into the group and, even more, into the individual..." (Rapport 1995 p.279). Senses of place that emerge through negotiations with doxic maps of the city provide a social centrality which is told and authenticated through the *performed collective memories of Carnival*: St. Paul's and Chapeltown are (re)represented as 'Black communities', Carnival represents or alludes to stories which permeate these positionalities. It is through the telling of these stories that dominant representations of place are contested, offset, re-mapped:

"The map - as our allegory of power and knowledge - and the subject - as our allegory of the body and the self - reveal identity: its fluidity and fixity, its purity and hybridity, its safety and its terrors, its transparency and its opacity" (Pile and Thrift 1995 p.49).

Identities *and* identifications are *transcoded* between different discourses of community and place; discourses that can complement or compete against each other (see Stallybrass and White 1986). Notions of what constitutes the 'we' and

the 'I' are (re)configured in processes of positioning: belonging and individuation as discursively constituted, *embodied* identities. Spatialities (re)form as fragments of identity which encircle collective memories of Carnival and place (which are interpenetrating, symbiotic and reciprocal constructs, materialities, forms) before swooping inwards and down, translating, transforming, (re)constructing what it is like and what it means to be 'here' and 'now' at Carnival in Chapeltown or St. Paul's.

Thus, boundaries of community are re-drawn, senses of place are revised, place is opened as a point of connection which *displaces* centripetal bounded notions of place identity (P. Crang 1996). The 'local' is exposed as the 'trans-local'; 'community' is re-moulded as 'inoperative', dialogical, beyond spatial essentialism (see Nancy 1991); and identities *and ethnicities* are re-positioned as fluid, creolized (Hannerz 1987; Glissant 1992), syncretic constructions within cultural-political processes where "(B)lack culture is actively made and re-made" (Gilroy 1987 p.154). In Chapeltown and St. Paul's, Carnival has a central position in the discursive terrains of place. It works to (re)organize identities through an appeal to and active reconstruction of a unified 'Black community' whose boundaries form a template for place; it occupies a representative space for Chapeltown and St. Paul's on these terms. But at the same time, *differences are highlighted and mobilized through Carnival*, hybridities are expressed, surplus meanings and conditions of 'in-betweenness' leak across the boundaries of fixity, unity, tradition and authentication. In an interview with Amy, a musician and youth worker at the Mandela Centre in Chapeltown, Carnival's complex and contradictory location in the spatial and temporal relations of place are articulated. When asked how Carnival might be important for local youth, Amy replies:

"I think when it's there, when Carnival's coming up it's relevant to them and they're really into Carnival and they're probably off in troupes and joining troupes and everything, so I think the Carnival fever hits everyone. A week before or two weeks before you realize "Carnival's coming, Carnival's coming", so - I mean - they do get involved...but...the kind of music they're into is not directly 'Carnival', it's more stateside music" (Leeds Interview 12 p.7).

This marks “the end of the notion of the essential Black subject” (Hall 1992c p.254), it eschews taxonomies of identity which separate positions through discrete markers of difference. We can be many things at once: it’s possible to jump-up to soca music and free-style to hip-hop, speak with a Yorkshire accent and sing with a stateside drawl, take ecstasy on a Saturday night and visit the garden centre on a Sunday afternoon. There are many senses of place and Carnival is interpellated with these discrepancies and complementarities of identity: “social identities are ‘structured like a language’ in that they can be articulated into a range of contradictory positions from the discursive context to the next since each element in ideology and consciousness has no necessary belonging in any one political code or system of representation” (Mercer 1990 p.57).

Different senses of place - such as those suggested by Amy - operate as reconstructions of trans-local influences, senses of community, collective memories linked to ‘Black America’ and ‘The Caribbean’ *through* Chapeltown. These are re-articulated locally by contesting and re-inventing constructs of ‘community’ and ‘place’. They are thus routes (constructed as ‘roots’) of identity and identification: they appear coherent, traditional, authentically ‘in the blood’, but are transforming, contextually re-constituted, temporally re-imagined. Collective memories and senses of place performed and interpreted through Carnival are simultaneously provisional and (un)bounded, (re)constructed through protection and exchange. Carnival in St. Paul’s and Chapeltown is a symbol and process of emergent ethnicities and identities which cluster around and transform place by translating, incorporating and *locally defining* spatialities that are from ‘everywhere’ but seem to be ‘here’. The cultural politics of the local re-definition of codes, significations and collective memories of Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s, provides the spatialized embedding for the next chapter. The local will be shown to sink within a broader context of globality, rhizomic cultural intermixture, trans-temporal and trans-local collective memory, before it can again rise to the fore to re-assert its relevance as constituent of these prevailing ‘discourses of globality’ (see R. Robertson 1992 p.113)...

CHAPTER FOUR

REMEMBERING 'THEN' AND 'THERE' THROUGH 'HERE' AND 'NOW': CARNIVAL AND THE COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF DIASPORA

"Regardless of where it takes place - be it the Savannah (Trinidad), Spring Garden (Barbados), Victoria Park (St. Vincent), Notting Hill Gate (London), Queen's Park (Grenada), Eastern Parkway (Brooklyn, New York), or the Mission District (San Francisco) - Carnival is a glorious celebration of life. Carnival is a universe in motion - where high-spirited masqueraders, fuelled by the infectious, syncopated rhythms of the African Diaspora, perform a visionary and dramatic ritual of song and dance" (Ludlam 1995 p.51).

"What we are looking at is the fragmentary nature of society, the diversity of groups that proliferated as a result of the colonial legacy, later migration, and later solidarity through threats of racial and political extinction from the dominant power group. With the formation of new collectivities through groups coalescing and subtly falling apart again, a very complex process is taking place - what I have termed multiple diasporization" (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.168).

"It's an occasion when Black people are recreating and celebrating their own art and culture, a culture which was forged out of the special experience of the people who had been forcibly removed from Afrika to the Caribbean" (Leeds West Indian Carnival 21st Anniversary Programme, 1988 p.2).

4.1 FACING THE OTHER WAY(S): DIASPORIZING CARNIVAL,

If the last chapter was motivated by a desire to show how Carnival is *specifically local*, drawing in and reconfiguring senses of place through a locally bounded (re)construction of the 'Black community'; then this chapter faces the other way(s) towards 'the global'. It re-positions Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's within wider (re)constructions of community by evoking spatialities of collective memory which are trans-temporal and trans-local, travelling backwards and forwards in time, traversing multiple localities, authenticated as imagined cultural, social and even 'racial' communities as part of an ongoing *process of identification* which re-works notions of 'Carnival' and 'place'. It would seem that the practices, forms and meanings of 'African-Caribbean' Carnivals provide indisputable 'evidence' for contemporary theorizations that assert the "spatial focus" (Gilroy 1993b p.195) of identity (re)construction through homonyms such as 'route' (see for example Gilroy 1993b; Back 1996; Clifford 1997), chronotypes such as 'the Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1993b), and/or *heuristic* metaphors like 'diaspora' (see for example Hall 1991a and 1995; Clifford 1994; Slobin 1994). The Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's have developed and are developing through mobile relations with structures, symbols, feelings that can be linked (or 'routed') to different spatialities and temporalities. For example, they have aesthetics and rhythms which precede the "violence and rupture" of forced migration and slavery (Hall 1991b p.4); were transformed through the slavery decades of enforced silence and attempted 'deculturation'; re-constructed and re-vitalized in *different island contexts* through over a century of political and cultural interaction and struggle with colonial cultures; and then re-located, re-fashioned, re-defined through dynamic processes of protection and exchange within the multiple 'metropolitan' locations that served as post-war migratory destinations for those people carrying elements of the 'cultures of Carnival'¹.

¹ Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers (1996) gives a useful and interesting account of the 'historical legacy' of 'Carnival', from the Roman feasts in honour of Saturn (the Saturnalias) and Isis, through different European Carnivals, African influences of Carnival, and the processes of syncretism and transformation during slavery and post-emancipation, right up to those translocal versions of Carnival which share "a distinct cultural identity and a highly sophisticated aesthetic

Re-theorizing diaspora

'Carnival' then involves a series of 'diasporic forms', evokes and conveys 'diasporic feelings', memorizes and links 'diasporic sites' or 'diasporic places', where a 'diaspora' might refer to:

"...the scattering and dispersal of people who will *never* literally be able to return to the places from which they came; who have to make some kind of difficult settlement with the new, often oppressive cultures with which they were forced into contact, and have succeeded in remaking themselves and fashioning new kinds of cultural identity by, consciously or unconsciously, drawing on more than one cultural repertoire..." (Hall 1995 p.47-8; original emphasis).

And 'diasporized' ('diasporizing') people might be:

Those "...who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language (literally and metaphorically); inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home; who have learned to 'negotiate and translate' between cultures and who, because they are 'irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures', have learned to live with and indeed to speak from difference" (Hall 1995 pp.47-8; also see Rushdie 1991).

Is there a better example than Carnival of cultural translation through trans-local senses of community; deep histories and multiple geographies combined with 'high modernity' and locatedness? Is anything else this 'diasporic'? Suggestions for the answers to these questions are offered in the text of this chapter. Augmenting arguments that problematize and test the limits of 'progressive' structures and movements such as 'diaspora', 'hybridity' and 'journeying', (see Lazarus 1995; Tölöltan 1996; Chrisman 1997; Mitchell 1997), the chapter emphasizes the *multiple spatialities* of collective memories of Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's as a way of *re-formulating, de-fetishizing and re-focusing diaspora concepts*. It reaffirms the *provisionality, variability and selectiveness* of collective memories by discussing how 'diasporic' constructs such as 'homeland' and 'Afrika' are differentially alluded to, performed and commemoratively authenticated by different people in different Carnivals in different places. In

repertoire that spans four continents" (1996 p.1; also see Nunley and Bettelheim 1988; Connor 1995).

addition, the chapter tests the dynamics and flexibilities of travelling theories and diaspora praxes which discount that there might be multiple diasporizations (such as 'Asian' and 'Black' syncretisms)² and omit the multiple contestations that gather round and impact upon these emotive spatialized identifications.

Moreover, the chapter is designed to expose the gaps between theoretical oeuvres which systematically classify or diagnose feelings of belonging, nostalgic memories of 'homeland' or radical racialized hybridities - as 'diasporic', of 'the Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1993b), symptomatic of 'immigrature' (Grossberg 1996) - and what is actually said, where there is often no *evidence of intentionality*, no direct communal affiliation. For diaspora concepts to work - if they are to have rigour and plausibility - then they must move beyond mere aerial, textual interpretation, towards verbal narratives, stated attachments, inscriptive collective memories that express a strategic positionality. It is all too easy to append travelling metaphors to any discourse, form, or text which 'appears' mobile, protean, displaced and ambivalently attached. Furthermore, spatialities which might be termed 'diasporic' must be understood as open to contestation, socially differentiated and re-spatialized through their *performative*, embodied re-imagination.

In this chapter Carnival is presented as 'something' that encapsulates, articulates *and* escapes spatialities which can be termed 'diasporic', and 'somewhere' that appeals to and reifies different notions of the 'Black community' through differently (in-)exclusive, (anti-)essentialist, (non-)separatist identifications and strategies, (re)constructing and authenticating boundaries as a way of fixing identities in place, re-defining place, finding position, before that position may or

² See Gopinath 1995, Werbner 1995 and Brah 1996 for discussions of inter-cultural cross-over and multiple diasporization, as 'Asian' and 'Black' groups and individuals operate across the cleavages of their supposed diasporic routes, disrupting the Manichean binarism of concepts such as Gilroy's 'Black Atlantic'. For example, Gayatri Gopinath is critical of Gilroy's 'Black Atlantic' because "he reinscribes within his own discourse the Black/White binary that he attempts to write against" (Gopinath 1995 pp.305-6), failing to recognize the "dialogic relationship" between 'African-Caribbean' and 'Asian' diasporic communities.

may not be escaped in the next Carnival process. This is why the chapter refrains from turning completely around and 'facing the other way' out of place: place can only be escaped 'to some extent', because discourses of dislocation and questions of diasporic belonging generated by constant movement and migration across an increasingly 'compressed world' (see Featherstone 1990), are bound up with ongoing processes of resignification in place, where new senses of place - contextual positionalities - are negotiated, thought of, fought for (see for example 1.1 and 5.3). Collective memories which can be termed global *and* local, come together at and around Carnival, re-constructed through processes of negotiation and contestation that settle and unsettle this 'collective' through the counter-positioning and imbrication of differently spatialized identities and identifications. Avtar Brah theorizes diaspora through a Foucauldian approach by deconstructing the concept into historically and geographically contingent 'genealogies', as "an ensemble of investigative technologies that historicize trajectories of *different diasporas*", emphasizing "their relationality across fields of social relations, subjectivity and identity" (Brah 1996 p.180; my emphasis). By extension, notions of diaspora - appeals to community - are differently (un)imagined under different geo-historical circumstances. The Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's are diasporically inflected through their contexts: those 'progressive senses of place' that emerge and are transformed through 'the mix' or confluence of the narratives, performativities and traditions (re)developed and re-invented through the cultural journeys³ of local people (see Massey 1994 and 1995). Sometimes the connections are stated, sometimes not.

The meanings of Carnival (what it is about, 'why 'we' go', 'why we do what we do'), its multiple forms (such as the themes and aesthetics of the *mas*) can be discussed in terms of the different ways they widen and narrow diaspora notions

³ Journeys which are both 'real' (for first generation immigrants) and metaphoric (where cultural identities are heteroclitic compositions of multiple narratives which are defined by the local but also transcend the local, subject to 'spatial trajectories' (de Certeau 1984), re-defined as 'travelling cultures' (see for example Said 1982) through their contact with external, global and diasporic forms and meanings.

of 'imagined community' (see Anderson 1991)⁴. Here, 'diaspora' is (de)constructed heuristically to approach questions such as 'who and what constitutes this 'Black community'?' 'Where is 'home'?' 'How should the "horizontal comradeship" of different histories and geographies be articulated and represented?' (Anderson 1991 p.67). 'Why, where and what should take precedence in the global "hierarchy of multiple loyalties"?' (Magocsi 1989 p.57).

The Chapter

Developing these spatialities, the chapter begins with a discussion of how **Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's is represented and used in different ways to 'remember home'**. First generation 'immigrants' to these places 'came' in different numbers from numerous Caribbean islands (remember the influence of the 'beautiful sisters' in Chapeltown [3.2.1], and Jamaica in St. Paul's[3.2.2]). These islands have their own histories, senses of identity, relations with each other; they have their own masquerade traditions, aesthetic practices, musical forms. Collective memories of these places, these alternative 'homes', lead to a heightened awareness of particularized versions of Carnival, infusing the Carnival process with a specific diasporic positionality, erasing alternative memories, privileging certain traditions. Here the form and sentiment of the masquerade in Chapeltown and St. Paul's is featured to show how essentialized expressions of Carnival - those 'yearnings for yesterday' (Davis 1974) and 'island identities' (see for example Lowenthal 1972; James 1993) - remain evident, maintained vicariously through selective memory and the *invention of tradition*, and more

⁴ Although it should be noted that Anderson's 'imagined community' refers to the 'nation state', rather than less obviously bounded spatialities such as diaspora. Unlike nation states, diasporas are not sovereign territories with established borders, they have no official language, and constituents of a diaspora are likely to be 'marginal' to dominant discourses that evoke citizenship of the nation state (see Lemelle *et al.* 1994 p.7). There are, however, points of cross-over within Anderson's dictum: for example, the emphasis on the imagined construction of community as opposed to its 'reality' or 'actuality', usefully provides a basis for analysis of how and why identities are spatialized and re-constructed, not whether they are accurate or misguided.

palpably through the networks of Carnivalists who 'return home' for Carnival or invite friends and relatives from the Caribbean to Carnival in Britain.

But in 'the metropolitan context' (and in the Caribbean⁵), divergent Carnival traditions encounter one another, collective memories are translated, transferred, are locked in a competitive process (see Rowe and Schelling 1993). The second part of the chapter engages with the competing *textual and performative processes*⁶, the contested memories of Carnival. Using the structures and themes of *mas* costume-making in Chapelton, Carnival is re-assessed in terms of its trans-Caribbean ethics and aesthetics: the ways it includes, incorporates, syncretizes different traditions. Some practices, elements, meanings, remain coherent, recognizable as symbols of an 'earlier' or 'transplanted' culture; others are less recognizable, transformed through interchange, re-patterned and re-signified through the productive tensions and complementarities of their contemporary context. Collective memories of Carnival are *re-worked* through entanglements with different flows; Carnival operates as process, its forms and meanings (re)constituted through struggles to control its representational space. These are struggles over 'roots' (which can be theorized as 'routes'), 'traditions' (which are authenticated), memories of 'home' (which are contingent with times and places experienced since, experienced now); struggles that seek location within dislocations of difference, where "everyday lives are criss-crossed by border zones, pockets and eruptions of all kinds" (Rosaldo 1993 p.207). In this sense *Carnival is inflected*, achieved through processes of decision-

⁵ For example, masquerade traditions which are commonly recognized as 'Trinidadian' in form and content, have developed in Jamaica through the catalytic influence of 'The University of the West Indies' in Kingston. Here, Trinidadian students introduced their own *mas* aesthetic, which was gradually re-worked - (re)contextualized - to interconnect with the visual and musical traditions of other Caribbean islands (From Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.9).

⁶ As a departure from pure text/discourse analysis. Research is based as much on the performative processes of Carnival's (re)production as it is on the symbols and narratives which follow these processes (see for example 2.3.2).

making and performance which embrace and 'displace'⁷ cultural and political positionalities - (re)inventions of the 'Black community' - through recombination, intermixture and strategic essentialism. A 'completed' *mas* costume (before it is worn, performed and consumed) works as a *moment of fixity*⁸, symbolizing and disguising the manoeuvrings, transferrals, juxtapositions, relativizations, the *inclusive and exclusive movements of racialized re-invention* that transform Carnival through an engagement with the (de)stabilizing and contested collective memories of place.

The themes and forms of the Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's - the ways they choose to express position - vary within and between each event. Sometimes there is a mutuality - collective memories are contained within equivalent boundaries of community - but for most of the time, collective memories are disrupted, inconstant. They may settle on form but not theme; on theme but not form. Different *versions* of Carnival, different interpretations and evocations of diaspora, are articulated, asserted, pronounced and *made real* through their *authentication*. Collective memories are dialogic, translated, in motion (see Robbins 1991), but they are made sense of - located - through a commitment to the verity of their tradition and origins. **The final part of the chapter explores the ways the forms and meanings of Carnival are re-invented to represent and express notions of diaspora that are (re)built through collective memories of an originary Afrikan⁹ homeland.** The thematic strategies of the

⁷ Using 'displacement' as the concept presented by Phil Crang (1996 p.47) "to suggest an understanding whereby: processes of consumption are cast as local, in the sense of contextual; but where these contexts are recognized as being opened up by and through connections into any number of networks, networks which extend beyond the delimiting boundaries of particular places".

⁸ Which regains momentum through its performance on the street in the *mas* (see for example, 3.5.2).

⁹ Where the replacement of a 'c' with a 'k' symbolizes the reclamation of 'Afrika' from European definitions that deprive 'Afrikans' of agency and ownership. A 'k' has been used in all St. Paul's Carnival literature since the late 1980s, emphasizing difference through the strategic interiority of the term (This was explained to me by Ogoni, one of the St. Paul's Carnival organizers [see Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni]). However, it is suggested in 4.4 that this linear

'St. Paul's Carnival Camps' Art and Education Project' are discussed in terms of the ways they use Carnival as a representational space of rediscovery and re-education that transcends 'the parochialism of Caribbean memories' (see Gilroy 1994 pp.103-104) in favour of campaigns of awareness and celebrations of 'Afrikan cultures' and their diasporic derivatives. Connections are made with an invented past and mythical place as a way of finding location in the present; Carnival is reified as an expressive symbol of Black culture that collapses wider diasporic constructs on to the ideological and cultural bedrock of 'Afrika'.

But notions or constructs of 'Afrika' and their relevance or appropriateness for Carnival are evoked, imagined and represented differently by different people. Collective memories of Carnival are (re)constructed through their contestation, sharpened through the social relations of their context¹⁰. It doesn't matter that archaeological retrievals and re-presentations of Afrika may be inaccurate or essentialist; what matters is the processes of identification and dismissal which they engage and are a part of. These are processes of collective memorization, working, battling to recreate Carnival, underpinned *and* undercut by pressures to conform to or detract from a definable, coherent notion of the 'Black community'. It is the collision and competition of different collective memories - the points of incorporation and departure - that ceaselessly reconstitute the forms and meanings of Carnival, proffering discrepant and contingent versions of diaspora, re-inventing positionalities, directions, senses of place. The Carnivals in Chapeltown and St. Paul's are linked, recognizably related. But they are also discrete, idiosyncratic, internally contested localized practices that recompose imagined temporalities and spatialities of diaspora to re-invent and normalize distinct interpretations of what Carnival is, what it is for, where it is going and where it has been. These trans-local and trans-temporal spatialities are reconstituent of contemporary senses of

evocation of 'Afrika' is negotiated and re-worked by different local people who find connection to discrepant collective memories.

¹⁰ Individuals relate differently to time-deepened 'established' collective memories, and new collective memories develop through these processes of re-negotiation (see 1.2).

place. They symbolize and re-affirm 'new ethnicities' through the traversal and reaffirmation of 'racial' difference.

4.2 REMEMBERING HOME.

"Insularity is a basic fact of West Indian life...it is at the island level that West Indians mainly identify" (Lowenthal 1972 p.14).

"Our experiences in Britain have sharpened our perspectives of our place within the world...forced, where some of us were hitherto reluctant, to recognize and validate our Blackness; the 'shade-blind' and 'island'-innocent racism within British society have helped us to shed some of the most absurd and deluding idiocies of Caribbean life" (James 1993 p.280).

"When I wear these wings, I feel I can fly all the way back to Nevis" (Quote written in research diary, 13th August 1997).

Chapelton and the beautiful sisters

Thirty-one years ago in Chapelton there was no Carnival. For many there was no point: memories of home remained fresh, the desire to return had not waned. If residence in Leeds was considered temporary, then why salvage cultural roots which could be returned to and re-visited in their "natural environment" (Leeds Interview 22 - Roger: p.7), and why display deeply valued traditions for them to be devalued, "laughed at" by the 'indigenous' White population? (Leeds Interview 1 - James: P.2) (see 3.3.1). But there were pressures to do something, to overcome this self-consciousness and accept that Chapelton - for the foreseeable future - was to become 'home'. Carnival for James - one of the initial event organizers - was *required* if Black people in Chapelton were to preserve and impart concepts, practices and feelings of 'their' culture:

"Well, right at the start it was, we came here...we used to go to dances called 'night-dancing' and you need other things to stimulate you because a lot of us was young - you know - we needed to start enjoying ourselves, not like going to work and come and sit in the house and dream you're going back home and lull around under the coconut tree and that's the end of the story. Well here you need to have some fun and...rather than we just used to meet for weddings and funerals - you could just go to weddings if you was invited - we wanted to bring people together meaningful and we thought we need to pass on some of our culture to our children...they can't travel back to the Caribbean to see Carnival..." (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.2).

Since its organizational beginnings as a sub-committee of the radically political 'United Caribbean Association' (see 3.2.1), after surviving initial bouts of cynicism and rejection, and emerging as a separate committee with a pennant that read 'The Leeds *West Indian* Carnival', the event was heralded as non-political, trans-Caribbean, occupying a cultural space within the racialized context of Chapeltown (see 3.2.1) where you "can't always be on the warpath" (James, speaking at the Annual Conference of the ASACACHIB¹¹, at the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds, 19/10/96). Separatist Black politics was therefore suspended by carrying a transcendent ethic of Caribbean unity into the social and cultural *jouissance* of Carnival¹². The theme for the first Carnival *mas* in 1967 was: "*Carnival is we t'ing and is here to stay*". The event was presented as a chance to shed those impractical island loyalties, escape the trappings of insularity and come together through the unanimity of 'the Black experience' that was developing in Chapeltown.

But despite this intention or despite this *presentation*, Carnival in Chapeltown was and remains distinctive through its links and similarities with Christmas Carnival in the Eastern Caribbean islands of St. Kitts and Nevis - Carnivals remembered by the majority of Chapeltown's 'first generation Caribbean immigrant' population. Although re-scheduled to the August Bank Holiday (Leeds is colder than the Eastern Caribbean), memories of these Carnivals were re-articulated and re-constructed through the *form and feeling* of those early events. Carnival *mas* in

¹¹ The 'Association for the Study of African Caribbean and Asian Culture and History in Britain'.

¹² Significantly, unlike the 'Association for a people's Carnival' (see M. La Rose 1989 and 1990) and commentators such as Cecil Gutzmore (see Gutzmore 1978, 1992, 1993), organizers such as James have never presented or conceptualized Carnival as 'overtly political', but have asserted its cultural vitality, the ways it brings people together, its ability to temporarily suspend hard-edged political strategies. When James talks of "bring(ing) people together meaningful" (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.2), the 'meaningful' refers to an understanding of 'culture' as separate from 'politics' where 'direct action' is only achievable through the latter. Of course Carnival - as a 'cultural event' - is political, but for James, unlike Cecil Gutzmore, it differs from actions with a specifically *intentional* 'political' agenda.

St. Kitts-Nevis has a distinctive iconography¹³, based around 'Red Indian' masquerades (influenced by 'indigenous' Amerindians) adorned with peacock-feathered head-dresses and white-faced masks (Williams 1909); troupe movements are led by 'the Captain', directing the *mas* with the crack of a whip (an obvious parody of a slave master); and other characters and groups such as David and Goliath, the Robbers, the Wild Bull and his trainer, Negra Business¹⁴, Moco Jumbie¹⁵, and 'fife and drum' players, interweave through the *mas*, chasing, interrogating, imitating Carnival participants (see Bettelheim 1988). Many contemporary Carnivalists in Chapeltown remember scenes such as this; Christmas as a child was spent by many taking part or wanting to take part in Carnival:

"I can remember as a child Moco Jumbie used to frighten me, dancing around Christmas morning, and we had to give him money. The one we had in our town was called 'Mr Mac, Mr Mac', and he had the highest stilts on the island, he could go to a house and reach the upstairs windows to collect his money (laughs)" (Leeds Interview 8 - Sidney: p.5).

These memories were carried by St. Kittians and Nevisians to Chapeltown in the 1950s and 1960s; maintained through storage and conversation until 1967, and then released, dramatically re-articulated, translated on to the streets of Leeds¹⁶. There were conscious efforts to re-create specifically memorized forms of Carnival, to preserve the links, establish a moving archive of St. Kitts-Nevis Carnival tradition. Sidney expresses his version of this necessary tradition of Carnival whilst displaying and discussing his collection of Carnival photographs:

"...And this is Carnival in St. Kitts (shows a photograph), and one of the traditional characters that is played is 'The Bull', and we've had those in Leeds...they used to have a Bull and a sort of Tiger Man as well...the Bull can be very friendly and they can dance and clown about all day, and what you

¹³ Although it has and continues to transform from this normative structure.

¹⁴ Groups of masqueraders performing what is referred to in Chapeltown as 'Old *Mas*': "...they were the walking newspapers of those days. No gossip, embarrassing incident or family feuding escaped their attention" (Robinson 1985). They would 'play', mimic, parody groups and individuals through episodic representation.

¹⁵ Moco Jumbie characters and their derivatives are common in numerous Caribbean Carnivals. They involve a masked masquerader on stilts. The name 'Moco Jumbie' might have evolved from the African Mandig phrase 'Mumbo Jumbo' (see Bettelheim 1988).

¹⁶ In those 'early days', the Carnival Procession moved through the streets of Chapeltown, down Chapeltown Road, into Leeds City Centre, past the Town Hall, and back into Chapeltown where it disbanded at Potternewton Park (see Figure 3.1 to locate this route).

probably find is...both the Bull and the Tiger, they hold it with a rope...and they can be dancing away happily for an hour...they usually have what you call 'Masquerade music' - the drum and the fife playing with them - and everybody is having a good time around the Bull, and then they let go of the rope and the Bull charges and the bodies just scatter. And that's a traditional character...and it links through to what happens in Leeds..." (Leeds Interview 8 - Sidney: pp.4-5).

Carnival in Chapeltown was and remains underpinned and understood in terms of its recollection and re-representation of the form and sentiment of St. Kitts-Nevis Carnivals. In addition to widespread Carnival features such as steel bands playing calypso or thematically organized masquerade road troupes, Carnival in Chapeltown maintains a focus through the active memorization of the Carnivals of 'the Beautiful Sisters'. Until recently, 'Captain Wenham' (a relation of Sidney) and his rag-wearing 'Big Drum' troupe would march between the themed *mas* troupes, with one member playing a drum, others playing the whistle, fife and guitar, and 'The Captain' orchestrating the dance by brandishing his whip (see Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.9)¹⁷. Also, 'Old *Mas*' was performed at the Carnival Queens' Show as a satirical sketch derivative of 'Negra Business', often designed "to take the piss out of White people..." (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.3). Collective memories of 'home' are transferred, re-assessed, re-evaluated in a Chapeltown context, and they are strengthened - made real - through the numerous return visits (if not migrations) to the Eastern Caribbean, and the congregation of resident Eastern Caribbeans in Chapeltown for the Carnival that their friends and family brought to England. Sidney continues:

"Well I think it is part of the whole sort of *community spirit* because...Last year I met a friend of mine who'd come back, he'd been living in New York for the last twelve years or so, and he came back over and he chose *Carnival time* to come back over...I've got cousins who come over every, well they've been over three times to Leeds Carnival, and they live in Miami, they're actually Trinidadians and they go to Trinidad Carnival every year and sometimes St. Kitts Carnival where I sometimes meet them, and they love Leeds Carnival...and Carnival people choose around Carnival time to come because they just know that it's a time to bump into people and meet up with people" (Leeds Interview 8 - Sidney: p.9).

¹⁷ This is a very old marching tradition, pre-dating steel pan music, most probably linked to and influenced by the pre-war military presence in St. Kitts-Nevis (see Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.9).

In this sense, 'home' is practised, performed, embodied through specific processes of fixing, locating, defining positionalities - temporalities and spatialities of "Carnival time" - which actively seek out and connect with a translocal imagined community (spirit) that might be termed 'diasporic'.

For many Chapeltown residents of a St. Kitts and Nevis background, this means authenticity, the survival of tradition, a respite from wider processes of cultural alienation; but for some Black people from different Caribbean 'origins', Carnival in Chapeltown has lacked relevance, failed to connect: they do not share this version of the collective memories of Carnival. Chapeltown Carnival is promoted and for many celebrated in terms of its dutiful attention to 'tradition': in music, aesthetics, structure¹⁸. But if the tradition is not 'your own', or if it is (re)constructed as 'not your own', then the rhetoric of a progressively integrated Carnival counts for little. Despite the existence of some masquerade traditions in Jamaica and Barbados¹⁹, early Carnivals in Chapeltown were organized by and attracted participants who had familial links predominantly with the Eastern Caribbean:

"I'd go to some of the Carnivals but not all of them, because my family's background wasn't Carnival...we'd go up to Roundhay Park because there used to be like a Leeds gala on at the same, on the same day, which is now defunct...on hindsight I can look back and say that the reasons why I didn't go like in 1967, '68, '69 and so on, which were the times when my parents would have gone, would have been because...that wasn't their thing, that Carnival wasn't something they were used to, because they came to Britain in the 1960's and so was - you know - like their Jamaican culture and heritage was still

¹⁸ It was only recently that trolleys carrying steel bands were upgraded (reluctantly) through the replacement of manual pulling-power with tractor power. Hand-pulled trolleys are often cited as a distinctive element of a 'traditional Chapeltown Carnival', crucial in locating Carnival as faithful to its past through the practices of collective memory *embodied* in the labour of 'trolley-pulling':

"...there's something different about Leeds Carnival in the way that the steel bands...because it was like everything was on the trolleys...I've had my fair share of pulling trolleys and...it gets everybody involved and - you know - the bands, when they're so close to the groups of people - you know - everybody feels so close together, and the music and the vibes are going and it feels a lot better" (Leeds Interview 15 - Clive: p.4).

¹⁹ Such as the Cropover Carnivals in Barbados or Jonkonnu masquerade characters in Jamaica.

something that was not too distant in their minds and hearts..." (Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha: p.1).

Carnival in Chapeltown proudly welcomes and encourages participation from 'different' groups, 'ethnicities', 'communities', but it does so according to the constraints, the aesthetic boundaries policed by a dominant collective memory where fidelity to tradition - the memories of 'home' - are upheld as vital to the survival of what for many remains distinctly identifiable as a discrete 'culture'. Jamaicans, Barbadians - anybody - can help, but they are not allowed to interfere. James makes this very clear:

"...the strong organizations that we had...community organizations, were driven really by people from St. Kitts and Nevis, and we've maintained our strong traditional Eastern Caribbean type of thing. We incorporate others but we maintain it, and a lot of people came along and we never put up barriers...we've always had a lot of Jamaican people involved, but as I say, we believe in maintaining something...that Eastern Caribbean thing - that's what makes it survive..." (Leeds Interview 2 - James: p.18).

Geographical delineations that define people 'from' St. Kitts, Nevis and other Eastern Caribbean islands including Trinidad, as 'Carnival people', have worked to authenticate a particularized version of Carnival by limiting its heritage to a singularly-bounded collective memory of 'home'. In this sense diaspora - a wider sense of community - is sought conditionally, its expressive potentialities given limited scope.

St. Paul's and Jamaica

In St. Paul's, Carnival occupies a different diasporic position, remembers different 'homes'. At St. Paul's Carnival, don't expect to hear the mellifluous sounds of a steel band or to see troupe after troupe of asymmetrical, flowing masqueraders: this Carnival does not fulfil Coco Fusco's caricature of Carnival as "the most visible Afro-Caribbean stereotype" (Fusco 1995 p.338); neither does it fit within Chapeltown Carnivalists such as James' (see Leeds Interview 1 and 2) conception of what 'defines' a Carnival. St. Paul's Carnival has developed, transformed from its beginnings as a festival of floats and multicultural community rhetoric (see Wood 1992; Spooner 1994 and 1996) (see 3.3.2), to a sonorous interchange dominated by the thumping, belting, jarring rhythms of the sound system. In St.

Paul's on Carnival day, each street is defined, signified through the sound 'it' produces: ragga blasts from one end of Grosvenor Road; drum and bass ricochets off the walls of Brighton Street; there's R&B and swing on Campbell Street; garage slams through the air on Wilder Street; and on Denbigh Street, Argyll Road and halfway along Grosvenor Road, reggae dancehall and dub ripple, thud, scorch through the crowds²⁰. Add to this the smaller sound systems that hang out of houses or fill the gaps between food stalls, and the influence of the sound system on the structures, identities and directions of the St. Paul's Carnival is overwhelming. The Jamaicanness of 'first generation immigrants' to St. Paul's is collectively remembered and re-articulated through the 'cultures' and sensibilities of a sound system aesthetic. Memories of 'home' are expressed through the tingling reverb of a reggae riff, and re-contextualized within the volume and vibration of a dissonant swirl of competing and complementary sounds, each of which is controlled, underpinned, defined by the cultural, social and material technologies of the sound system.

Unlike Chapeltown, masquerade in St. Paul's does not constitute 'Carnival'. The Carnival procession in St. Paul's is a small-scale road *mas* of local school children that threads its way through the streets at one o'clock on Carnival day as a forerunner to the other Carnival events²¹. Although an important factor in the organizers' educational and artistic purview of how Carnival should be structured and (re)presented (see 4.3.1), there are no non-school *mas* camps, few aesthetic rules, and local volunteers are scarce. Many local people do not even see the masquerade: their Carnival starts later. Ogoni, a prominent Carnival organizer, regrets the lack of local affection and affiliation with the masquerade, but is not surprised:

“...what people need to sort of realize - you see - you compare the St. Paul's Carnival to something like the Reading Carnival and - you know - Reading Carnival are mostly from Barbados or Dominica, whereas in Bristol most

²⁰ See Figure 3.3 for a map of this gridded soundscape.

²¹ As a feature of the 'Carnival Camps Project' (see 2.3.2).

people are from Jamaica...so without the influence of the Jamaica-type music - you know - the Carnival wouldn't be what we want it to be because *it wouldn't be for us*" (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.6).

Collective memories of Jamaica, re-constructed collective memories of what Jamaica represents, are (re)presented at Carnival through a valorization of the sound system - a distinctly 'Jamaican' technology, practice, symbol; something "for us" (see Hebdige 1987; Oliver 1990; Gutzmore 1993; Connor 1995). Paul, a previous Carnival organizer, supports this collective memory:

"...I would never accept that it was a Carnival in terms of the other traditions...there is a major difference to places like Leeds and Notting Hill...Bristol, if you talk about the Caribbean population, is almost solidly Jamaican...I would argue there is not that strong Carnival tradition in the same sense you've got in Trinidad, St. Vincent, a lot of the smaller islands, and both Leeds and Notting Hill had considerable populations of those people. Bristol had none. So to me it's quite understandable how it didn't really grow up in the same way here and it was a very different sort of history...there's not that tradition, and that to me is what people brought with them when they came to Bristol...that's why I often talk about it in a street party sort of context because...you're really talking about very few streets in a very small area that shut down and have sound systems all night, and it's a bit like a party" (Bristol Interview 16 - Paul: p.3).

The practice of the sound system: to be the MC (Master of Ceremonies) or the 'operator'²²; to experiment with digital delay, mixing, scratching, or to dance to the rhythms of the sounds it produces; is to identify with the lineage or 'roots' of this cultural and musical structure, to engage with a collective signature that is (re)constructed and credited as Jamaican, thus re-working and for some achieving a repatriation with *feelings of home*. Just as in Chapeltown, Carnival - for *some* residents of St. Paul's - is actively practised as a process of collective memorization which represents 'memories of home' through their re-enactment in a contemporary context. Ronnie, a local reggae DJ, remembers 'Jamaica':

"To me it's an outdoor dance with food. It's no different from a dance in Jamaica. That's exactly what a dance is like. You have people selling outside on the street and you have a dance happening and people in and out buying food and having a smoke and your artists perform. It's the same thing, it's just a bigger *version*" (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: p.14).

²² The MC works as the verbal DJ, introducing sounds, commentating, interacting with the crowd. The operator complements the MC by playing, mixing, scratching - manipulating - the raw materials of the sound system.

For each Carnival there are different senses of place, notions of home, island identifications and identities. Discrepant and contested perspectives - divergent positionalities of Blackness - are ascendant or secondary according to the diasporic mix of the local. But what is perhaps most significant is that alternative definitions of 'home' - seemingly discordant collective memories - tussle, scramble and somehow find position within the cultural-political parameters of an event called 'Carnival'. Identities are 'not armour-plated against each other' (Hall 1987); they are relational constructs that work through their contingency, a relationality expressed and denied through the syncretisms and essentialized differences which recompose the forms, meanings, identities of context-specific events that share the name (and thus a sense of communal affiliation) 'Carnival'. Senses of place in Chapeltown and St. Paul's are specifically marked by the collective memories of different 'island identities'; these work to define notions of Carnival; but the representational spaces of Carnival transfigure this (re)construction of boundaries, blurring the meanings of Carnival, broadening its communality to include divergent notions of 'Black community' and 'Black art'. It is this flexibility - between difference and communality and of communality forged through difference - that tempted organizers of the St. Paul's Festival to adopt the name 'Carnival':

“...it needed to take that transformation from a mere festival to a Carnival because it needed to be seen as, what it was trying to do and it could easily fit into the national network of Carnivals in the summer...but...what we were not trying to do...why the Carnival in St. Paul's is so unique is that it wasn't trying to be - you know - Rio; it wasn't trying to be Trinidad. It realized where its influences came from and said they were all fine and very important, very fundamental to what we're doing” (Bristol Interview 12 - Gareth: p.2).

Carnival provides a space where intentionalities of a wider 'Black (Carnival) community' can exist in simultaneity with local differences, divergent collective memories. Carnival is diversely local, just as it is diversely trans-local, its transformative possibilities extended yet further through its differential contextual performance.

In this sense, Carnival is “multiply diasporized” (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.168), flexibly encountering and incorporating difference because it invests in and is transformed by different senses of place, recollections of ‘home’. To remember ‘home’ through Carnival relies on the temporary closure of identity, the denial of cultural transformation, the strategic elision of differently diasporized notions of the ‘self. But for many, the meanings of Carnival transcend this closure by re-working the signifier ‘Black’ to include multiple forms of expression and enable multiple formats and conceptions of Carnival. Here Carnival is at its most inclusive, its senses of community stretched open to reduce memories of ‘home’ to just one factor in the transformative identity (re)construction site of Carnival.

4.3 WORKING FOR POSITION IN THE WORLD OF CARNIVAL.

“With the internationalization of the local milieu it is very likely to be the cultural stranger who becomes my neighbour with whom I have to interact to maintain the common boundaries of our milieux” (Albrow et al 1997 p.33).

“The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present” (Urry 1995 p.4).

“(Carnival)...is to do with the whole Caribbean as a whole because places like Brazil and the rest of the Caribbean are full of displaced people who have come together, and that’s why you get Carnival in the first place - you know - it’s part of the whole Caribbean experience and South American experience as well. It’s not just Trinidad...(there’s a)...large Jamaican community who unfortunately don’t see Carnival as part of their tradition, which it is because it’s part of their visual tradition and it’s part of their Caribbean tradition, and life didn’t start with ragga, gold teeth and funny suits (laughs)” (Bristol Interview 4 - Sue: pp.5-6).

Strategies or practices of collective memory which uphold Carnival as a wholesome version of a spatially and temporally distant event through the evocation of an island-bound sense of tradition and a loyal retrieval of ‘roots’, rely on processes of authentication, fulfilment and memory transformation, obdurately essentialized through “a refusal of the dismemberment of history” (Mattera 1988 in McClintock 1995 p.317). Carnival in Chapeltown or St. Paul’s does not and cannot replicate Carnival anywhere else: roots become ‘routes’ (see Gilroy 1993b;

Clifford 1997) or 'rhizomes' (see Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Back 1996), memories are reconstituted through a relationality with context that re-inhabits new senses of place, new ethnicities. Moreover, it is not only the memories and 'places of the present' that transform and are transforming: contemporary Carnivals in the Caribbean are unlikely to be 'the same' as those left behind by Caribbean immigrants to Britain, for individuals, places and events are always bound by time, transform with time (James 1993; Massey 1994 p.169). Indeed, "(T)he quest for the 'real' past is as utopian as Alice's quest for the white rabbit, which glances anxiously at its watch before vanishing" (Hand 1984 p.52). To believe the pretence that Carnival in Chapeltown or St. Paul's is intransigently traditional, unequivocally mirroring Carnival elsewhere, is to be drawn into an anachronistic "nostalgic fantasy" (Rodaway 1995 p.257), an *exclusionary* process of simulation as a *virtual* heritage experience (see Rojek 1993; Featherstone 1995).

Yet few people are drawn totally into the escapist nostalgia of 'the authentic Carnival experience'. The contemporary and specific locations of St. Paul's and Chapeltown provide the forms and meanings of Carnival with a relationality that re-positions notions of tradition, memories of 'home', within cultural politics of interchange. Traditions of Carnival are re-constructed, re-imagined and understood in context; boundaries of community - linkages of diaspora - are reconfigured by processes of protection and exchange, semanticized through productive dialogues of place that "wax and wane in diasporism, depending on changing possibilities" (Clifford 1994 p.306).

But it is important that these transformations and re-definitions of Carnival are discussed without slipping into easy interpretations which readily attach notions of 'hybridity', 'ambivalence', 'betweenness' to the practical, worked-for, contested identities and identifications of Carnival. Theoretical constructs which highlight the indeterminacy, provisionality, exchange/mutuality and incommensurability of

identities, where hybrid subjects are found 'in-between' (re)constructions of difference in 'liminalities' and 'interstices' such as Bhabha's 'third space', might offer new ways of 'constituting the subject' (see for example Turner 1969 and 1974; Bhabha 1990a, 1994; Pile 1994; Pile and Thrift 1995 p.19; Rose 1995b;) by unmooring notions of fixity and rootedness; but their over-use - fetishization - can lose sight of the importance of *context* for the people who actively practice these identities (see Mitchell 1997). Bhabha writes "the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (Bhabha 1990a p.4). But by writing *forever in the abstract*, never leaving the vacillating allusion of the metaphor, the actualities of identity where people believe in a closure and disjuncture of position despite transformation (in what might credibly be theorized as a 'hybrid third space'), are debunked, abused. While it may not be 'progressive' to talk of essentialism or intentional separatism, (non)participants at Carnival continually fix, prescribe and are ascribed identities, positionalities. Syncretism, hybridity, 'cut 'n mix' (see Hebdige 1987), 'multi-accentuality' (see Volosinov 1973; Mercer 1994), or *any other* term or descriptor of inter-cultural translation, tend to work with outcomes of interaction, rather than engaging with the racialized processes of boundary (de)construction, othering and self-(re)definition that are actively worked for, strategically composed, struggled towards and embodied as a way of finding and demarcating boundaries of meaning within a local/global Carnival process²³.

Collective memories work with notions of cultural essentialism *because* they are (re)produced through encounters with difference. They are 'progressive' as an abstract 'product', while their processes of (re)construction rely as much on abjection as inclusion and translation. This part of the chapter enters processes of

²³ Gillian Rose criticizes the 'incorporeality' and the lack of a sense of struggle in Homi Bhabha's theorization of the 'third space' and 'hybridity': "...his politics remain those of the supplement and not those of the social; his spatialities remain analytic, not lived; his violence remains epistemic and not bloody; and his pain is represented as anecdotal and not systematic" (Rose 1995b p.37).

Carnival (re)production by engaging with the decision-making processes which crafted and worked towards the creation of *mas* costumes for 'The Palace Youth Project' troupe in Chapeltown²⁴. The identities and identifications which influence and transform the aesthetic practices of costume-making are at once 'diasporic' (they draw on and re-configure senses of community, home, tradition, 'from' across the multiple scatterings of 'Afrikan' and/or 'Caribbean' populations), local (they re-interpret global forms and meanings through their re-assessment and normalization in context), and of a heuristically-derived 'third space' (they are (re)produced through the discontinuities and disjunctures of hybridity). Carnival costumes are generated through the tensions and dynamics of these different spatialities²⁵, (re)signifying the process and product of spatially constituted performances of embodied identification that coincide with and depart from each other by expressing different versions of collective memory. Somehow - 'in the end' - a final costume design is 'achieved'. It is worn as a symbol of syncretic flow, fits into the suitcase of travelling theories that embrace the 'interconnected spaces' of diaspora (see Zheng 1994), but it also works to disguise the complex contestations or multiple 'spatialization(s) of consciousness' (Fabian 1983) that are vigorously performed, exacted, mapped-out in the design process. The time has come to move from above to within the text, to bring discussion from the intramural fissured processes of its production.

4.3.1 Costume-making and the trans-local craft of identity...

It's early October and the nights are drawing in. Memories of the 1996 Carnival have hardly faded, but for a group of Chapeltown Carnival devotees, Carnival 1997 is the main concern. For many, Carnival occupies a seasonal temporality, focused around July and August; but for some local people - who *might* be caricatured as 'hard-core' Carnivalists - Carnival transcends the seasons, is an

²⁴ A major social/education and leisure facility on Shepherds Lane in East Chapeltown (see Figure 3.1).

²⁵ What Su Zheng would term 'analytical plateaus' (Zheng 1994).

ongoing trans-temporal process. Sarah, Ruth, Jo, Clive and Richard are part of this 'hard-core': they have come together in the 'closed season', after a day's work, despite the demands of their families, to discuss Carnival 1997:

"...We all sat around this big table. Everyone was chatting away, ribbing Richard, self-consciously ignoring me. Richard plonked a load of photos from old Chapeltown Carnivals on to the table. This was great. Everyone plunged in, checked out the photos, started talking about individuals, costume quality, the weather, who was drunk. This was like a memory-sharing activity..."
(Notes from my research diary, October 13th 1996).

This is the first 'Carnival Costume-making class'²⁶. Set up by Richard - a Carnival committee member and successful local costume designer²⁷ - the class is organized to improve local design and construction skills by engaging with the Carnival process through an approach that begins with the initial concepts and practicalities of costume-making, and progresses incrementally towards the construction of a set of costumes to be worn at Carnival 1997 by 'The Palace' *mas* troupe²⁸. As will be shown, it is a way of delineating the normative processes of costume-design; specifying and contextualizing the 'fractal trajectories' (Gilroy 1993b p.76) of Carnival; formulating, discussing, contesting the properties, definitions, spatialized positionalities of the *mas*. Each Carnival costume-making class is a *forum of collective memory*, a site of interaction where the meanings of Carnival are grappled with, (re)worked, (re)crafted, through the counterposition, negotiation and translation of the (trans)local and (trans)temporal embodied identities and identifications of group members.

The completed troupe costumes, worn in the 1997 Carnival, are socio-cultural achievements, the product of memory work, where every Thursday evening for

²⁶ I attended and actively participated in each costume-making class only non-local *mas* camp member, a minority White member (see 2.3.2), and as a postgraduate student researching Carnival (see 2.3.2). The classes began in October 1996 and continued almost every Thursday evening, with a break for Christmas, until the following August. I was absent from the classes from early April 1997 to mid-July, because the research had travelled to Bristol.

²⁷ His designs regularly win the 'Leeds Carnival Queen' competition, and he bills himself (with few objections) as "The North's leading costume-designer" (Palace Carnival costume-making class promotional poster, October 1996) (see Leeds Interview 7).

²⁸ The Palace *mas* camp later 'mass-produced' these designs.

ten months, a group of Chapeltown residents and myself²⁹ got together *for* Carnival, to talk about it, share it, dispute it, learn from each other; to re-contextualize the form and meanings of *their* and increasingly *our* Carnival through its active re-production:

“I came because the opportunity was there to learn more...in the past I’ve thrown it together more, and I haven’t really been open to alternative ways of doing it...here we can share ideas, argue with each other, but - you know - hopefully come up with something better” (paraphrased in my research diary from a conversation with Sarah at the costume-making class, 12/12/96).

After each costume-making class, I would add to this special ‘costume-making class’ diary (CCMCRD). It provided a space for reflection, the development of ideas, and the logging - the creative description - of a distinctive forum of collective memory:

“...In some ways the class works as a microcosm of the entire Carnival process. It’s like Carnival stripped down, taken apart, put back together again. The way we all sit around one table, facing each other, focusing on the space between us. I don’t know whether Richard planned it like this, but it’s like this space is where our minds are supposed to meet. It is like here - in this space - that collective memory is actually formed. The space works as a confluence for ideas and feelings. But I could be talking rubbish. I don’t know. The set-up could also be considered confrontational. But it doesn’t seem to work like that. Loads of things are contested - everyone has their own agenda - and yet that space seems to pull it all together. Richard kind of hangs over the space, monitoring the situation, arbitrating the boundaries of the ‘collective’. It’s a great way of experimenting with notions of what ‘Carnival’ for these people really is...” (Notes from my CCMCRD, 11/11/96).

The costume-making class operates as a controlled and reflexive version of a *mas* camp (see 3.5.1): clarifying process, authenticating ‘origins’, (re)constructing and (re)naming the boundaries of imagined communities. Early classes were organized by Richard to identify and instil pre-supposed aesthetic fundamentals of Carnival art. The group - we - were asked to suggest important material and qualitative characteristics of costume design: which materials could be used; how each material influences aesthetic and practical factors such as colour, texture, flexibility, movement, cost, availability; the range of appropriate construction techniques for each design. Collective memories of past Carnivals - in

²⁹ See footnote 26 - there were gaps in my attendance.

Chapeltown, Nevis, St. Kitts, elsewhere - were combined, normalized as "how to make a costume", didactically defined by Richard as "what is appropriate for here in Chapeltown"³⁰. Through conversation and costume demonstration, the group agreed on a set of aesthetic constants at Carnival in Chapeltown: costumes must be *colourful*, "catching the eye as you walk down the street" (Richard: CCMCRD, 16/1/97); *flexible* and *incorporating*, interacting with rather than attached to the movement and flow of the body; and *original*, introducing new ideas, thematic and design innovations which have never before danced through the streets of Chapeltown.

"There was so much consensus tonight about 'what makes a good costume'. It didn't need Richard to clarify everything (which he did). I asked why we couldn't make something that had been made before but in a different way...everyone turned on me. Sarah said "ooh, you'll learn...it's got to be new to have any local credibility"...I sort of apologised, humbled by my apparent ignorance" (Notes from CCMCRD, 11/11/96).

There are compulsory design principles for *this* Carnival (which I soon learnt), local categories of assessment for the Carnival competitions, worked for and re-affirmed through participation at the class.

But in some ways they are also the norms for *mas* art across the globe. In Port of Spain, Rio, Notting Hill, Toronto, the three tenets - colour, movement, originality - are definitive of 'good design'. The costume-design process continued:

"Once we had established 'the rules' for Chapeltown, we started looking further afield as a way of making links. Everyone had a story to tell of another Carnival they had visited or seen on TV. Sarah was keen to talk about what her mum had told her about Nevis: 'Oh man, it is well traditional out there, kept real simple. Yeah, kept real. There's none of the sound systems or that carrying on about the place. They make it all *natural*, and everybody - I mean everybody - they jump-up and no one gonna stop them...I like to think we got a little bit of that here in Leeds...' While Sarah talked, everyone just nodded. They stared at Sarah and then at *the space* in the middle of the table. They were in agreement..." (Notes and paraphrasing from my CCMCRD, 18/11/96).

³⁰ S. Davis (1986) and Marston (1989) discuss parades and street theatre as 'dramas of social relations', designed to *display standards* which can be equated to 'ordinary' life through the normative aesthetics and established routines of the production of performance.

There are the aesthetic continuities, global legacies, diasporic points of equivalence³¹. But beyond and through them, they lie open to differences of interpretation and constitute a basis for endless creative possibilities. Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers writes of Notting Hill Carnival:

“...aesthetic flows metamorphose as they dynamically interact with each other internally and externally, consequently leading to other new formulations - new historical readings, new constructions of place, time and other identity formulations. Designers reconstitute and re-interpret these different histories and identities in the global, Carnival city of Notting Hill” (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.164).

The local is re-made through the global. Carnival colours could be any colour, costumes can move and complement the corporeal in different ways, and to be ‘original’ offers a chance to do anything, say anything, represent everything. Sarah’s Nevis offers creative possibilities *here* in Chapeltown.

Richard provided another example of these local/trans-local relations while sitting next to me, his hands skilfully manipulating a strip of wire. He was demonstrating the skill of wire-bending. Wire-bending and joining is an old tradition used in Carnival costume-making. It is the favoured approach for ‘first generation’ Nevisians and St. Kittians in Chapeltown, a skill they remember from ‘home’ or learned from the Trinidadian students they met in Leeds in the 1960’s. It gives flexibility, enables movement. Richard remembers the history of wire in Carnival: someone once told him, ‘passed it down’ as they were *working* on a wire frame for a costume:

“This Carnival art can be traced to the West Indies when sugar cane waste was baled so it could be taken back to the fields and used as manure. The wires were then picked up and used as joins in Carnival...it’s like the steel pan, Carnival picks up and uses what it can....” (Richard: CCMCRD 24/10/96).

Richard was re-working this collective memory, performing this projection of identity before us, as the instructor at the Carnival costume-making class. But today in Leeds, the use of wire is less common. It has been replaced by new materials which are linked to new technologies gleaned from different places:

³¹ Where identities are (re)constructed relationally through the objectification and pursuit of what Bastide (1978 p.283) refers to as “systems of equivalence”.

different types of fibre glass, dense sheets of polystyrene foam, strong adhesives, 'Asian' fabrics, are the new material approaches, replacing the old but preserving, and because they are 'improvements', entrenching aesthetic principles of movement and bodily linkage. Carnival transforms through the potentialities of its context, and it retains a trueness to certain definitive principles, maintains the connection to those wider, scattered locations of an imagined community of Carnivals, through, rather than despite, its redesign (see Rowe and Schelling 1993; Connor 1995).

Throughout the costume-making classes, Richard encouraged experimentation, offering his own ideas and materials and promoting individual research. Gathered around the table in this brightly-lit room at The Palace (see **Figure 3.1**), participants explored the expanding parameters of costume design through touch and discussion. Different materials were worked with, different shops were visited³²; new structures, configurations, combinations were moulded, glued together, drawn, stapled on, tried on for size. These ideas for costume form were actively worked with, felt, located within collective memories of previous and familiar techniques through the *contextuality of embodiment*: recognized rituals, patterns, processes remembered through the disruption of their repetition:

"All the materials were thrown into a pile in the middle of the table. It was up to us to make sense of them. I didn't know where to start. I picked up a bit of foam and started playing with it, bending it into different positions. Then I opted for a strip of fibre glass. Everyone ducked. Fibre glass is very flexible and - if bent and then released - very dangerous. It was great to get a feel of these different materials, to try to work out how each might be used to satisfy those important factors of costume design. Everyone else was pretty familiar with most of the materials. It was just a few of the Asian fabrics or stuff like the extra-flexible fibre glass that caught their attention. I was still playing around, fixing bits of wire on to bits of foam, while the rest of the group had chosen their materials and started making prototypes... (Notes from my CCMCRD, 12/12/96).

Paul Connerton makes the point that collective memory "entails a set of expectations by virtue of which one believes that many of the unexamined features

³² At each class we would proudly display pieces of material discovered at various 'Asian' shops in Chapeltown and Harehills.

in the new experience will be the same as features of previous experience; or, if they are not the same, they are describable in terms of their degree of divergence from that set of expectations” (Connerton 1989 p.12).

By sampling and working with different materials and techniques for costume design, ‘Palace *mas* camp’ members negotiated feelings of the new through comparison with feelings of the old, relativizing the experience through the sensuous capacities of “the mnemonics of the body” (Connerton 1989 p.74)³³. Verbal commentary articulated/represented these feelings:

“...This doesn’t feel right; they never had that at home; that’s a lot easier than what I’m used to; do you remember when James used chicken feathers because he couldn’t get the right material?; can you *really* imagine that *going down well in Chapeltown?*...” (Paraphrased comments taken from CCMCRD October 1996-April 1997).

Notions of the local - what ‘we’ are used to, what ‘*goes down well*’ - were made sense of through their memorial comparison with the unfamiliar, affirming the distinctiveness of the ‘Chapeltown experience’ through its interaction and translation with materialities and techniques that are trans-local, trans-Carnival. The exact combination of innovation is different for each Carnival, as is the interpretation of this innovation, because collective memories of the local set out and normalize a context through which globally inflected transformation is understood (see Miller 1995; 1997).

Contestations and embodied assessments of potential forms and technologies of Carnival (re)production provided a framework on to which the creative themes, visual ideas and aesthetic principles of what a Carnival costume should look like, were hung, tailored, modelled. The importance of originality to Chapeltown was again stressed, but so were the creative possibilities of design innovations from

³³ For me, everything was new. If anything, this process of *feeling* our ways towards costume design reminded me of experimenting with ‘lego’ or ‘mechano’. This probably has as much to do with my emerging masculine identity as with the absence of cultural points of equivalence. If I had worked with textiles before (such as in a sewing class), then perhaps I would have found more connections with such constructedly ‘feminine’ pursuits.

other Carnivals elsewhere in the world. Most costume-making classes involved a video of a non-local Carnival - Trinidad, Rio, Notting Hill were watched. Also, magazines, programmes, photographs of other Carnivals were passed around, examined, discussed. Ideas were appropriated and translated, re-positioned through their imagined resurrection in a Chapeltown context. Sarah laughed at the nudity in Rio Carnival - "can you imagine scenes like that in Potternewton Park?" (CCMCRD: 24/10/96), before dismissing samba music as inappropriate for Chapeltown Carnival because "...it's not Black people's music, it's too slow"; Ruth criticised designers at Leicester Carnival who had constructed "Disney-like characters" for being "too European-minded" (CCMCRD: 16/1/97); everyone marvelled at the standard of engineering and spectacle of design of Trinidadian costumes as they shuffled across the stage on the savannah, projecting colour and movement into the sky and through the crowd. Here the class worked through processes of connection, was shamelessly trans-local *and* local, expressively communal through a reflexive engagement with the structures, forms, ideas and sensibilities of an imagined trans-Caribbean 'Carnival community':

"...everybody talks about Leeds Carnival being the best, but how do you know you're the best if you don't see what everyone else is doing to compare, and if you don't know how good they are, you can't do anything to improve it - you just stagnate" (Paraphrased from a conversation with Richard - CCMCRD: 23/1/97).

Ideas from other Carnivals were actively sought - provided they were new to Chapeltown and 'Black'; but this didn't guarantee their acceptance. Just as with the materials and technologies of costume design, concepts were negotiated, tried on for size through the *contested collective memories of a Chapeltown context*; the local and the global re-articulated, racialized through the critical process of their juxtaposition. The Carnival costume-making class provided a medium through which ideas flowed.

This *flow* was gradual, week by week. The task - to design a troupe costume for Carnival 1997 - was our destination. It was approached through a selective appropriation of Carnival ideas 'from' elsewhere (the signs and sensibilities of

what might be referred to as a 'Carnival diaspora'); semanticized, qualitatively assessed through the vigorous contestation of local collective memories (what is 'appropriate' for Carnival in Chapeltown); authenticated, given licence by abiding with the wider traditions of Carnival (colour, body-costume complementarity, originality). Identities and identifications were expressed, exclaimed, rebuked, deflected; Leeds accents interchanged with different Caribbean patois to emphasize certain positions; and the ceaseless background effervescence of soca provided a 'suitable' rhythm for this flow of ideas and performed positionalities:

"We're making progress. The mood has developed. After what seems like weeks of research and development - experimenting with different traditions and materials - we're getting closer to making a decision about what exactly our costume is all about...each of us has an idea (well, I pretend I have). Most of this evening was spent talking about which direction to take. Really we were talking about the meanings of Carnival..." (Notes from my CCMCRD, 5/2/97).

This flow represents *processes of collective memory at work*: inclusive and discriminatory, projectionally connected to wider trans-Caribbean collective memories of Carnival with a facility to recoil to contested versions of the local. Jo and Ruth favoured the iconography of the Nubian 'Great Mother Goddess of the Universe' - *Isis*; Clive was interested in the visual potential of seahorses - something new to Chapeltown; Richard was keen to adopt and explore Leicester Carnival's theme 'Magical Fantasy'; Sarah wanted to incorporate images of 'Caribbean sunrise'. (Re)constructed collective memories and expressed imaginary geographies of 'Afrika' and 'the Caribbean' were juxtaposed with an association with other Carnivals in Britain and de/reconstructed through their objectified relationality with the creative dialogue rebounding off the walls of a small room in Chapeltown.

But is this an example of a 'truly diasporized' Carnival? There is evidence of 'the global', evidence of 'the local'; perhaps then Carnival is constitutive of the 'glocal', catalytically (re)constructing and (re)inventing an idiosyncratic local through global flows of ideas and information (see R. Robertson 1992 and 1995; Eade 1997 p.4). Equivalently, perhaps this costume-making process is evocative of Appadurai's 'global cultural economy' (Appadurai 1990 p.296), with a

particular emphasis on his 'mediascapes', spreading information, accessing and representing the creative potential of other Carnivals³⁴, and his 'ethnoscapes', because these Carnivalists are descendants of a mobile and displaced population, constantly re-negotiating identities and identifications as a way of finding location within the flux and motion of contemporary existence³⁵. But diasporic? There are multiple connections, emulations, (trans)local (re)constructions of community; but these are contested, frequently vacated through the dialogue and embodiment of collective memories. Just as with theorizations of 'hybridity' that postulate notions of or the capacity for community and alliance through the flow and interpenetration of forms and ideas³⁶, 'diaspora' is too often pinned on to processes of linkage without the *intentionality* or objectification of this 'thing' called 'diaspora' or what might be theorized as 'diaspora'. Without some acknowledgment of intentionality or allusion³⁷, diaspora theories become perpetuated as excess, referring to every non-local intra-'racial' connection as an expression of community, and marking individuals with a rash of diasporic affinities before the co-ordinates of supposed affinities are located and narrated.

The forms and meanings crafted and negotiated through the flow of the Carnival costume-making class do not fit some 'ideal-type' theorization of diaspora: they are at once diasporic (collective memories that connect to different 'Black cultures' across the globe), local (re-working wider communal affiliations through

³⁴ 'Mediascape' refers: "both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information...which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world; and to the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai 1993 pp.298-9; also see Appadurai 1988).

³⁵ 'Ethnoscapes' are (re)created by "the persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups" (Appadurai 1993 p.297).

³⁶ Such as Deleuze and Guattari's assertion that the 'cultural intermezzo' is formed through the multiplicitious lineage of rhizomes, where "rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 p.25).

³⁷ Although, even where it seems there is an 'intentionality of diaspora', this statement or allusion is still textually interpreted by myself - the 'researcher' - thus undermining my criticism of purely textual interpretations of 'diaspora'. The significance I attach to certain words, phrases and actions in terms of their connection to a heuristically applied 'diaspora' is contestable.

the intentional valorization of particular versions of Carnival); and ambivalently trans-local (defying boundaries despite their intentional fixity). They are essentialist *and* anti-essentialist, reconstituting notions of 'diaspora' through social differentiation and re-spatialization, understood and performed through an awareness of translation and stasis. Lenny, a musician and youth worker at the Mandela Centre in Chapeltown, re-articulates an essentialist diasporic collective memory of Carnival as 'from' the 'West Indies' through a non-essentialist version of the event that *should* involve different creative forms and thus encapsulate different (diasporic *and* local³⁸) spatialities:

"I think it would be better if they opened it up and let a few more other things come in, some new ideas, but continuing the West Indian theme as well. Keep the same but have some new elements come in that - you know - a few other different things can go on. They could have jazz, could have a New Orleans-style band, they could have all sorts - you know - they could have Mardi Gras and all them sort of things in some islands - and it's all linked really to Carnival...I think they should just open it up, because Carnival...it's a tradition they're carrying on *from the Caribbean*, but the younger generation don't really know much about Carnival now. They're *looking* more to America for like the soul and looking to Jamaica for the reggae as well..." (Leeds Interview 13 - Lenny: pp.2-3).

Cultural positionalities develop through fierce and subtle contestation and compromise. Different spatialities, discrepant essentialisms, alternative collective memories, compete for *representation* through Carnival, *looking* elsewhere, re-making it local.

Back at the Carnival costume-making class, ideas were presented, performed and tested for their practicality. To Sarah's disappointment, designs around the theme of 'Caribbean sunrise' were precluded by a Queen costume from a previous Carnival. Jo and Ruth's *Isis* was popular because it represents a *version* of 'Afrikan culture' and is thus an integral part of Carnival's repertoire of representing imagined artistic communities, but there were difficulties transferring

³⁸ Since 'the diasporic' becomes 'the local' through its reconstitution and performance in and through 'place'.

the image of *Isis* into a flexible, colourful and satisfactorily impressive costume. I just *'went with the flow'*. After weeks of individual and group research, practice, experimentation, Richard's (and Leicester's) 'Magical Fantasies' was adopted as the *mas* camp theme, became the *mas* camp's identity. It was a necessary compromise, forced from the impasse of intra-group difference. It was chosen because of its ambiguity and thus potential to include, merge and represent the discrepant positionalities of the class. Once agreed, design ideas surged forth:

"We could have images of *dopi*³⁹ or witches with broomsticks"; "voodoo would be good for the Afrikan element"; "there's no reason why my seahorses couldn't get in there too, because they're new"...(Paraphrased from CCMCRD October 1996 - April 1997).

Different identities and affiliations - alternative notions of community - were described, drawn, simulated through the (non)democratic dynamics of the group⁴⁰. Clive, a quiet member of the class, expresses the wide-ranging *performative* (stage) potential of a Carnival costume:

"I've always toyed with things and messed about with things mechanically and that...it does take your imagination and everything. Just think, what event is there annually where you can put your main point across no matter what background you're from. For Carnival, if you want to bring, if you're from a Rastafarian background or if you want to put a point across, you can put across a point by doing a certain type of costume...it's your stage to put your point across, be it political, be it to do with slavery, no matter what - you know - you can use that as *your stage* to put across a point" (Leeds Interview 15 - Clive: p.11).

In the costume-making class, 'the point' was to accommodate, articulate and *stage* difference through a suitably non-specific design theme. The eventual costume design incorporates the arched back of a multi-coloured seahorse and winged leg and arm pieces like those worn by *Isis*. Sheets of white foam coloured with dayglow spray, held together with wire and glue, facilitate movement, are

³⁹ Meaning 'ghost' in a number of Caribbean patois.

⁴⁰ Drawing on psycho-analytic theory in a discussion of the usefulness of 'Focus Groups' for social scientific research, Holbrook and Jackson (1996) point to the ways group dynamics develop with each meeting, where each individual finds and is allocated a position within the power relations of the group. Inevitably, group members operate through these power relations, affecting the style, substance and collective meanings of their contribution (also see Foster 1989; Brown 1993).

flexibly correlative with a dancing body (see **Figure 4.1**) On the surface - as text - this costume represents - *stages* - the hybrid (or even mutant) fusion of different ideas from different group members: it is syncretic, a *bricolage*⁴¹ of images, multiply spatialized and 'routed' to represent something new, original, reconfigured through the de-centred subjectivities of the inimitable dynamics of a 'third space' (see Bhabha 1994). Hybridity and provisionality are extended yet further through *contextual contact* - by the use of materials bought from 'Asian' fabric shops and through 'interracial' friendship, marriage, emulation and abjection; and *contextual discourses* - through the prevalence of White European histories on school syllabuses and the elision of 'positive' images of 'Blackness' in the mainstream media. These are the localized processes of 'cultural/'racial' recombination and power distribution that (re)constitute contemporary Chapeltown. The costume represents, *stages*, inscribes collective memories of 'Afrika', the Caribbean, Chapeltown, and it transcends them, creating something new through the distinctive localness of their intermixture.



Figure 4.1: *Magical Fantasies on the road in Chapeltown, August 1997.*

⁴¹ Levi-Strauss (1976) refers to the 'bricoleur' as a craftsman, working to create something new from fragments of the old.

But this fluidity, conflating time and space, transcoding cultural identities through their combined representation, disguises the continuing processes of authentication, boundary (re)construction, essentialized identification, which make sense of the costume, reduce its meaning. For Jo and Ruth, the costume represents a spiritual connection to *Isis*, a Nubian goddess; for Clive, it is the seahorse and its originality in a Chapeltown context which is most important; Richard is keen to compare the costume to costumes produced for Leicester Carnival. We were flowing towards our destination, but each class member occupied a different stream:

“Richard drew a final draft of the design on to a large sheet of paper. He hung it on the wall. Somehow - and I mean *somehow* - we had reached a compromise. The costume had a bit of everything in it. But at the same time, no compromise was made. Everyone seemed convinced that their idea had come through. The costume design was African, Nevisian, Trinidadian...everything...what it was most of all is ‘Chapeltown’. So in a sense they were all right in that the costume incorporated each of their favoured themes...I’m just relieved that we can get on and start making the thing...” (Notes from my CCMCRD, 12/2/97).

The *text* reads ‘hybridity’; the *process* works through difference as contestation, individuals clustering around and then vacating different collective memories of where they are located in relation to *this* Carnival. Singular notions of ‘Blackness’, ‘diaspora’, ‘Carnival’ and ‘place’ are rejected, but so is their hybridity, because identities are actively (re)constructed through a reification of their positionalities which occurs despite their fluidity and relationality. What matters is the perception of an achieved identity, not its achievement.

Carnival in Chapeltown has a distinct positionality through its (non)intentional relations with other Carnivals in a (re)imagined diaspora. It generates meaning through difference and is constituted through its internal differentiation. It is because of this difference that there is a relationality, that commonality and communality are sought. Different constituent forms and meanings of this ‘Carnival community’ can be found between Carnivals, but they are also prevalent within each Carnival. Returning to a point made in 4.2, for many ‘hard-core’ Carnivalists in Chapeltown, the event has maintained its Nevisian and St. Kittian

'authenticity' by protecting itself against 'non-Carnival' influences such as 'Jamaican' sound system cultures. Yet, in Chapeltown, many masqueraders and costume-designers are of Jamaican ancestry (including Ruth and Jo). However, they have adopted and internalized a version of Carnival which is different from 'Jamaican' versions of Carnival in St. Paul's; they have kept to the rules of the local. Eastern Caribbean *mas* traditions are respected and treated as definitive of an 'authentic Carnival'. But these 'Jamaicans' have also added to and transformed this Eastern Caribbean Carnival in meaning if not form, through (re)assessing and relocating it in terms of their collective memories, their trans-local identities. To design or wear costumes in Chapeltown is to intentionally participate in and identify with an imagined community (which might be global/diasporic, local or both). Repeated participation qualifies these 'Jamaicans' to argue that Chapeltown Carnival is part of their tradition:

“...Because I've always lived in Chapeltown and the surrounding area...even if it wasn't like part and parcel of my parents' heritage, then it was part and parcel of my heritage in terms of living here” (Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha: p.1).

Island identities and other differences do not prevent the normalization of Carnival for a range of differently 'routed' individuals and groups, but work as a factor within the many processes of transcultural dialogue and embodied collective memorization which differently situate and make sense of the form and meanings of the event. Notions of 'diaspora' or 'third space' can be re-formatted to tell stories of identities which are strategically and unknowingly essentialized and vigorously defended, exclusive *and* inclusive as well as provisional, peripatetic, mesmerically ambivalent. This can be achieved by attempting to understand the *racialized contexts of their reproduction* and the ways *collective memories are worked for and performed*. The flow of the costume-making class provided such a context: it ensured that a 'diaspora' is something more than a mere travel story to attach to identities; it showed that it is only when tested in practise that a 'diaspora' means anything at all.

4.4 REMEMBERING 'AFRIKA'

"Carnival creativity is an act of historical reclamation, a departure from the alienating routine of Capitalist labour. It connects the creative energy to the African experience" (Owusu and Ross 1988 p.11; also see Owusu 1986 and 1988).

"There is a kind of living deadness in a culture that does not admit its own mortality" (Robins 1996 p.61.).

"From the earliest times people have tried to understand the origins of the world and the human race. In Afrika, there are many fables, stories with a moral lesson at the end. Through these fables problems can be talked about without directly offending anyone and advice can be given in an amusing and memorable way. West Afrikan traders and slaves brought these stories with them to the Caribbean, where their blend of Afrikan creole blended with the language of the European plantation owners. The image on the front of this year's programme is taken from the 'Story of the Talking Drums' (St. Paul's Carnival Programme 1995 p.3) (see Figure 4.2).

Building on arguments which point to the *multiple contested spatialities of collective memory*, this part of the chapter considers the Afrikanization of Carnival form and meaning in St. Paul's⁴² by discussing the policies and projects the Carnival committee has taken to re-focus the event through the espousal and promotion of the significance and influence of 'Afrika' as the true historic core of Carnival. Collective memories are founded on and reconstructed through past experiences, distant recollection, personal reminiscence (Connerton 1989; J. Robertson 1997). Memories of Carnival in the Caribbean and of its subsequent relocation and transformation in the 'metropolitan' context, are structured and (re)created through a very 'real' and tangible connection with what went before: memories are stored in the minds of initial Caribbean immigrants; articulated and expressed through their discussion before Carnival and their performance at the event; enhanced, bolstered, authenticated, through return visits, continued dialogue, media messages. The evocation and validation of Carnival as a symbol and embodiment of a specific Caribbean tradition has an obvious linearity, for it is grounded in living memory. But for many, Carnival has a 'deeper' history, its

⁴² Thus re-emphasizing the localness of Carnival events.

'roots' stretching much further back to an originary spiritual, political, cultural 'homeland', re-imagined through processes of signification and association prompted by the word 'Afrika'.

The *intentional* valorization of Afrika in collective memories of Carnival⁴³ - whether through the thematic symbolism of the *mas*, or an historical understanding of Carnival as something derivative of and connected to ancestral forms and sensibilities - relies entirely on imagined reconstruction, pulling fragments of collective memory from the ruptures and ruins of slavery and colonial repression and rebuilding them in the spaces of the present. 'Afrika' is reconfigured as paradox: it underpins, is the connective principle that holds together 'the Afrikan diaspora' through historical edification, yet it is reconstructed, re-imagined, envisioned entirely in the present, in particular places, for different reasons, in divergent and often contradictory ways. 'Afrika' is collectively remembered through Carnival as a means of identification and identity reconstruction by engaging with and problematizing different notions of ethnicity so people can rediscover histories which they have been denied, and re-valorize cultures which have been abandoned, damned and denigrated. Unless a Rastafarian (and this does not apply universally), 'Afrika as homeland' is reconstructed metaphorically: there is no 'myth of return', it has no specific geography. Rather, it symbolizes the boundaries of an imagined community; its cultural outpourings, their re-contextualization and translation, fuelling the reconstruction of new identities which are transcendently 'of the Afrikan diaspora' whilst coterminously local and idiosyncratic. 'Afrika' is recreated anew, its characteristics contingent with the contested preoccupations of transforming collective memories.

⁴³ And therefore not those forms and feelings which might be *interpreted* as connective to Afrika, such as 'call and response' orature in calypso music (see Warner 1982; Owusu 1986 and 1988; Ewens 1991) or pelvic rotation in wining (see Asante 1996), which lack a statement of intentionality to support what is *suggested* textually. Throughout this research, 'texts' such as music are deconstructed from within networks of signification which provide commentaries (such as through the interviews) of what these texts might mean.

Different versions of Afrika are (re)invented and extemporized through Carnival: they are a “visionary abstraction” (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.178), offering a “radical utopianism” (Gilroy 1994 pp.99-100) that in-fills the fissures and cavities of enforced deculturation, censorship and colonial exploitation, by re-enacting an imagined culture through the practical development of an ‘Afrikan aesthetic’. The policies of the St. Paul’s Carnival Camps Project are dedicated to this discursive reconstruction of ‘Afrika’. These are *cultural-political strategies* which seek to problematize the identities of Carnival through its re-contextualization in contemporary Bristol: ‘Afrika’ is the ideological bedrock upon which histories are reclaimed and struggles are collectively remembered (see Magubane 1987; Lemelle *et al* 1994). For some, the re-representation of Afrika through Carnival is accepted as authentic, loyal to roots, organically connected to a wider Africentric diaspora. For others, Afrika is emblematic of a necessary agenda which posits and explores ‘strategically essentialist’ versions of Afrika as a way of redefining identities within the placelessness and marginality of the contemporary ‘Black experience’⁴⁴. Yet for others, ‘Afrika’, in its various forms, is heterogeneously negotiated⁴⁵, embraced and vacated through its (in)ability to connect to differentially racialized and prioritized/ing *local* individuals. The varying (ir)relevance of Afrika to contemporary definitions of Carnival in St. Paul’s, can be linked to a broader argument that questions the rigour and applicability of diaspora concepts which ignore that diasporas can be ignored, contest that their boundaries are contested, and overlook the processes which look over the fabricated walls of identity by syncretizing and recombining to (re)create new trans-diasporic identities and positionalities (see Back 1996; Brah 1996; Werbner 1996).

⁴⁴ Probably influenced to an extent by the Rastafarian influence on the Carnival committee and in St. Paul’s generally.

⁴⁵ See 6.2 for a discussion of how ‘Afrika’ is (re)negotiated through the various musics of Carnival in St. Paul’s.

4.4.1 Re-evoking Afrika: the reclamation of heritage in St. Paul's...

In a briefing paper for the 'St. Paul's Carnival Camps Art and Educational Project' in 1994, the "primary aims" of the project are stated as:

- * To educate participants about the history and origins of Carnival.
- * To provide a positive example of Afrikan and Caribbean culture.
- * To involve participants in a practical process of creating Carnival costumes from initial ideas for designs right through to finished costumes.
- * To provide an opportunity for these designs to be worn and masqueraded by the designers themselves.
- * To involve participants in a community enterprise to give a sense of belonging and cohesion.

Every year since 1986, a team of volunteers⁴⁶, guided by a paid 'Carnival Camps Co-ordinator'⁴⁷, have approached, visited and worked with local Primary schools and nurseries for the '*mas* camps project'. The Anglicized procession of floats with its multicultural endeavour (see 3.3.2) has been replaced by a walking *mas* of local children, each school operating as a '*mas* camp', nurtured and coached during the month prior to Carnival as an introduction to the 'histories of Carnival': to specific themes designated by the Carnival committee, 'Afrikan dance' routines,

⁴⁶ In the two years I worked as a volunteer, most volunteers were young ('twenty-somethings'), White and middle class (despite the Afrikanized education programme) (see 2.3.2). Many were graduates in art and theatre design, having lived locally for just a few years. The lack of local Black volunteers is of increasing concern to Carnival organizers:

"...we can't even get the community to come down - you know - people from the community who are interested in design and art and stuff, and fashion...because everyone's like 'oh I'll go out and get my festival clothes' - you know - but they're not prepared to dirty themselves up...I think it's something to do with lethargy...it's because we include it in the National Curriculum, there is an idea that - you know - it's just for the kids, so therefore...you don't really have to do something because somebody by magic produces one" (Bristol Interview 4 - Sue: pp.3-4).

⁴⁷ Temporarily employed by the 'St. Paul's Caribbean Carnival and Arts Association Ltd.' because of his or her supposed 'expertise' and knowledge in 'Carnival Arts' and costume-making. In 1986, Peter Minshall - a well-known Trinidadian Carnival costume designer - was commissioned by the Carnival committee in a one-off collaboration with Bristol's Arnolfini art gallery to work with local people in the design and construction of costumes for that year's *mas*. His involvement is often cited as vital in awakening committee members to the visual and educative potentialities of *mas* art (see Wood 1992).

methods of costume design and construction. Each *mas* camp is encouraged to develop their own ideas *provided* these ideas are consonant with the prescribed theme. There is a certain continuity to each year's Carnival theme:

1985: 'Starvation/Exploitation (Sub-human Bondage)'.

1986: 'Struggling'.

1987: 'Afrikan Drummer, Dancer, Musician, Lion'.

1988: 'The Afrikan Continent'.

1989: 'The Ivory Trade'.

1990: 'Amandla Mandela'! ('Freedom for Mandela').

1991: 'Let's Get Together and Feel All Right'.

1992: 'For the People, by the People'.

1993: 'Black Women: Resistance Through History'.

1994: 'Nubian, Ancient Egyptian'.

1995: 'Afrikan and Caribbean Folk Tales'.

1996: 'Afrikan Cultures and Customs'.

1997: 'In the Spirit of Justice' - Afrikan/Black historical campaigners for 'justice'.

The official focus of the St. Paul's Carnival is distinctly Afrikanized. This is further evidenced in Carnival Programme artwork, commissioned to inscribe collective memories of a recognizable Africentric perspective (see **Figure 4.2**), and by archival and interview statements which attempt to explain the links between Carnival in St. Paul's and the necessary aggrandizement of 'Afrikan' cultures, histories, sensibilities:

"This year, Carnival looks at regional structures and traditions of the Afrikan continent, from ancient through to modern day Afrika and her diaspora. The huge Afrikan continent and her diaspora has many peoples, languages, foods and cultures. Each have their own philosophies, religions and sacred beliefs, hair styles, dress, art, musical instruments and architecture. This year, the St. Paul's Carnival is here to give you a small taste of this diversity" (1996 St. Paul's Carnival Programme p.3).

"It needed some sort of a direction and focus, and a small group of us kind of said 'well, what we're gonna do is to...turn it into a kind of thematic programme, so we're gonna use this as a vehicle to put forward our agenda generally'...and also try to put in educational programmes that...would add to...changing how people receive education" (Bristol Interview 12 - Gareth: p.2).



Figure 4.2: The Afrikanized iconography of St. Paul's Carnival programmes - 1987, 1988, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997.

'Carnival as fun' remains important, but celebration is reconfigured and qualified through campaigns of awareness, cultural affirmation, overt politicization. Carnival in St. Paul's is repositioned, released from a maelstrom of ill-defined multiculturalism to occupy a representative space with a leitmotiv that reads 'Afrika'.

Organizers of the St. Paul's Carnival have responded to a perceived pressure to represent local issues, needs, identities⁴⁸, by intentionally ascribing the event a distinct diasporic positionality. The 'roots' of Carnival as a "dynamic Afrikan tradition of music, dance, costume and masks" (St. Paul's Carnival Teachers' Pack, 1994 p.3) are emphasized, but the significance of Carnival as a *vehicle of diaspora*, as a powerful representative space that can carry agendas, offer choices, make changes, is pre-eminent⁴⁹. Collective memories of Afrika are reconstructed through the thematic priorities of Carnival, and they are legitimized because the event is considered derivative of their forms and meanings: it is connected, part of the same historical community. Carnival can thus offer a workable space for forwarding agendas, and because the agenda is controlled by an organizing committee which meets and is largely based at the Kuumba Project - a Community arts centre and body which encourages the recovery and restoration of 'African-Caribbean' aesthetics (see 2.2.3) - a preoccupation with the reconstruction of 'Afrika' is unsurprising. Carnival is regarded as an opportunity, a chance to re-

⁴⁸ See 3.4.1, where this 'burden of representation' (see Mercer 1994 p.8) is discussed in terms of the perceived pressure on Carnival organizers to promote St. Paul's 'positively' and thus disprove and counter those 'negative' representations which dominate imagined geographies of Bristol. The Afrikanization of the St. Paul's Carnival probably has some connection to a strong Rastafarian presence on the Carnival committee and in St. Paul's, although this was not stated in any of the interviews. This might in turn be connected to the Jamaicanness of St. Paul's (see 3.2.2). In this sense, 'Afrika' is re-articulated through Jamaica as it is collectively remembered in St. Paul's, drawing in and re-articulating different spatialities through their contextual conflation and contested intermixture.

⁴⁹ Kariamuwelsh Asante, in a discussion of 'Afrikan dance', asserts that "Africans in their rituals and masquerades at home usually transform thoughts and ideas into spectacle. Abroad in the diaspora their task may well be to transform their spectacles...into thoughts and ideas" (Asante 1996 p.xviii). This transposition is evident in St. Paul's, where the *mas* is semanticized through the historicization and validation offered by the telling of stories.

claim that which has been taken away, misrepresented, obliterated. Ogoni, a Carnival organizer, explains:

“I find - you know - a lot of the youngsters ...we're talking about Afrikan and European youngsters...a lot of them go to the same karate club as my son and they were saying that it's really good for them to take part in the Carnival because there's elements of our history that they weren't aware of, even if it's just certain people who've actually contributed positively, they weren't aware of these things. So - you know - that's the education bit...and I think it's really really good that something like this is actually going into schools - you know - because the Carnival in a sense is actually setting that role, and then so youngsters themselves, if they want to actually see additional information about *our history*, then there are places that are separate for them to actually go and do so” (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.4).

The ‘St. Paul’s Carnival Camps Art and Educational Project’ exists primarily to (re)introduce histories which are ignored or misrepresented in mainstream curricula, and to uplift, complement, *give historical depth* to an ‘imagined community’ by introducing “positive aspects into the lives of people who in normal circumstances are being stereotyped very negatively” (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.5). Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth*, writes that “(C)olonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it” (Fanon 1965 pp.169-70). In Bristol - in the metropolitan context - Carnival exists as a symbol of cultural survival, routed through the ‘Middle Passage’, slavery, colonial terror and the brutality and ignorance administered in and by the ‘Mother Country’. It has re-emerged less than a mile from the River Avon - that conduit to Empire through which those gallant sea-farers sailed, on their way to distribute horror and accumulate widespread (though far from universal) admiration (see Brown and Harris 1964; Atkinson *et al* 1996). This racialized context, these histories, provide the impetus and urgency for collective memories which attempt to secure at least some kind of cultural clarity; to rediscover and acclaim identities through what Fanon calls

“passionate research” (Fanon 1965 pp.169-70): the reconstruction of identity by trawling through and piecing together the vestiges of a broken past.

It doesn't matter that representations and interpretations of 'Afrika' may have an historical inaccuracy: authenticity is not important; it is authentication that matters. Since the late 1980's, 'Afrika' has been represented through St. Paul's Carnival themes with an iconography and sentiment which suggests cultural fullness - the truth - despite inconsistency and an ambivalent response from 'local Afrikans'⁵⁰. In the 1997 Carnival, a Ugandan village was reconstructed in St. Agnes Church⁵¹, enabling local children to “(E)xperience a day in the life of a rural Ugandan village...(and)...learn about the joys and struggles of living in this beautiful country” (1997 St. Paul's Carnival Programme p.12). In 1987 'African Dawn' performed at Carnival - a collection of poets and musicians “committed to...pan Africanism...the unity of art forms and expressing emotions and experiences of the popular struggle” (1987 St. Paul's Carnival Programme p.2). Each Carnival offers a miscellany of performers, sounds, icons and educative programmes, drawing together different regions, cultures and histories, through narrative threads of collective memory which weave their way around and are made sense of through the imagined coherence of a compressed and (re)invented “great aporia” of Afrika (Hall 1990 p.225). The past is re-told - made plenitudinous - as a strategy of the present: a coherent Afrika offers a more lucid identity within the incoherence of contemporary St. Paul's. Afrika is worked for and achieved as a “wider cultural product” (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.179) which is born of the “struggle of memory against forgetting” (hooks 1990 p.147); a struggle articulated and negotiated through the vicissitudes and syncretisms of a translated and translating place.

⁵⁰ Those whose immediate ancestors lived predominantly in Jamaica.

⁵¹ As part of 'Mandela's Hideaway': the children's area of Carnival situated in St. Agnes Park.

Afrika is (re)presented not as something to counter or resist dominant histories (of Empire and by extension, Bristol). Rather, it is forwarded as an alternative, a *matter of equality*:

“...people have to make their own choices because I think...it can be very dangerous for us to try to counter everything because - you know - *we're not a political group...the politics come with it* yeah, but we're not set up as a political group...I think we should inform people and whatever information they have, if it happens to counter something...then fair enough - you know - but that's not what our *real intention* should be” (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: pp.4-5).

The Afrikanization of the official St. Paul's Carnival offers one choice within a range of different ethnic positionalities. It brings a version of ethnicity “into the public sphere” (Gregory 1993 p.402) by forwarding a usable past which enables Black people to fill the lacunae left by dominant discourses of ‘White Bristol’ such as ‘Cabot 500’ and the ‘International Festival of the Sea’ (see 3.2.2). This situates Carnival as part of the “continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” (Hall 1990 p.225) that constantly re-forms collective memories in and of Bristol. Carnival may not be presented as ‘political’ (see the above quote), but by holding a position *in* Bristol as a forum for the performance of alternative collective memories to those which elide the cultures and suffering of Black people, it establishes a new and transforming political space: unavoidably and necessarily, “the politics come with it⁵²”.

In St. Paul's, Carnival organizers' strategies of Afrikanization - their model of racialized identity - is often appreciated, it finds consent and support through a connection to the racialized identities and diasporic intentionalities of local people; local people such as Charles:

“...It seems to me that if there are to be masquerades, masquerades can tell a story of sorts. People will live to understand what that story is and of course the choreography will be useful in telling that story as well...how it is told is very important and *what it says* is equally important, and people need to reflect on that, they need to connect with a firm impression as to what it is that it's trying

⁵² In this sense, The St. Paul's Carnival, with its thematic Afrikanization, is a political and politicizing event, but *no more so* than Chapeltown Carnival: with each event, politics are re-inscribed through contestation over what should fill the representative spaces of Carnival and what these *cultural forms* signify. These are the *cultural politics of Carnival and place*.

to say, and it is certainly not trying to say 'come together once a year and eat a bit of food and hear a bit of music' and stuff...Carnival is an opportunity to recognize the long reign of the Afrikan people and the things that they have come through over time, and of reminding people of that way and that *route*, and ensuring that they never forget" (Bristol Interview 20 - Charles: p.8).

Charles calls this "giving libation" (*ibid.* p.3): the respectful acknowledgment of a perceived ancestral heritage; the "refusal of the dismemberment of history" (McClintock 1995 pp.314-17) despite the temptation to eat, listen to music, and therefore *forget*. Buju, a Rastafarian and community worker, makes a similar point:

"The vibes of Carnival are reflected in our peoples' culture...the whole concept of Carnival - you know what I mean - you trace it back and it's coming from Afrika...you look at the Dogon people in West Afrika...you look at the Yoruba people in Nigeria...you can see the cultural heritage that's spread throughout the world..." (Bristol Interview 13 - Buju: p.7).

And this identification with an imagined community of 'Afrika' is reconstructed and expressed through its practice and performance (as text) on Carnival day: themed masqueraders strut and skip through the streets, exhibiting 'Afrikan dance' to an 'Afrikan rhythm'; they rush past stalls selling carved figures from 'Afrika'; are watched by crowds containing small clusters of men and women in 'traditional Afrikan dress'. Carnival celebrates Afrika, reclaims it, collates, re-interprets, reassembles multiplicitous travel stories for a local, differently 'routed' Bristolian audience.

'Afrika' is held aloft, shaken about; different stories, elements, attitudes fall out, are picked up, contested. Working within the central section of the Carnival Education Programme (albeit a minor section of the overall Carnival), each local school, each child, differently interprets - finds (dis)connection - with the prescribed Carnival theme. In 1997, the theme 'In the Spirit of Justice', was stretched, contorted, split apart by local children. After some teacher guidance, each child was asked to design and draw a *mas* costume linked to the theme. These designs were then assessed, augmented and mixed together by Sue, the Camps co-ordinator. The array of different interpretations is startling: some children drew weighing scales, juxtaposed with the faces of iconic Black 'justice

fighters' such as Nelson Mandela and Malcom-X; others drew more general 'symbols of the Afrikan diaspora' such as an outline of Afrika emblazoned with the colours of the Ethiopian flag⁵³; but others - despite tutorial prompting - filled the page with fairies, footballers, logos of 'Nike' and 'Fila', the colours of the Jamaican flag, 'jungle music' attire. For these Black children, 'Afrika' (as a reconstructed indicator of ethnicity) is pushed to the margins as a story they do not or are reluctant to recognize⁵⁴. Their identities - loyalties - are marked by a multiplicity of subject positions, each working to distort and impair conceptions of what many would argue to be *their* heritage. Sue accepts this:

"...the choosing of the theme actually has nothing to do with me. With the schools, the practicality of doing it this year is a bit vague. It's a very broad theme...it's non-specific...Because (the children) are all about the same age, so they have more or less similar experiences, so you mention certain words...and you say certain phrases or whatever, and they all have a limit...very few of them have been to Africa - you know - they've all read the same books...they more or less have the same train of thought" (Bristol Interview 12 - Sue: p.2).

This 'train of thought' is a product and process of contextualized cultural identification. Despite teaching and for some, the parental transfer of collective memories of Afrikan consciousness, Carnival offers a space - the choice - for the exploration and expression of alternative collective memories: it has a different potential. Patricia Alleyne-Dettmers asserts that "(T)he *mas* continually metamorphoses. It changes shape and grows - it is always negotiated and in a constant state of becoming" (Alleyne-Dettmers 1997 p.168). These groups of children in St. Paul's are part of this metamorphosis. Their design ideas and their articulation and expression for the month leading up to Carnival day, constitute a critical review of the cultural forms and meanings available in St. Paul's. Just as with the 'Palace troupe' in Chapeltown, the *mas* is re-invented, new identities are paraded, and equally recombinant constructs such as 'Afrika' are translated,

⁵³ Remembering Afrika through (Jamaica- and St. Paul's- inflected) Rastafarianism.

⁵⁴ Or this is how these symbols and actions *might* be interpreted. It is possible that 'Nike' or 'fairies' can and do remain consistent with notions of 'Afrika', for they can be designed, worn, performed in what these children consider as an '*Afrikan way*' (see Daniel Miller's 1995 and 1997 work on the localized consumption and appropriation of transnational commodities [such as Coca-Cola]).

rendered obsolete or reconfigured through an assertion of what is pertinent 'here' and 'now'.

Identifications and affiliations with notions of Afrika are problematized yet further by groups of White and 'Asian' children - those with a differently (re)constructed 'race' to that linked to 'Afrika' and her imagined antecedents. Sue would often complain that the themes were too Afrikanized, neglecting the histories and collective memories of many local children:

"Afrika, bloody Afrika...what has that got to do with the Asian kids? They don't know who Malcom-X is, or what relevance does he have to them anyway? They need to be able to tell their own stories and express their own identities through the *mas* design...it's being enforced as an educational and political policy that marginalizes more people than it relates to" (Paraphrased in my research diary, 21st May 1997).

Moreover, the ceaseless pounding of an authenticated, artefactual abstraction of 'Afrika' through the exposition of a theme, often worked as much to disorientate 'Afrikan-Caribbean' youngsters as it did their 'racially different' counterparts. The identities of children in St. Paul's are not totalized by the narratives of the Carnival themes; "cultures are not hermetically sealed" (Back 1996 p.7). The innovations, cross-overs, differences - contested collective memories - of local children, expunge or re-articulate 'Afrika' to make meaningful connection.

Differently inflected emphases on fashion, style, respectability, found little sustenance in images of Afrika which were often perceived as "distant" and "outdated" (Impressions from research in schools June-July 1996 and 1997). Instead, new positions of diaspora - differently racialized/ing identities - were endorsed, performed, made real. For most of the children in St. Barnabus school - close to the centre of St. Paul's - the 1997 Carnival theme meant little, or was negotiated differently from *the plans* of Carnival organizers. A large and vocal group of older children (predominantly girls) were adamant that if they were to dance through St. Paul's on Carnival Day, in front of friends and relatives, then

the costumes should represent something they were comfortable with, something which complemented and promoted *their identities*:

“It’s gotta be jungle - you know - combat trousers, green string vests, cool treads⁵⁵, maybe a cap. *This is Bristol*, we live in the city and jungle is where it’s at: jungle is phat” (Paraphrased from notes taken in my research diary, June 1997).

Once introduced, staff and volunteers *had* to relinquish *their interpretation* of the official Carnival theme: it was no longer tenable, ‘Afrika’ was *becoming* ‘jungle’, the de-essentialized ‘urban jungle’. However, keen to avoid misinterpretations of militarism and to maintain some connection to staff interpretations of ‘Afrika’, children were encouraged to design costumes which collaged representations of ‘Afrikan jungle’ with the ‘urban jungle’ of contemporary St. Paul’s. Re-named ‘The Urban Jungle Freedom Fighters’, a troupe costume was developed: jungle creatures were juxtaposed with blocks of flats and chimneys; jagged Black patterns on an orange background merged the stylistic sensibilities of hard-core jungle and drum and bass music with the image of the tiger (see **Figures 4.3 and 4.4**). This creative *mélange* developed through processes of dialogue: contested positionalities working together or across each other *through difference* to craft a *mas* costume which connected to most people through ‘Afrika’, albeit in different ways.

The children of St. Barnabus school are Black, White and ‘Asian’, with all the multiple differences which these terms imply, yet agreements were made, complementarities achieved, boundaries willingly crossed and re-crossed. Here Carnival is used - consumed and performed - through the recombination of collective memory; the encoding, decoding and re-coding of identities through the productive tensions of (unbounded) local interaction. ‘Afrika’ as a point of affiliation - a diasporic location - is transformed, (de)racialized, subsumed by the overwhelming *power of place*: the contingent re-invention of identities through local inter-cultural interaction. Just as Afrika is reworked through the pressures

⁵⁵ Meaning ‘trainers’.

and emphases of the context in which it is evoked, alternative collective memories are reconfigured through place, destabilizing notions of a coherent, stable and essential identity as part of the fluid and dialectical interplay which occurs between multiple diasporas and outside diaspora concepts altogether.



Figure 4.3: *St. Barnabus School Urban Jungle Freedom Fighters watched here by an unusually unmixed section of the crowd, St. Paul's Carnival 1997.*



Figure 4.4: *The Urban Jungle Freedom Fighters proclaim their interpretation of the 1997 Carnival theme.*

It is here that diaspora concepts are most limited and limiting. The jungle costume was achieved through a temporary "ejection of race from peer group common sense" (Back 1996 p.51): positionalities were shared, differences translated through complementarity and contestation⁵⁶. The binarisms of diaspora praxes are lost in a fusion and opposition of sensibilities, conflated through the recombination of different versions of place, verbally articulated through a distinctly cadenced creole of Bristolian and Jamaican with an indistinct stateside vocabulary. *'Diaspora' is lost in 'place'*. Throughout this chapter the story has been the same: through Carnival, cultures translate and are translated; collective memories are re-worked through processes of trans-local interaction which ceaselessly fix and unfix identities and identifications, re-articulating and re-inventing senses of place through their racialized counterposition and relationality. 'Fixed' positions - island identities and discourses of Afrika - are themselves in motion, reconstructed through the urgencies of their contemporary context. They seem 'fixed' because of their objectification and usurpatory authentication when defended *and* contested - undermined by those openly syncretic trans- and supra-diasporic processes and forms which continually renovate and transform the directions and locations of Carnival. The discourses and forms of Carnival are made sense of through their contingency, relativizing collective memories through the contestation of the origins of Carnival, its contemporariness and its future directions. These are racialized/ing and spatialized competitions, trans-local and trans-temporal efforts to authenticate, locate, find, elucidate and express position. Such battles for the 'truth' of Carnival provide commentaries which reconfigure collective memories of place through their articulation within the social spaces of their context. The next chapter discusses how different senses of 'race' and 'place' (re)articulated through versions of an 'authentic Carnival', are used to mobilise particular identities and communal identifications, which themselves provide a

⁵⁶ Here it is worth remembering that the *mas* at St. Paul's Carnival is small, competing with and/or complementing other parts of the event, its existence often ignored or opposed, subordinating its internal contestations to just one layer of the multiple contestations which (re)constitute collective memories of the event in its entirety.

means to demarcate boundaries and relativize collective memories as *local* positionalities...

CHAPTER FIVE

'KEEPING IT REAL': CARNIVAL, AUTHENTICITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDERING OF PLACE

"There are enemies of this Carnival; not those chill-hearted, shrivel-skins who frown on it as a device of the devil; not the clergy, or any overt opposition. It is the innovators who are to be feared, they do not understand the Carnival spirit and seek to have it new" (Righter 1900 p.629).

"Community represents an ideal of shared public life, of mutual recognition and identification...the ideal of community also suppresses difference among subjects and groups. The impulse to community often coincides with a desire to preserve identity and in practice excludes others who threaten that identity" (I. M. Young 1990 p.12).

"Contestation is in the blood-belly of Carnival" (Colin Prescod, speaking at 'Catch the Spirit', a Carnival Arts Conference, Museum of London, 21/6/97).

5.1 MAPPING THE BOUNDARIES OF PLACE.

Carnival is often theorized as a process and space that disrupts 'everyday life', operating outside the norms and prohibitions which regulate 'ordinary' social relations (see for example Folch-Serra 1990; Kapferer 1991; Kohl 1993). By evoking the theories and "sociological poetics of Mikhail Bakhtin" (Manning 1989 p.21; see for example Bakhtin 1984a and 1984b), Carnival *Carnivalizes*: parodying, inverting, lampooning dominant cultures, by - for example - 'taking the Mickey out of Uncle Toms'¹ (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.14; also see Bristol 1985). In this sense it is about crossing boundaries (see Gell 1975; Kasfir 1988; Oosten 1992); social levelling as a transformation downward or 'uncrowning' of official culture, dominant geographies, hegemonic structures². The ecstatic pleasures of Carnival, their *grotesque realism*³ and *dialogism*⁴, offer an alternative (dis)order in which the possibility of social change is "prefigured in collective consciousness by the multiplication of critical dialogues" (Mercer 1994 p.62; also see Todorov 1984). Through *this* theory, Carnival *transgresses*, its disarrangement temporarily unhinging routine hierarchies, rampantly intoxicating participants with the revelation (and realism) of the Bacchanal⁵.

There are obvious examples: in the symbolic reversals and potential anonymity of the *mas* (see Jackson 1988); the wit and badinage of calypso (see Mahabir 1996);

¹ 'Uncle Toms' are a sobriquet for 'slave masters' or compliant Black people who colluded with slavery.

² Although Carnival only operates in this way for some people, some of the time. There is a distinct hyperbole to Bakhtinian evocations of Carnival which claim the radical, transgressive potential of the bodily excesses of the event without acknowledging how its meanings are actively contested in context.

³ Through the exposure, affirmation *and* integration of the body, with particular emphasis on the "anatomical underside: genitalia, buttocks, gross bodily process" (Manning 1989 p.21), and over-indulgence such as excessive eating; where "the cosmic, social and bodily elements are given here as an individual whole...and this whole is gay and gracious" (Bakhtin 1984a p.19).

⁴ The polyphonic relationality and interaction of discourses, identities, bodies - "The Bakhtinian self is *never whole*. It exists dialogically: not as a substance or essence in its own right, but only in a tensile relationship with all that is other" (Holquist 1985 p.224; original emphasis).

⁵ For this theorization, Carnival posits an alternative world, its *commess* - confusion - offers the 'truth' behind the façades of normative power relations (see Miller 1994).

the ambivalence and mimicry of cross-dressing (see Garber 1992; McClintock 1995); the fluid, reciprocal, trans-hierarchical embodiment of the dance (see McNeill 1995). It is easy to lose oneself in the chaos and spectacle of the Carnival crowd; to relax and for that day suspend or invert the preoccupations and proclivities of 'normal life'. For many, Carnival is pleasure, catharsis, "a day of release"⁶ (Leeds Interview 6 - Eleanor: p.5). It is about having fun:

"...It makes you want to jump-up, it makes you want to let off, just do anything...take your clothes off, do anything you want to do on that particular day. You know what I mean - you drink your rum and you hear your music and - you know - it just makes you want to go wild..." (Leeds Interview 10 - Andy: p.4).

But it is not constituted by fun; it's not all licentious abandon, delirious celebration; neither is it rapturous disorder or intentional resistance (see 1.1). To discuss Carnival by attending to its apparent disorganization and disorder vis-à-vis the clarity and order of 'everyday society', is to construct a false dualism which ignores the processes of order, social arrangement and *work*, that permeate the performance and consumption of the event as it is collectively remembered⁷. The *hyperbole of the Carnivalesque* is not universally applicable.

Andy is a DJ specializing in soca and calypso music. He has 'DJ-d' at Chapeltown Carnival for many years, playing his records at 'build-up' events such as 'The Carnival Queens' Show'; and on Carnival day, leading revellers through the streets on J'ouvert Morning, playing soca favourites on a mobile sound system to the rear of the Carnival procession, and sending inebriated yet indefatigable Carnivalists

⁶ This can be interpreted as a fleeting, ephemeral expression of enjoyment, or as some commentators argue, a 'safety-valve' which mollifies existing tensions through their non-violent embodiment at Carnival (see for example A. Cohen 1982; Eco 1984; Burton 1991).

⁷ Such approaches are not confined to Bakhtinian treatises of Carnival. For example, Daniel Miller (as cited in 3.5.1), separates the apparent ephemerality and discontinuity of Carnival from the transcendence, deep tradition and relative order of Christmas. This argument is similar to Wilson's (1973) distinction between 'respectability' and 'reputation', where each works to organize Caribbean social structure through their association with different social spaces, such as 'respectability' gained in the home and 'reputation' earned on the street. Abrahams (1983) augments this in his analysis of 'Creole' cultural performance in St. Vincent, where, whilst Christmas is celebrated universally, only the 'rude' participate in Carnival, because it is the 'devil's holiday'.

home the following morning as the 'Last Lap Dance' finally closes down. Andy does not attend Carnival to 'jump-up' to anything; he won't take his clothes off *regardless*:

"...we've got a tradition here in Leeds, and provided...(the present organizers)...stay at the helm, it's never gonna change...and that's good...I don't want to see a *different body* take over the Carnival and then start introducing reggae and all that shit on the road...and *Carnival will not be Carnival* - you know what I mean?" (Leeds Interview 10 - Andy: p.12).

Carnival is made sense of - authenticated, traditionalized - through an appeal to *specificity*: "Carnival will not be Carnival" unless it adheres to certain characteristics, abides by certain traditions, is controlled by certain people. The object 'Carnival' is defined conditionally, its processes of collective memorization contingent with a *relationality* with alternative forms, competing texts, contested meanings, and thus, *different* people. For Andy, if it's not soca, it's not Carnival; if reggae (and therefore a "different body") is incorporated, the event - *as Carnival* - is lost.

This chapter engages with the social order of Carnival in Chapeltown⁸. Rather than viewing Carnival through a contrast with the hierarchies and dominant geographies of the wider city, it is argued that the event has its own hierarchical structure, dominant geography, symbolic positionality. Moreover, building on arguments in **Chapter Three**, where Carnival was located as constituted by and regenerative of the boundaries and meanings of place and community, and drawing on the multiple spatialities of Carnival discussed in **Chapter Four**, the power of Carnival (through the [re]articulation and performance of trans-local identities and identifications) to re-affirm, represent and reconstruct the relational identities and routines of Chapeltown, is emphasized. Carnival is used to 'claim

⁸ A similar chapter could be written about St. Paul's, although the themes and processes of the 'social ordering' would differ. Remembering this isn't a comparative project (see 2.2.1), Chapeltown is discussed by itself in this chapter to concentrate on the cultural politics of a specific place to give a more detailed sense of the local within the more inter-local pendulosity of other chapters. St. Paul's is featured specifically in **Chapter Six** to discuss the trans-localness of collective memories as they are re-articulated through the performance and consumption of music at Carnival.

space' and 'make place' (see Smith 1994), operating symbolically as *a marker of difference*. It occupies a 'representational space' (see Lefebvre 1974 and 1991) through which its various meanings are applied to delineate boundaries between divergent local positions, discrepant communal affiliations.

The first part of the chapter discusses how Carnival is upheld by prominent Carnival activists (Carnivalists)⁹ discursively and corporeally as a specifically-characterized tradition which - through its acclamation, negation or multiplicitous contestation - works as a symbol of the social relations of place. The event is conceptualized as 'rooted' by different local people, authenticated through the valorization and protection of specific traditions which are widely recognized as dominant versions of Carnival¹⁰. Their preparation, commentary and performance work as processes of differentiation, offering a means of identification, a 'symbolic tag' of identity which is semanticized through and reinforces existing boundaries of difference (see Halfacree and Kitchin 1996). To respectfully adhere to a particularized version of Carnival - as expressed by Andy - is to consciously locate oneself in relation to alternative positionalities which are recognizable as part of the social relations of place. *The iconography and sentiment of the Carnival Queens' Show and the mas* is discussed here to show how processes of abjection and collective memorization at Carnival have a familiarity because their articulation is not limited to Carnival: they are *integral to wider reconstructions of the local*.

⁹ Much of the chapter is constructed through interviews and participation with dedicated 'Carnivalists' (the 'hard-core' - see 4.3.1). It must be noted that their views are likely to be more extreme than other local (non)participants.

¹⁰ These are the 'official' forms and meanings of Carnival in Chapelton: traditions promulgated by the 'Leeds West Indian Carnival Committee' and other Carnival 'traditionalists'. Their authenticity is not the issue to be discussed. Neither are binarisms which talk of 'authenticity' and 'alienation' (Adorno 1941), 'folklore' and 'fakelore' (Harker 1985), 'real' and 'invented' traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Rather, it is the processes of authentication, how they are (re)constructed as 'truth' by activists (Carnivalists), and their contextual relativization and (re)negotiation, which are addressed.

There is a 'symbolic order' to (re)constructions of community and place in Chapeltown (see Lacan 1973; Sibley 1995a), a process of ordering in which Carnival is implicated. But just as Carnival elucidates, explains, labels social relations and discrepant identities, it also provides a means by which *those who are named can name themselves*. Gillian Rose writes, "(T)o be named is to make sense, to be made sense of; it is to be positioned in the realm of the legible, the knowable, the translatable. It is to be made vulnerable to knowledge; to be produced through discourse; to be produced" (Rose 1997 p.187). Those labelled or stereotyped as 'threatening' to orthodox versions of Carnival, internalize and negotiate their prescribed identities through processes of introjection: their identities in place and at Carnival are inseparable from dominant imagined geographies which define the social relations of these contexts (see Sibley 1995a). **Here the chapter discusses how those 'othered' through the authentication of Carnival translate a consciousness of this otherness to re-affirm their own identities.** Alternative versions of Carnival - different local identities - are relationally constituted. They are defined, but they also define, refracting their abjected status by locating and defining those powerful groups and individuals who exhort the importance of an undiluted, 'authentic' Carnival.

But, just as the notion of an 'authentic Carnival' is a falsity, a resource that aids social ordering through its performance (see Jacobs 1995)¹¹; so too are the perceived boundaries which separate the identities of local people. Fredric Jameson (1991 p.332) asserts that "everyone represents several groups at once"; Doreen Massey makes the point that places and communities should be conceptualized in terms of fluidity, connection, contradiction and conflict (Massey 1991 p.275). **The second part of the chapter engages with the processes of movement *and* stasis which traverse *and* underpin the different collective memories of Carnival.** Here, Carnival is re-theorized as an object and process

¹¹ It is beyond the scope and intention of this project to privilege one 'authentic tradition' as 'more authentic' than another, or to dismiss groups and individuals as 'wrong' because they appear to believe in the essentialized position which they uphold.

which supplies and is invested with a range of local identities which work to reconstruct a dominant - even unanimous - collective memory for the event which *transcends their difference*. In Chapeltown, collective memories (re)construct senses of place through an evocation of 'the local Black community': place, race and community are conflated (see 3.3.1). By acceding to an authentic notion of Carnival (which is not the same as its acceptance¹²), the event is resurrected by remarkably *different* people as of and for the 'local community'¹³. Collective memories are reconstituted through difference; Carnival encourages unity and communality as much as it enables their dissolution.

It is through these processes of affiliation and disunion that place is constantly reconstructed and paradoxes of identity are revealed. Returning to Andy: the rumbustuous soca rhythms which ripple and jet out of his mobile sound system at the back of the Carnival procession are derivative of a music authenticated in Chapeltown as 'Carnival music'. Yet the exuberant crowd 'jumpin'-up' behind Andy's 'sounds' are not the ageing cohorts of some locally-defined group of Carnival traditionalists; neither are they wearing a 'Carnival costume' like the hundreds of troupe members who they are following up Chapeltown Road. These are local teenagers, dressed immaculately in designer sportswear with baseball caps, puffa jackets and high-technology treads, or in short skirts with innovatively styled, specially prepared haircuts. Theirs is a *mas by other means*, their identities selectively reconstituted to affirm difference through performance, whilst expressing semblances of respect, connection and conviviality with a broader local collective memory of Carnival. *Relativized* identities and identifications are reformulated through their (trans)local intermixture; even the most antithetical positionalities have the capacity for convergence, collectivity, solidarity. Processes

¹² Carnival can be essentialized as 'authentic' without depriving individuals of the desire to change the event through the introduction of some 'inauthentic' form or process. It is the 'belief' that there is some primordial Carnival which is important, rather than the possibility of its subsequent transformation.

¹³ Where the 'local community' is hegemonized, romanticized and strategically essentialized as 'Black'.

of fixing, authentication and abjection are used to make sense of difference, but because they are constructed they must also be contested, and it is from their spaces of contestation that the collective *and* discrepant memories of Carnival, place and community are constantly (re)formed.

5.2 EXPOUNDING TRADITION, PERFORMING PLACE,

“Things and spaces, as they are appropriated, cared for, shared, traded, barricaded, disturbed or destroyed, conjure feelings, sensations. They are part of the complex of relationships defining the boundaries between self and other” (Sibley 1995b p.127).

“The aura of authentic ethnicity supplies a special form of comfort in a situation where the very historicity of Black experience is constantly undermined” (Gilroy 1994 p.99).

“Carnival should be costumes and people in costumes. That's what it should be - right. Depicting something and get on and put on costumes. That's what it's all about...we don't want to have them sound systems all dotted around the road and everybody standing drinking beer and not even dancing, just listening to it...no” (Leeds Interview 3 - Phil: p.6).

Phil (see above) is a prominent member of the ‘Leeds West Indian Carnival Committee’. Like James, he was ‘there’ in 1967, struggling to convince local people of the importance of maintaining their traditions despite and because of a new context. He is one of many local Black men and women who, since Carnival’s inception in Chapeltown, have continued to support the event: volunteering time, effort, money; legitimized through the veneration of Carnival as a tradition which must survive if Black people (and thus Chapeltown) are to retain at least a figurative notion of ‘identity’. Phil argues that “(T)raditional Carnival is what we want” (Leeds Interview 3 - Phil: p.6); Richard - another Carnival committee member and prominent local costume-designer (see for example 3.5.1 and 4.3.1) - suggests why:

“You know, we invented this thing, we should be behind it, promoting it. But because it is not recognized - you know - by the mass, right? You know, we tend to think ‘oh well, let’s move on to something else...where it’s more acceptable’. We don’t seem to have that same sort of thing (as White people), where ‘it’s ours, we are gonna preserve it and we are gonna carry on...” (Leeds Interview 7 - Richard: p.11).

Since its introduction (re-invention) on to the streets of Chapeltown, Carnival has been presented - authenticated by Carnivalists - as a tradition which is under threat, close to death, in need of resuscitation. A marginalized place provides the racialized context for a marginalized event (see Chapter 3). Carnival is objectified *specifically* through the evocation of tradition, and it is conceptualized *relationally* in contrariety to “the mass” - those for whom the tradition is not transcendent. But it is also objectified and re-negotiated by “the mass”, as they attempt to situate themselves within or outside the boundaries of community evoked by discourses that celebrate traditional versions of Carnival. It is these concomitant processes - the naming of the factors which constitute Carnival’s ‘authentic tradition’, and their political spatialization, where they are (re)constructed as markers of difference which delineate the constituents and boundaries of community - which work to situate the event as integral to a febrile cultural politics that transforms and is transformed by place.

5.2.1 Identifying the Carnival tradition...

There is a distinct and recognizable tradition of Carnival in Chapeltown. Committee members and dedicated ‘Carnivalists’ present a version of the event which is marked by its clarity, unity, internal consistency. Carnival is constituted - objectified and defined - through the acclamation of a set of necessarily included forms and meanings. The agenda is set by proudly heralding the event as the originary and most traditional Carnival in Britain:

“The first original Carnival in Britain was in Leeds...You know in London at that time they only had these little, maybe three or four steel bands going out on the streets having a jump-up...but not as Carnival is and *Carnival should be*. So they invited us to London (in 1968)...they had a place in Notting Hill Gate that they called ‘Bacchanal Yard’ where...a lot of West Indians would meet. It was a Sunday, it was raining, flooding all weekend, and we went and had a damn good jump-up with our costumes, but the first *original* costumes started in Leeds” (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.1).

“It’s about what this Carnival is...it’s kind of like historical...there is a lot of work involved in putting this thing on...Carnival for me is something we should be proud of in Leeds, because it’s an achievement, it’s a celebration. There are so many skills and different art forms that we can learn from Carnival and we need to value that...it’s something in Leeds that as Black

people we can actually hold on to and have some ownership over..." (Leeds Interview 4 - Julie: p.5)¹⁴.

James and Julie are both prominent Carnival committee members¹⁵. Together they organize and present a version of Carnival which mobilizes a sense of local pride through the proclamation of authenticity and racialized exclusivity. Chapeltown Carnival is (re)constructed as distinctive, unadulterated, uncompromising and Black: it is an "achievement", a symbol of cultural integrity which holds on to a notion of the prototypical to deflect perceived pressures to change.

Building on this sense of tradition, discourses of authentication are constituted, symbolized, practised through the identification of *tropes of authenticity*: those collective memories, forms and processes necessary for the satisfactory achievement of Carnival. When asked to define the most important "aspect" of Carnival, without hesitation James replied:

"Beautiful costumes and steel bands...you know, you have the steel bands, the soca singers and then the calypso contest. That actually is...the different ingredients that actually make it..." (Leeds Interview 1 - James: pp.12-15).

Richard emphasizes the aesthetic principles and artistic substance of an 'authentic' Carnival costume:

"...it's about portraying a little bit of myself, a little bit of our culture...I'm dealing with that seriously - you know - I want it to be as good as we can make it. I don't want to just wrap a piece of cloth around because it happens to be colourful and say 'oh yeah yeah yeah, we're having a good Carnival'. To me that's nonsense man...It's about taking time out and actually creating the art" (Leeds Interview 7 - Richard: p.7).

The event is classified in terms of its elemental characteristics - soca/calypso/steel pan music, masqueraded costumes - and it is aestheticized through an appeal for artistic rigour, cultural authenticity, a sense of depth. Keith Khan, an influential Carnival costume designer who has worked with the Notting Hill and Trinidad

¹⁴ Samantha - the Carnival spokesperson - reasserts this:

"We are the biggest traditional Carnival because our procession is on foot in the style of the Caribbean, whereas other Carnivals throughout the country are on floats, including Notting Hill" (Cited in *Leeds Evening Post* 12.8.93. Also see Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha).

¹⁵ And thus have an interest in the preservation of an 'authentic Carnival', since it is through a struggle to maintain authenticity that they derive status and (dis)respect.

Carnivals, divides Carnival into two processes of authentication¹⁶. The first he calls '*Cultural*': the establishment of some kind of history or 'roots' for the event through their re-presentation in costume themes and their discursive reconstruction around the meanings of Carnival. The second he calls '*Formalist*': the conveyance of these deeply-felt meanings through specific forms - music, dance, costume - and in a particular way, such as through those tenets of costume design identified at the Carnival costume-making class in 4.3.1 - colour, flexibility, originality. Carnivalists in Chapeltown such as Richard employ cultural *and* formalist strategies of authentication, reifying the event through the delineation of "our culture" and the qualitative aggrandizement of 'Carnival art'.

Moreover, these '*discourses of inscription*' - fetishizing, exalting the power and worth of the 'authentic Carnival' - are structured, given credence, *made local*, through their *ritualized performance and collective memorization* as part of Chapeltown Carnival's official programme. Paul Connerton writes: "(I)f there is such a thing as social memory...we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies; but commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative only in so far as they are *performative*." (Connerton 1989 p.5; my emphasis). The 'Carnival Queens' Show' is staged on the Friday night before Carnival *every* year. Housed in a huge white marquee next to the West Indian Centre on Laycock Place (see Figure 3.1), crowds gather in attendance for the presentation, performance and selection of the Chapeltown Carnival Queen. Everyone is dressed smartly: middle-aged and elderly Black men in suits, women in new outfits, girls locked in a comparison of hairstyles and fashion 'clobber'. There is a sense of expectation, excitement, intense speculation, for this is not a new experience: the Carnival Queens' Show is a *commemorative ritual event*, a defining feature of Chapeltown Carnival which establishes a normative framework for the event and ratifies the authenticity and value of the costume-making process. Each prospective Carnival Queen, accompanied by the costume designer, introduces her costume to the

¹⁶ Speaking at 'Catch the Spirit: A Carnival Arts Conference', Museum of London, 21/6/97.

audience in terms of its theme and source of inspiration - this fulfils the imperatives of cultural depth and originality; then the costume is displayed, performed to the shrill thumping beat of soca - the flexibility, dynamism, visual impact of the costume is tested. A panel of judges - comprised of selected 'community leaders', long-time Carnivalists and commercial sponsors - are given responsibility to designate one of the Queens the title 'Leeds West Indian Carnival Queen'. This decision is not random; nor is it driven by the idiosyncratic 'tastes' of each judge. Rather, the Carnival Queen is chosen according to the rigours of the 'Judges' Score System': disciplines or categories are allocated, each weighted with a different mark that contributes to an overall mark. In 1997, the categories and marks were arranged thus:

CATEGORY 1: "Originality, Artistry and Creativity" - Marks out of 45.

CATEGORY 2: "Display of Costumes" - Marks out of 25.

CATEGORY 3: "Impression on Audience" - Marks out of 10.

CATEGORY 4: "Judge's Personal Evaluation" - Marks out of 10.

(Leeds West Indian Carnival Queens' Show Programme, Friday 22nd August 1997 p.3).

The art of costume-making as a fundamental and defining aspect of Chapeltown Carnival, is eulogized through its officiation, its advocates and practitioners gratified through their reciprocal endorsement.

This *sense of order* is reinforced through its performance. Those gathered at the Carnival Queens' Show, *through* contestations over which costume should 'win', are attending to support and embody a dominant collective memory with a strict 'public narrative' that proclaims 'authenticity'¹⁷. Friends are met, old Carnivals remembered, present costumes discussed and assessed through their contextualization as symbols of a local tradition. Authenticity is *enacted*, disputed

¹⁷ Somers (1992) discusses the concept 'public narratives' in terms of people's embeddedness within patterns of social relationships which "form the relational co-ordinates of ontological, public, and cultural narratives. It is within these numerous and multilayered narratives that identities are formed and challenged" (Somers 1992 p.607). Richa Nagar agrees, but asserts that narratives are determined and hegemonized through the relations of power that permeate and configure social life (Nagar 1997b).

and thus *reinforced as something that matters*. 'Category 3' - marks awarded by 'impression on audience' - encourages the staging of preferences (people shout, applaud, are silent), but this contestation is co-ordinated within a collective memory, performed through the ritualization of a 'Carnival community' defined by its adherence to and celebration of the normative structures and *social order* of the 'authentic Chapeltown Carnival'¹⁸.

The event is coded in a particular way, relativized by claiming position in social space. Deutsche writes: "the symbolic, social, and political meaning of the site as well as the historical circumstances within which artwork, spectator, and place are situated, are significant in the production of meaning" (Deutsche 1991 p.25). The version of an 'authentic Carnival' performed at the Queens' Show holds a social position in Chapeltown, its deep traditions compared to those which are 'new'; its beauty lauded through the excoriation of 'the ugly'; its purity protected against those who might contaminate. Returning to Richard:

"You know, we've got to be honest with ourselves...*as a people*, right. We can't keep on board all the facets - you know - sometimes *you've got to keep things just a little bit pure*...purity in terms of its original concept. Here people say you've got to move with the times and - you know - just changing the whole concept completely. I feel you have to remain true to the concept, otherwise you lose it, it just becomes another big garden fête or worse still, the Lord Mayor's Parade. So I think it's important - you know - we should concentrate on developing the arts...trying to get people to be more imaginative in terms of the creation of costumes...so they can get on with the celebration and not just simply stand in there listening to a sound system" (Leeds Interview 7 - Richard: p.11).

Dominant discourses of Carnival - those presented by Richard and other 'Carnivalists', and embodied by those at the Carnival Queens' Show - are reproduced through their projection on to the social landscape of Chapeltown. They are integral to the social ordering of place: (re)constructing boundaries, attaching labels, collectivizing the 'we' through the abjection of 'them'. Carnival is

¹⁸ Like with *mas* camps (see 3.5.1), competition creates new collective memories, marked through the solidarity of teamwork, but it also reinforces dominant collective memories through the ritualization of aesthetic principles, temporal/spatial structures, the rules of Carnival in place.

objectified as a tool of classification, its meanings used to constitute different groups through their intra-local opposition. Those who maintain 'purity' are constructed against those who defile, implicating Carnival in the (re)establishment and cross-examination of the boundaries of community and place.

5.2.2 Carnival and abjection...

Identities are relational constructs, (de)collectivized across difference, intimately connected to dominant and subordinated discourses as they are navigated through networks of power. Stuart Hall states that "(I)identity is a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself" (Hall 1991a p.21). Identities, identifications, collective memories of Carnival, can be understood as (re)constituted through processes of abjection¹⁹. Authenticated versions of Carnival are semanticized through their comparison with alternative positions. In Chapeltown, abjection marks the borders between different Carnival positionalities as they are made sense of within the social relations of place: the order of the 'authentic Carnival' is interpreted against the 'disorder' and 'depthlessness' of alternative local identities. To commentate on or perform versions of the 'authentic Chapeltown Carnival' is to tell a story of place because it unavoidably involves the deployment of cultural resources which are local²⁰, dialogically relativized through the negotiation, repudiation, inclusion of a range of differently inscribed contextual positionalities. This establishes the event as what Grenier and Guibault theorize as a 'discursive operator'. Using the example of music, they argue "the statements made through these discursive operators produce particular sets of meanings and situated ritualized actions"

¹⁹ Julia Kristeva asserts that "Abjection traces the silhouette of society on the unsteady edges of the self; it simultaneously imperils social order with the force of delirium and disintegration". Moreover, the abject can never be completely ejected, lost, for it is "something from which one does not part" (Kristeva 1982 p.4; also see Fletcher and Benjamin 1990).

²⁰ Although places are '(trans)local' rather than 'local', because they are (re)constructed through a "specificity of... interactions with the outside" (Massey 1994 p.169).

(Grenier and Guibault 1997 p.214)²¹. To talk about Carnival, to perform a version of the event, is to talk about a lot more besides. In this way, Carnival commentates on place: it sets up the boundaries which delimit local senses of community; it engages with and (re)maps the *social order of place*.

To maintain a notion of the 'authentic Carnival' requires a notion of the 'inauthentic'. Sylvester is a twenty-five year old Black man who has participated in Chapeltown Carnival for as long as he can remember. He was taught to play steel pan in school and after leaving school he joined 'The New World Steel Band' on Francis Street (under the guidance of James and Luther [Leeds Interviews 1, 2 and 27])²². This enabled him to travel to other Carnivals. Representing Leeds, he went to Holland, France, numerous British Carnivals:

"I've been all over. I've been to Leicester, Nottingham, Birmingham, Manchester, I've played in Liverpool...I've played all over...and out of all of the Carnivals that I've been to, the most traditional that I've been to is Leeds...I mean, we used to pull the floats around rather than using a tractor or a van and stuff like that, but now they've turned to using a tractor. I mean like with the other Carnivals, they've always used like lorries and you can't really become part of it...I've been to a lot of Carnivals, but the one that's always...not because I live in Leeds, but the one that's always been more, I don't know, to me *more of a Carnival*, is Leeds Carnival really and truly" (Leeds Interview 14 - Sylvester: p.3).

Through comparison with other Carnivals, other places, Leeds Carnival is authenticated as "more of a Carnival": in this case 'authenticity' is defined in opposition to technology, fed by a nostalgic evocation of tradition which is *performed* through the 'hands-on' embodiment and collective process of pulling floats²³. Significantly, a process like float-pulling which has no obvious 'local characteristic', is re-constructed as an authentic local practise through a place-

²¹ They borrow the term 'discursive operator' from Jean-Michel Berthelot, who created it to describe forms and statements whose "referent...no longer works as an object of knowledge but rather, through the construction of a discourse" (Berthelot 1992 p.17).

²² Which has since disbanded.

²³ Although it must be appreciated that trolley-pulling is/was embodied by a small number of participants. Carnival must have felt different for the crowd, regardless of whether or not they consider trolley-pulling as 'authentic'.

bound sentimentality²⁴. But Sylvester goes on to widen his concept of authenticity by defining those inauthentic alternatives available within Chapeltown, in place:

“...I feel if it does go along different lines like using audio equipment, speakers...*sound system music*...you are gonna lose the feel of Carnival and you are gonna lose the actual what Carnival means...I think we need to sit back and analyse what Carnival is all about first, and then re-introduce it properly because it's getting distorted...I feel that even if you tried to make it bigger by *bringing in*, implementing different things like...jungle music and stuff like that...I think it will lose its track and it will just become a festival rather than a Carnival...it's gonna get distorted, it's gonna lose its direction...” (Leeds Interview 14 - Sylvester: p.3).

The *spatialized* opposition between the ‘authentic’ Carnival of steel bands, costumes and soca/calypso music and the iconography and constructed ‘attitude’ of those newer ‘Black musics’ which rely on the power of the *sound system*, provides collective memories of a ‘traditional Carnival²⁵’ with their most obvious ‘other’. Insecurities that traditional Carnival is losing popularity are reinforced through the perception of threat from other musics (aggregated as “sound system music”) and their imagined followers.

Traditions are protected through ‘generative schemes’ (see Bourdieu 1977) which venerate authenticity and pillory, denounce, problematize possible alternatives (see Douglas 1966; Willems-Braun 1994). The sound system and *those who it represents* dominate definitions of ‘the alternative’ and are saturated by Carnival traditionalists/organizers with discourses of disorder which commentate coterminously on the social relations of Carnival *and* place. Returning to James:

“We have withstood a lot of pressure over the years...if you want a reggae festival, you could have that any day, but for Christ's sake, not the Monday...because a lot of people come out right, and they're not into Carnival...this is what frustrates me - that you see the steel band moving along

²⁴ Sara Cohen discusses how music is often categorized through some acclamation of local authenticity which has no tangible reference to place, but is (re)constructed as symbolic of the sound of a particular geographical area. For example, ‘Liverpool Sound’ is understood in terms of its difference from ‘Manchester sound’, each characterized not by their authenticity to place but by their authentication as a sonic symbol of each context (S. Cohen 1997).

²⁵ As expressed by ‘official’ Carnivalists - organizers and committee members such as James (Leeds Interviews 1 and 2) and Richard (Leeds Interview 7); and ‘un-official Carnivalists’ - intransigent supporters of a specifically arranged Carnival of calypso and *mas*, such as Sylvester (Leeds interview 14).

and you've got the sound system on the side of the road and when they see the steel band come up they turn the volume up and a vast steel band is no match for a sound system. And I felt angry because a lot of *people behind the sound system* - I'll be quite honest with you - they are not that easy to get along with. I mean, they just want things their own way and not our way...I find it difficult sometimes to understand the mentality of some of the people behind the sound systems when you come to respecting other views" (Leeds Interview 1 - James: p.9).

Those "behind the sound systems" are recognized - spatialized - in context as those anti-social, disrespectful young Black men who debase Chapeltown's image.

James makes a logical link:

"Down Hayfield there's the Front-line²⁶...I mean, we are as disgusted as anybody else with that type of, some of the behaviour...I am disgusted with it...There is only a small handful, but if you went around, the majority of Black people would tell you how frustrated and disgusted, and if we had the power, we'd do something about it" (Leeds Interview 2 - James: p.23).

The social relations of Chapeltown provide a frame of reference for the social relations of Carnival, replicating and perpetuating the internal divisions of the 'local Black community' through the discursive operator Carnival. Cecil Gutzmore argues that the introduction of non-soca sound systems to Notting Hill Carnival in the 1970's thrust the event into the "domain of threatening culture" (Gutzmore 1993 p.217), defiling the constructed 'purity' of traditional Eastern Caribbean Carnival with the confrontational pounding of Jamaican reggae²⁷. Today in Chapeltown, Carnival purists have maintained ownership of the form and dominant collective memories of the event, but they have done so in opposition to a 'threatening culture' which is not deemed 'Jamaican', but operates through a panoply of rhythms, fashions, attitudes identified loosely as young, Black, British and of Chapeltown. The Eastern Caribbean 'heritage' of Chapeltown's Black youth - a feature of dominant collective memories of Chapeltown (see 3.2.1)²⁸ - further rationalizes arguments that seek to retain in Chapeltown a continuum of *their* 'Carnival tradition'.

²⁶ See Figure 3.1.

²⁷ Although Gutzmore advocates the inclusion of sound systems because he considers the event to be "for all Black people": its power as a resistant force would be limited by the anachronism of exclusive notions of tradition (Gutzmore 1993 p.228).

²⁸ Where 'race', 'place' and 'community' are conflated to collectively remember 'local people' as specifically 'Black' (see Chapter 3).

Carnivalists have campaigned to maintain their notion of authenticity by informing these local Black people that Carnival is *their tradition*, urging them to hold on to what is their past and *should* constitute their identities²⁹. Julie is pre-occupied with the importance of regenerating involvement and attachment to the 'traditional' Carnival process. She joined the Carnival Committee, using her status as a 'younger woman' to mobilise an interest for young Black Chapeltown residents in an event which was increasingly seen as "...for old folks, soul for the old people" (Leeds Interview 14 - Sylvester p.7). She is determined to fill the widening "gaps" of community involvement in Carnival:

"...there is a gap between fourteen and twenty-five as people don't participate in Carnival - you know - as in wearing costumes..." (Leeds Interview 4 - Julie: p.2).

And the gap seems gendered:

"It's difficult to get more guys interested in wearing a Carnival costume...It's possibly macho, they've got better things to be doing, and it's...about image as well because they don't mind wining down the streets and so forth, but to actually look at saying 'hey I'm going to participate and actually wear a costume'...it has always been - if you look at Carnival in its entirety - and it is dominated by female participants in the troupes. So in many ways there is an issue that needs to be addressed if it can be addressed" (Leeds Interview 4 - Julie: p.2).

By attempting to pass on dominant collective memories of a Chapeltown Carnival tradition by 'filling the gap', identifying and addressing 'the issue', discourses of Carnival are used to *re-inscribe boundaries of community*³⁰ and to maintain the credibility of a unified evocation of place. There are paradoxes and inconsistencies in these positional strategies: discourses of defamation which attack and exclude non-Carnivalist 'sound system cultures' from an authenticated Chapeltown Carnival, establish these local barbarians as outside the boundaries of an imagined

²⁹ And thus - on these terms - implicitly excluding 'those without tradition': East Indians, Jamaicans, Barbadians, Africans etc. Yet, these groups are variously included and excluded through the social relations of the local as Carnival develops syncretically as a local tradition with 'Eastern Caribbean roots' (see 4.3.1). In/exclusive collective memories of 'the Eastern Caribbean' are used strategically by Carnivalists as a way of appealing to their children and grandchildren to participate 'properly'.

³⁰ Boundaries which must be *worked for*, re-constructed through processes of authentication.

community of traditional Carnivalists yet inside the confines of the social relations of place. Simultaneously, parallel discourses which emphasize the relevance of the Carnival tradition to all local Black people, establish a notional Carnival community which is inclusive of 'those behind the sound systems', widening the boundaries of community to fit the boundaries of place by establishing Carnival as a defining symbol of an imagined racialized community of propinquity called 'Black Chapeltown'. Collective memories of Carnival, community and (trans-local) place are reconstituted through their connectivity and separation.

For some Carnivalists, the first discourse is supreme: Carnival cannot be changed, will not change. For others, the latter discourse is pre-eminent and is articulated practically by compromising the essence of an authentic Carnival aesthetic through the introduction of 'non-Carnival' forms (such as *the* sound systems) *in addition* to the continued promotion of traditional forms. In his late twenties, Clive is the youngest member of the Carnival Committee. For Clive, the importance of maintaining the values and forms of a traditional Carnival is coupled with the need to maintain the cohesiveness of Chapeltown as a Black community through a more pragmatic approach to Carnival:

"...the likes of James (see Leeds Interview 1 and 2) and other people from his generation, they've got so much love and the spirit and everything...but I don't think it's come on through to the generation that's born here - you know - they see it from a different perspective...I used to play in a steel band and I remember there used to be steel bands on every trolley...and it's gone away from that because a lot of the bands have split up and finished now...we're moving over with the steel bands moving out and the sounds *moving in*. It's a pity...playing steel bands has got a lot more going for it...it takes a lot more work and effort. Anyone can string up a set. It's a pity really, but I believe there's room for other things to go on. In a way it's old habits are hard to die - you know - people who have been on the committee *since creation*, and they've got habits and they don't want to get rid of them...It's sort of like your parents isn't it really - you try to say 'you should do this and you should do that', anything new or a change - you know - nobody likes it...In a way you've got to look and say times are changing. Black people are...listening to different kinds of music. I'm not saying just *bring in* dancehall and reggae sounds and jungle sounds and that, you still have the soca sounds and the calypso music as the dominating fact, but - you know - it has to appeal to other people as well, because *it's not just one group of people who are in the community*" (Leeds Interview 15 - Clive: pp.2-6).

Clive's emphasis on the spatialities and temporalities of Carnival - the 'moving in', 'room for', 'times are changing', 'bring in'- is suggestive of an understanding of the event as predicated upon re-articulation, processes of making way.

Moreover, there is practical evidence to match these perceptions - this acceptance - of translating space and time: in Chapeltown on Carnival day, there are signs of change, traces of compromise. In Potternewton Park, the main stage dominates, nestling in a bowl of grass as part of a natural arena. It is from here that the Carnival troupes assemble and limber-up for *mas*, enabling crowds to watch from above before following the procession on a circular route through local streets that lead back to the park. Here the Chapeltown Carnival tradition is *kept real* through its performance: a walking *mas* of dutifully crafted costumes jumps-up and wines to the luscious, pepful flow of steel pan and soca sounds. Crowds of (non)local people - 'Blacks', 'Whites', 'Asians' - line the route, take photographs; some get caught in the irresistible collective rhythm of the occasion, relinquishing their vanity by stepping into the expanding throng of synchronized revelry. But at Chapeltown Carnival in 1997 there was just one steel band 'on the road'; ten years ago there were several. They have been replaced by mobile soca sound systems: the technology of those who champion 'inauthenticity' has been adopted to provide the soundtrack for this 'most authentic' of Carnivals.

If you move away from this centre of Carnival, into the back-streets or across the park, concessions to change are even more evident: passing through a fairground over the brow of the Carnival arena, the soca rhythms fade away, their staccato judder replaced by a jolting, slamming break beat that reaches a crescendo of tightly-packed whirring beats before swooping down to a fractured, loping reverb of bass. Here, on the tennis courts, tucked away on the edge of Carnival, local DJs are licensed to play "for the youth" (Leeds Interview 3 - Phil: p.5). They are playing jungle music or 'drum and bass' (see 6.3); sometimes they play hip hop and R&B. Groups of local Black teenagers are huddled around the sound systems,

gesticulating, hanging-out, rarely dancing. They are participating as part of the *official* Chapeltown Carnival in an activity which organizers and programmers don't mention, keep secret. Their location - on the edge of the park, out of sight - supports this view. They are part of the compromise of a transforming Carnival which is selectively (re)presented by organizers to maintain authenticity.

But rather than this signalling the start of a more radical transformation of Carnival form, Chapeltown Carnival is more 'traditional' today than ten years ago. In the early 1990's, 'unofficial' sound systems infiltrated the official spaces of Chapeltown Carnival. They would 'string-up' along the streets or hang out of windows. For Carnivalists this was unbearable:

"There's no place for sound system in our Carnival. The reggae sound system aren't having anything in *our Carnival* - you know...the sound systems...used to *kill* us on the sides of the road - you know - at Harehills, there used to be a sound system there. Christ it was loud and it just used to *kill* us when we passed down there...the steel band no one can hear..." (Leeds Interview 3 - Phil: pp.5-6).

In 1990 the 'sound system problem' developed beyond a matter of cultural principle to a matter of crisis:

"Carnival ends in three murders" (*Leeds Evening Post* 28/8/90 p.1); "Carnival Chief's sorrow" (*Leeds Evening Post* 28/8/90 p.3); "Murders spark debate over Carnival organization" (*Leeds Other Paper* 7/9/90 p.2).

At approximately 8:30 p.m., two men were attacked with a machete on Harehills Avenue; one man died. Five hours later on Harehills Lane, a young woman and man were shot dead. Significantly these events occurred after the official Carnival had closed down and gone inside to the West Indian Centre for the 'Last Lap Dance'. These were 'sound system murders', tragedies, shocks, but unsurprising (and this isn't a contradiction) given the reputation of the those who disrespect the 'tradition' of Carnival. James was quick to distance Carnival from the crimes:

"First of all, they happened after Carnival. The crimes were committed around the sound systems. If we do have sound systems in next year's Carnival, we

will have to come up with some form of order and discipline for them" (*Leeds Other Paper* 7/9/90 p.2)³¹.

Discourses which promote 'traditional Carnival' through abjection, work alongside media discourses which present pathologized stereotypes of wayward unfettered Black youth in opposition to exotic, smiling images of a colourful Caribbean Carnival tradition³², to extricate the law-abiding, friendly, teeth-gleaming spectacle of their 'authentic Carnival'³³ from those who disrespect tradition and seek to have it new.

The murders of 1990 (and a minor uprising during the evening of Carnival 1992³⁴) gave Carnival organizers a moral and political power which they did not previously command: a question of taste, where the life of 'traditional Carnival' was (re)constructed as under threat, was translated into a question of life and death. "Order and discipline" was returned to the Carnival by making sense of - mapping, elucidating, ordering - the social relations of place in terms of the

³¹ Also, Chapeltown itself was distanced from the crimes, shifting the blame on to outsiders who, attracted by the sound systems, acted with a recklessness reserved for out-of-town visits such as this. *Some* local sound system operators responded to this:

"...local people who might have wanted to set up a sound system and who did for a couple of years, pretty willingly withdrew from setting up sound systems...they're not stupid, they knew that it was the sound systems that attracted the Manchester people in who fucking killed people, I mean it's unbearable what they did" (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.8).

³² See for example, *Leeds Evening Post* 27/8/91 p.5, which has a photograph of a policeman holding a child under the title "The smile of Summer".

³³ Understanding that this version of 'authenticity' is contested within 'official' discourses of Carnival, just as it is negotiated elsewhere. For example, the authentication process discussed and performed by Richard (see Leeds Interview 7 and 4.3.1) differs from a less disciplined 'teeth-gleaming' version presented by Pamela when she describes Carnival as "...just getting on with people and enjoying yourself and having a good time..." (Leeds Interview 24 - Pamela: p.4).

³⁴ A car "ploughed into a large group of people" as they were dancing on Shepherds Lane in east Chapeltown (see Figure 3.1), prompting a "(P)olice night of mob terror" (*Leeds Evening Post* 1/9/92 p.1), where "Carnival police (were) stoned by mob" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 1/9/92 p.1). These front-page representations of violent disorder contrast with inside-page reports which feature the 'happy', 'harmless', 'harmonious', 'historic' Carnival of the mainstream: "Big parade is a sunny success" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 31/8/93); "It's a sunshine Carnival" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 27/8/85 p.4); "Thousands join in Carnival colour to cheer city streets with a taste of Caribbean sunshine" (*Yorkshire Post* 29/8/95 p.3); "Dancing in the streets - to steel bands" (*Yorkshire Evening Post* 30/8/83 p.16).

otherness of those who did not abide by the 'Carnival tradition'. Phil explains what action was taken:

"...we have managed with the authorities to cut out the sound systems which used to *kill* us on the side of the road...that's why we cordon off the whole road you see. It's no good. We all feel - well, on the committee anyway, that we had to make a decision that for one day we're not gonna have any sound systems. We have it on the tennis courts, we provide it up there" (Leeds Interview 3 - Phil: p.5).

The tennis court sound systems are thus a propitiatory gesture, not a concession. Eclectic notions of the local Black community are overlooked to present Carnival in all its authentic, anti-sound system purity. Moreover, perceived pressures to accommodate difference within the cultural and formalist auspices of Carnival have relaxed due to the development and expansion of a reggae³⁵ concert in Potternewton Park on the Sunday before the event. Although Carnival organizers assert that the concert is a separate event (despite sharing the stage and relying on the same funding source³⁶), for many local people - *the crowd* - the events merge as one, collectively remembered as a weekend of continual entertainment:

"We basically start on the Friday and go right through. Have something on every single night, so come Sunday, you get up, you go to the reggae concert,

³⁵ Even though the event presents a range of musics. For example, in 1996, Jamaican reggae star Luciano shared a stage with dancehall lyricist Buccaneer, New York rappers Lost Boyz and Chapelton's reggae sister duo Royal Blood. Matt - the reggae concert organizer - makes this clear:

"As much as it's 'Leeds Reggae Concert', which is the name that kind of sticks to it, it's more of a Black music festival...I mean, if I was to try and say what it - the musical content - Black musical spirit - you know what I'm saying?" Also, "...our view towards the reggae concert in terms of its content is to create a platform for local talent to perform alongside national and international artists...giving these kids an opportunity to aim for...there has to be a musical outlet" (Leeds Interview 19 - Matt: p.14 and 4).

³⁶ Both events are funded mainly from Leeds City Council Leisure Services and 'Yorkshire and Humberside Arts'. In fact, more of the expenses are covered by the reggae concert than the Carnival, since it provides the capital investment. Matt spatializes this relationship:

"...at this moment in time, the concert more carries the Carnival than it does the other way around because we pay for the whole production...staging...the sounds, toilets, road closures, security, that's all done by the reggae concert *side of the fence*...(but)...it started as two separate events and it will probably remain as two separate events, but there will always be close networking between the two and there has to be in order for the two events to exist side by side in that way" (Leeds Interview 19 - Matt: p.9).

Indeed, the Carnival Press Officer (see Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha) provides a similar service for the reggae concert.

you go to the all-nighter, you come out of the all-nighter, you go to J'ouvert Morning, and then you go home and have breakfast and then come back and go to the park for Carnival, party right through and then come straight to the West Indian Centre, party right through again, Last Lap Dance, then you're knackered" (Leeds Interview 19 - Matt: p.12).

And Matt - the reggae concert organizer - makes a link between the existence of the reggae concert, reduced pressure for Carnival to change, and the excuse Carnival organizers can use not to change:

"...because the reggae concert exists, I think they've been not let off the hook...they've had less stress from people in the community than they would have had if the reggae concert wasn't on...from the simple fact that the Carnival committee are strictly about 'Carnival' - you know - the other entities - sound systems and reggae music and hip hop and soul - are not on the agenda" (Leeds Interview 19 - Matt: p.10).

Collective memories which combine the two events are more likely to make a connection - feel fulfilled - by something within the overall cultural programme than by the itinerary of a particular day. Pressure abated, dominant collective memories of the performance of 'authentic Chapeltown Carnival' are preserved (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

For Carnivalists, processes of abjection are more vocal, more extreme; but abjection exists beyond identifiable Carnival traditionalists, in the crowd, on the streets. On Carnival day in Chapeltown, many people put on a costume, join in the *mas*, jump-up to soca and calypso. This process of identification and affiliation is also a process of abjection, for it is situated in relation to - with an awareness of - those who aren't participating, those doing something else. Gillian Rose writes we "position ourselves in relation to others" (1993 p.5); Elseph Probyn (1993 p.2) asserts that the self "is not simply put forward, but rather it is reworked in its enunciation". The *mas* is a relativized performance, statement of position, marker of difference³⁷. By participating in the *mas*, local people engage with the cultural politics of the social relations of place: they perform and consume difference as a

³⁷ Performance "does not simply convey cultural messages already 'known'...it reorganizes and manipulates everyday experiences of social reality...is a vital tool in the hands of performers themselves in socially acknowledged games of prestige and power" (Stokes 1997 p.97). The *mas* is a symbol of authenticity, and it is relativized against those non-authentic forms - sound systems - and their non-authenticating practitioners. To perform 'traditional' *mas* is to acclaim



Figure 5.1: *Complementing each other? The 1997 Chapeltown Carnival in Potternewton Park.*



Figure 5.2: *...and the 1997 Reggae concert on the previous day.*

oneself and defame others, because the performance is recognizable as a symbol of the fractured social relations of community and place.

means of obtaining status, ascendancy, exclusivity (see Bourdieu 1984). The performance of the *mas* is an articulatory practice, an embodied dramatization of difference which is underpinned by the social relations of place and reproduces place by opening and closing notions of community and collective memory through processes of distinction, identification and rejection. In Chapeltown, *dominant discourses* of Carnival rely on processes of authentication, using distinctions of 'art' to manipulate the representative spaces of place. Returning to Richard:

"I don't see anything wrong with sound systems in terms of playing reggae music or dub or jungle or whatever - right?...However, I do not believe that the whole concept of Carnival...should be diluted - you know - just to take on that ready-made mass. Because unfortunately, those bands or those sound systems do not attract people in costumes...you don't get a jungle group of people actually spending any money designing or creating the costumes. What they do is put on their latest... 'Nike' gear - right - with 'Tommy Hill' top and bottom - right - and running around. Well where's the art in that dare I ask...? There is no art in that. For me Carnival is art" (Leeds Interview 7 - Richard: p.10).

In Chapeltown, identities are relationally (re)constituted. Carnival (re)produces the social relations of place through the cultural politics of its embodied collective memorization. It seems that some are 'artists', some are not; some '*keep it real*' but can only do so because they believe others do not.

5.2.3 Mapping in adversity: social order viewed from alterity...

After the 1990 murders, an urgent meeting was held in the West Indian Centre to debate the future of the sound system in Carnival. There were many calls for its abolition - from committee members, Carnivalists, and those who made the connection between sound systems and trouble. But there was also pressure for its retention, an attitude expressed by sound system activist, MC Hopper:

"There must be more community involvement in Carnival next year. The organizers have to listen to the community and take it more seriously..." (Cited in *Leeds Other Paper* 7/9/90 p.2).

Similarly, ex-committee member, Vi Hendrickson, argued before the 1990 Carnival that the event must widen its representativeness of and accountability to the Black community of Chapeltown:

“There’s a whole generation of young people out there who don’t express their culture through steel bands and costumes but also have something to say. Their contribution is absent from the Carnival...The organizers seem to be concerned solely with the actual event and not so much with the community. To me they are *inter-linked*, you can’t have one without the other...(also)...They are spending public money and we have a right to know where it goes and how it is spent...We should be told of the negotiations that take place between the Carnival committee and the council and the police” (Cited in *Leeds Evening Post* 17/8/90 p.7).

Vi resigned from the committee after two years of increasing disillusionment. It might be interpreted³⁸ that for her and MC Hopper, Carnival *should* be laden with a “burden of representation” (see Mercer 1994 p.8) which requires it to be sensitive to *all* the cultures and forms of a diverse local Black community collectivized as ‘Chapeltown’. Whereas, for ardent Carnivalists such as Richard (Leeds Interview 7) and James (Leeds Interview 1 and 2), if adherence to tradition precludes communal inclusiveness, then this must be accepted. Dominant collective memories cannot be compromised through the inclusion of ‘others’. The (re)construction of Carnival as a ‘community event’ makes the connection between the social relations of Carnival and place explicit.

Yet othering works both ways. It has already been argued that Carnival is used as a discursive operator to articulate, make sense of and reinscribe the social order of place. This part of the chapter discusses how those othered in this process - innovators, ‘those behind the sound systems’³⁹ - reconstruct their own social order of place through reversal and contestation. Their position in alterity is used to map notions of community and place on to the cultural politics of Carnival, situating themselves as part of the ‘wider community’ through a conflation of Carnival with

³⁸ There is a danger here, as throughout the project, of enforcing an abstract version of what is said, and thus re-charging statements with meanings which people such as Vi might not recognize.

³⁹ Using the social spatialization of James (Leeds Interview 1: p.9).

the 'local Black community', and Carnivalists as those (mis)representing community through their adherence to a tradition which can and should be transformed.

Chapelton Carnival is commonly objectified as something which fails to represent the cultures and identities of the children and grandchildren of local Carnivalists. Collective memories of a coherent, rooted, authentic Carnival are corrupted, displaced, abjectified by a generation of "new ethnicities" (see Hall 1988 and 1991a) for whom there are different priorities, discrepantly spatialized identifications. Differences which can be theorized as constitutive of processes of 'syncretism' (see Back 1996), 'transculturalism' (see Bhabha 1994), 'multiple diasporization' (see Alleyne-Dettmers 1997), cross-cutting, transcoding and vacating global, multiplicily racialized and constructedly communal forms, identifications and identities; (re)create alternative collective memories which make new demands on Carnival. These emergent positionalities are constituted as much by their localness as their globalness: they are made sense of, relativized through their context. Samantha, a younger Carnival organizer, constructs a dualism around Carnival which contrasts - for her - two recognizably local cultures: she says, laughing, "(P)uffa jackets and Carnival feathers don't really mix" (Leeds Interview 23 - Samantha: p.4). She laughs because the statement is an obvious reduction, but also because it is intelligible *in context* as symbolic of the social and cultural relations through which Carnival is re-inscribed as a local event. The expectation that Carnival should represent different cultural identities as a local community event, or an awareness of who and how Carnival excludes, re-aligns trans-global identities to focus on their localness by (re)negotiating the boundaries of the 'local Black community' in terms of its selective representation at Carnival. Lines of identification and axes of power at and around Carnival have changed and are changing *despite* what older Carnival organizers might say.

The social order of a racialized community and place is constantly (re)imagined. Wayne is a local Black man in his early twenties⁴⁰. He works for a Chapeltown film and publicity company which attempts to represent 'Black politics and issues' beyond the essentialist stereotypes and debilitating taxonomies perpetuated in hegemonic discourse (see 3.2.1):

"It's only when society itself points at you and puts you in a box and says 'wait a minute, if you're not in a box, I can't help you' - you know what I mean - and that's something that society does. It says, 'if you don't go into one of these boxes, you don't exist'...I'm from the world, but I live here in Britain, in Chapeltown...I can't go back to Africa and I can't go back to Jamaica because I'm not necessarily from those places...So - you know - the world is my home sort of thing, so that's how I live. There's no barriers " (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.13).

Wayne's self-proclaimed trans-local identity confounds compartmentalist strategies which attribute 'roots' and authenticities or categorize homelands and unified communities. He occupies multiple communities (see Mouffe 1988), strategically traversing back and forth across different spatialities, through different identities. But there are moments of fixity where, in pursuit of clarity, boundaries are (re)constructed, positions stated. Wayne is critical of Carnival's exclusion of sound systems, interpreting it as a snub for what he reifies as "the wider community":

"The culture over here...maybe they should put on something else for the younger people so young people can attend and relate more strongly...At some point I hope that somebody comes along and approaches the Carnival committee and gets them to admit formally that it is a *West Indian* cultural thing...it's not a *British* thing or it's not a *Black British* sort of thing. I think they need to put it *into context* like that, because otherwise they're gonna be receiving funds for other groups that exist in the community, and mis-representing those groups as well" (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: pp.4-10).

Shifting terms emerge to describe the shifting spatialities of Carnival: 'those behind the sound systems' become the 'Black British', Carnivalists' become 'West Indians', the social relations of the local are re-articulated through their imagined trans-localness. Carnival is understood in this racialized context, its form contested by relativizing the different spatialities of a local community which survives despite these internal divisions. Indeed, the construction of an imagined

⁴⁰ And he wears a 'puffa jacket'.

local Black community of Chapeltown works to ensure that the meanings and forms of Carnival are contested, because while Carnival is imagined as something that should represent 'the community', the *multiple differences of Chapeltown* - from the 'West Indian to the 'Black British' - are provided with an object for their articulation. Collective memories of 'who' constitutes the 'Black community' and 'who' represents positions within this community are translated through contestations over collective memories of Carnival.

However, if this "wider community" concept lost its salience and Carnival was relieved of the burden of representing 'everyone'⁴¹, then Carnival's role as a marker of difference and space of contestation would be conspicuously realigned. Wayne is unconcerned by the cultural and formalist direction of Chapeltown Carnival *if* it is funded and organized for an explicitly targeted 'section of the community' such as through a "West Indian cultural thing":

"It's a contradiction isn't it really - 'Leeds West Indian' - that's a contradiction...(laughs)...but...there's a sort of connection there...So they've got to make it clear, that's all...(then)...the younger sort of age, Black British perspective, that cross-over perspective, there should be something for them anyway...it could be separate..." (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.4).

But there are ambiguities regarding who Carnival should represent and contestations over how they should be represented. This is a complex born of the multiple differences, micro-allegiances, vacillating identities of community and place. As Wayne asserts, "...it is seen as a Black community, but it's not necessarily a together Black community...it has its different groups within the community" (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.4). So when community members say "(R)ight, let's have this Carnival thing and this is our culture, Black culture"

⁴¹ A 'burden' derived from Carnival's Chapeltown beginnings as an event which ran parallel to the United Caribbean Association as a 'West Indian Event' and thus a 'Black community event' with a "we t'ing" ethos (see 4.2). While the 'Black community' has developed through internal differentiation, the event has maintained a representational position as of and for the 'Black community' to which different Black people may claim ownership. This position is concretized through the event's funding alongside the reggae festival as a 'Black Arts event' (see Leeds Interview 5: Cyril). The contestation over the boundaries of this 'Black community' determine the parameters of the event's 'burden of representation'. This contestation - over spatialities of collective memory - constitutes the basis of this project.

(Paraphrased in Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.6), it is “just a blanket statement really”, which “fails to represent *our* contribution...” (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.6), the contribution of the multiple differences of community.

Dominant discourses of collective memory which pronounce the importance of ‘authenticity’ and ‘tradition’ for Chapeltown Carnival, whilst simultaneously asserting that these are the ‘real’ traditions of local Black people, traditions to which they should adhere, rely on the abjection and rejection of alternative local notions of what could fill the representative spaces of Carnival. To do this involves monitoring the social relations of place, the ascription of a social order. Simultaneously, those othered by the authentication of Carnival, work to contest the desirability of the contents of this representative space by re-conceptualizing their own version of a local social order. Just as they are named, stigmatized, ridiculed, they specify their other - the fervent Carnivalists. Wayne likens ‘Pork Pie’ - a caricature of an ageing, rambling ‘first generation West Indian’ man in the Channel Four comedy *Desmonds* - to “a Carnival committee-type person...he’s nothing to do with the younger generation...” (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.10). Moreover, he argues that Carnivalists and committee members maintain this distance through secrecy, inaccessibility:

“I didn’t know what they were planning to do at the forthcoming Carnival...they were elusive - you know - in that they were busy or whatever...You call and say ‘can you get back to us’ and they probably just thought ‘oh we ain’t got time to get back to these people enquiring about how we operate’. And what’s more recently emerged I think is the fact that the Carnival committee...it sort of starts and ends with them...There’s not like a consultation process going whereby they’ll come to the community or they’ll advertize on the radio or whatever and ask younger generations to get involved” (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.1).

Whilst those from the sound systems are depicted as fractious, ignorant, in denial of tradition; the Carnivalists are stereotyped as a clandestine oligarchy with an ignorance which faces the other way. Together, these discourses interact, implicating Carnival in the (re)construction of the social order of place.

Yet there is a danger here of polarizing positionalities, representing the extreme. While many participants understand Carnival as 'traditional', canonized as frozen in the past and maintained through its contemporary performance, and many assert their identities in opposition to this dominant collective memory and performative narrative, *the event is performed and consumed through the exposition and cross-interpretation of multiple identities, micro-allegiances, overlapping collective memories*. Anne McClintock (1995 p.317) argues "(I)identity comes to be experienced as a constant reshaping of the boundaries of self-hood; indeed, it comes to be seen as the shifting outcome of community experience rather than any singularity of being". The relationality of identity (re)construction does not guarantee adverseness; abjection is countered and qualified through inclusiveness and identification. This is because collective memories of Carnival and place work as processes of cultural and political investment: into traditions, communities, cultures and forms, with no cap on how many investments are made. There are dominant, subordinate, emergent collective memories, each (re)constituted through the other without necessitating their estrangement, for individuals and groups in Chapeltown share different collective memories, create new ones, live simultaneously with the 'new' and the 'old'. When Samantha makes the distinction between 'puffa jackets' and 'Carnival costumes', it is a recognizable dualism because it symbolizes polarities of difference, but it is a false dichotomy because it overlooks the spaces in-between: the continuities, complementarities, the permeations and flows of collective memories as they interact locally, (de)stabilizing local traditions, (re)defining the boundaries of community and place. Collective memories are multiply inhabited, shared, inclusive *and* exclusive. There are mutualities between puffa jackets and Carnival costumes, points of exchange and collectivity, characterized by shared senses of place and Carnival. It is towards these more convivial relations of Carnival that the chapter now turns.

5.3 COLLECTIVE MEMORIES, NORMATIVE GEOGRAPHIES: A MAS BY OTHER MEANS.

"Carnival's magic is its creation of a space in which these messages can feed off each other and inspire diversity within the confines of a cultural formation which contains and harmonizes that diversity" (Farrar 1996a p.7).

"Place is enmeshed in various cultural, social and political milieus which are intricately bound up with shared memories, narratives and senses of self" (Marsden 1997 p.38).

"Carnival is in the blood, it's part of us now" (Paraphrased in my research diary - Amy: 30/1/97; also see Leeds Interview 12 - Amy).

It's a cold January evening in Chapeltown. Sitting on a table in a sparsely furnished room of the Mandela Centre, six Black teenage girls are huddled together, engrossed in conversation. They talk about music (the R&B of Mary J Blige and SWV, the hip hop of The Jungle Brothers and Wu Tang Clan, the ragga of Patra and Buccaneer), fashion (needing a new coat, having a hair cut), boys (those at the end of the corridor playing football). Strong Leeds accents fill the room, adding distinctive emphasis to a trans-local creole patois punctuated by the words 'phat', 'innit' and 'truly'. They are waiting for the start of the 'Mandela Singing Class', a twice-weekly project where local youth are coached by Amy "to explore their own talents...based on what they like, what they enjoy" (Leeds Interview 23 - Amy: p.2). Singers are encouraged to bring their favourite music to the class to reduce inhibition, generate confidence. The talent is already there:

"I think people come here and they can sing already. I don't say that I teach anyone to sing, I can't teach anyone to sing. They've got a voice and it's just how they use it and whether or not they feel confident enough to use it in the best way they can...sometimes I think well, these fourteen and fifteen, sixteen year-olds, if they're devoting their time and trying to do something like this, I mean they just need encouragement really to continue" (Leeds Interview 23 - Amy: p.3).

Rehearsals have started for the Mandela Singers' first public performance in 1997 at 'The Underground', a subterranean venue in Leeds City Centre. Amy bustles into the room, her arms full of compact discs representative of the singers' favoured sounds. She is followed by Charlotte, a senior member of the class,

carrying a portable compact disc player and a microphone on a stand. The equipment is plugged-in, the music starts. Track after track, the smooth, polished rhythms of stateside R&B throb out of the speakers; the girls click their fingers, sway in unison, mouth the words to the choral harmonies. Then it's their turn to sing: Charlotte takes the mike, sits up straight, and without prompting sings an *a capella* version of Mary J Blige's 'Mary Jane'. The Leeds accent is replaced convincingly with 'American', her deep rich voice defying her diminutive frame as she begins to roll her shoulders, nod her head. Then during the chorus, the other girls lean towards the mike, offering harmonic assistance as Charlotte rips out those hard-to-reach notes. The song ends to collective whooping and applause, Leeds accents return, Charlotte blushes and grins before passing the mike to the next girl. The cold Easterly wind that stabbed through Chapeltown Road on the way to class is forgotten, puffa jackets are taken off.

Meanwhile, across the carpark in the West Indian Centre, a soca dance is in progress. Standing at the top of the steps by boards displaying photographs of 'Carnival '96', the main hall can be viewed in its entirety. Middle-aged Black men and women jump-up, wine and jive, their elders sit around the edge of the hall, tapping feet, clapping hands, and their young children run mazily between the dancers, stopping occasionally to perform an accurate imitation of 'the wine'. As is usual for these events, Andy (see Leeds Interview 10) is 'on the decks', mixing soca favourites with contemporary 'hits' imported from Trinidad, requesting, insisting that people dance. In Chapeltown, collective memories of a 'Carnival culture' penetrate even the coldest, darkest of winter nights, their embodiment in dance providing a cultural sustenance that maintains tradition whatever the weather. It is a mobile, seething, bobbing mass of integrated relativity: three generations are moving in unison, their bodies delivering a performance of community through their collective reciprocity. And yet, 'the community'⁴² is incomplete, its missing parts scattered across Chapeltown in a range of different

⁴² If this is imagined in terms of 'Black' and of Chapeltown.

social spaces which includes the Mandela Centre Singing Class. The inclusiveness of Carnival is marked equally by its exclusivity.

Or is it? In Chapeltown, the survival of Carnival as a local tradition is a serious issue. This cannot be over-emphasized. There are various fears which might be simplified and summarized as thus: authentic traditions aren't being passed-on to 'the younger generation', teenagers and young adults aren't interested in maintaining 'authentic Carnival', there are those that wish to take over Carnival and infuse it with forms and meanings more relatable to contemporary local Black experience, the Carnival committee is intransigently 'out of touch' with wider communal cultural sensibilities. All these issues are enmeshed in a cultural politics of community and place, reliant on the (re)drawing of boundaries, the establishment of oppositions, naming the 'other' and authenticating the object 'Carnival'. But these are momentary fixities, straightforward readings. People are not trapped within their ascribed labels: meanings are contested, concessions are made, differences are traversed, flattened, reconstructed.

This is how collective memories are transformed. The singers at the Mandela Centre, because they are guided by the fashions of trans-Atlantic 'Black' musics such as R&B, because they are not at the soca dance or wearing a Carnival costume, does not preclude or deny them enjoyment, participation, inclusion in the event. For most, Carnival is an important feature of their senses of community and place. Mike Bygrave, writing in *The Guardian* (20/8/94 p.33), argues "(T)here is much we can learn from the Notting Hill Carnival about the way culture is not closed but can be mixed and matched to create new forms". Likewise in Chapeltown, an event considered 'traditional', in stasis, 'authentic', allows the performance of multiple positionalities which offer new perspectives of Carnival without destroying the rubric of dominant collective memories of tradition, community and place. Within Carnival there is *mas*, but there is also a *mas by other means...*

5.3.1 (Re)Performing community and place: the case of the 'riot crew'...

*"Luk out fa mi possie
dis Carnival time
luk out fa us
wishu yu a sign
will be dressed in fire bright yellow
wid cap awn baseball boots
yellow tops awn yellow shorts
our possie no little youth.
We rough awn ready
awn wi stick together
wi enjoy wi self
no matter what.
Su if yu si dazzling, colours coming your way
yu will nu it's us
yu will nu wi near".*

(*'Look out for mi possie'* by Chapeltown poet Patricia Jones - no date given⁴³).

Few of the girls at the singing class put on a 'traditional' costume on Carnival day, yet they all go to Carnival, always have and probably always will⁴⁴. Most of them can be seen on J'ouvert Morning, wining up Chapeltown Road behind Andy's sound system, or before the procession in Potternewton Park by the tennis courts, 'catchin' the flava' of the sounds. But once the procession has started, they are *all* there, behind the last traditional troupe, jumpin'-up to a souped-up soca vibe. They form part of the 'Riot Crew' - the name given by local people to this energetic, blithesome throng of young Black Chapeltown people which each year surrounds a mobile sound system and follows the official *mas* through the streets

⁴³ Used here with the kind permission of the poet.

⁴⁴ Moreover, if they take a break from or discontinue participation at Carnival, this does not exclude them from collective memories of a 'Carnival tradition' or notions of an 'authentic Carnival'. Their varying inclusion in the 'Black community' of Chapeltown delivers them some ownership of the event. How and to what extent they invest in - connect with - Carnival, is their choice.

and back to the park. For members of the Riot Crew, this is what Carnival 'means', this is how it is anticipated and collectively remembered. Charlotte is "there to have a wicked time and jam"; for another singer - Jodi - "it's a chance to wuk-up with the man you like...with everybody laughing, smiling and generally having a good time" (Paraphrased in my research diary, 31/1/97). These young people are not alienated by Carnival, they do not flee from the soca. Rather, Carnival is interpreted as a 'community event', it is remembered, embodied 'as it is' - a normative 'local' ritual.

Darcus is the eighteen-year-old son of Carnival committee member and costume designer Richard (see Leeds Interview 7; also see for example, 3.5.1 and 4.3.1). He has been brought up with Carnival, helping his father to make costumes, participating in troupes, making his own costumes, attending Carnival events:

"...it's something we've always grown up to be a part of - you know - a certain part of you like if you've got Christmas and first of all there's the Carnival in summer time, Carnival time, and you look forward to it, everyone says like 'Carnival's coming" (Leeds Interview 21 - Darcus: p.2).

However, Darcus no longer wears a Carnival costume, his favourite musics are hip hop and jungle, listening to soca and calypso "can be murder"...unless of course it's 'Carnival time':

"We listen to calypso music in August...that's the only time I'm ever seen listening to calypso, only at Carnival time...it's good music to dance to...Carnival day is soca and calypso, that is all it for...(the 1996) rain just didn't bother me...I mean in the afternoon it got to me and I was absolutely drenched, but when we got back on to Chapeltown Road and the sun came out and we started drying out behind the sounds, which is *the only place to be*, at the back...once you get there it's like that's the spot...after we've got down to the park and they've got to take the sounds back to the West Indian Centre⁴⁵, and the DJ was standing there saying 'yeah OK man, the music is going to stop now', but it didn't stop, and everybody followed it all the way back down from the park to the West Indian Centre, and because the rest of the procession had gone back to the park, all the streets were empty, so there was about forty or fifty of us just dancing behind this sound" (Leeds Interview 21 - Darcus: p.4).

⁴⁵ Which is at the bottom of Chapeltown Road, half a mile from Potternewton Park (see Figure 3.1).

Dominant local collective memories which define the structure and form of the event are retained, accepted, believed through the temporalities and spatialities of a 'traditional' Chapeltown Carnival, but they are altered, innovated within spaces of alternative collective memory, such as with the Riot Crew 'at the back'⁴⁶. A collective identity for this group of revellers is forged through its embodiment and performance in relation to those more formal, orthodox Carnival practices. Whilst the rest of Carnival was in the park, enjoying the costumes, the Riot Crew was dancing through the streets, celebrating their distinctiveness, masquerading their local identities. But they weren't rubbishing tradition, vaunting their difference through a rebuttal of Chapeltown Carnival's 'authentic tradition'. Rather, they participate through *their version* of the dominant Carnival collective memory: the music is soca - it has to be soca; they jump-up, wine, blast whistles; move as one through the streets of Chapeltown, confirming an affinity with wider senses of community and place. For Darcus, the Mandela Centre Singers - the Riot Crew - a year spent outside the cultural and formalist rituals and networks of Carnival, does not mean Carnival - as adapted yet recognizably 'Carnival' - is not cherished for one day.

Moreover, though not in 'Carnival costume', members of the Riot Crew parade garments specifically prepared for their performance at the event. The poem '*Look out for mi possie*' (see the beginning of 5.3.1) emphasizes the importance of the adornment and exhibition of fashion at Carnival. Rex recognizes this as significant:

"OK, they are not building costumes...but - you know - I consider them to be involved. They're dressed up. White people think that Black people are always trendy and fashionable, but actually, if you look at that throng, they have gone to special - you know - they have dressed for that event. They haven't dressed in traditional Carnival costume, but they have dressed to be celebrants...their bodies and their costumes are on display...I think those people are *putting themselves into the Carnival tradition*..." (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex - p.6).

The Riot Crew have their own Carnival costume. It's a diverse moving collage of young men and boys in baseball caps, gilded sunglasses, baggy multi-pocketed

⁴⁶ Just as collective memories of 'Afrika' are re-worked as recombinant local collective memories by children in St. Paul's (see 4.4.1).

trousers and enormous treads; and young women and girls in differently-coloured camisoles, short skirts or tight trousers, or in 'ragga gear', involving an assortment of khaki greens and browns, overlaid with industrial netting, outrageously juxtaposed against large spaces of bare flesh. The recombinant fashions of local Black British youngsters are exaggerated, put on show, *masqueraded*, through the performative space of Carnival⁴⁷. The local significance of the event - edified through years of communal attendance and collective memorization - ensure that each year, thousands of Chapeltown's diverse 'Black community' dress-up, come to the park, line the streets, jump-up with the Riot Crew, buy food from stalls, have a little dance, see people they haven't seen since the last Carnival, *be seen*, take photographs, take the kids, have a drink, have a smoke. Theirs is not a Carnival of 'traditional costumes' with 'authentic designs'⁴⁸, yet they are taking part and want to be seen to take part; they are performing community, assenting to a normative ritual of place, embodying collective memory; theirs is a *mas by other means* (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

Yet the fear remains that because 'the authentic' is not collectively performed, then Carnival, as it is traditionalized through hegemonic collective memories, might be lost, brutally disfigured by 'those behind the sound systems'. But - to reiterate - seemingly discrepant cultures and identities are not incompatible. Moreover, Chapeltown Carnival is entrenched in the collective memories of *all* local Black people (and many White people⁴⁹). It is a calendar event which has impacted upon, affected, involved, captivated and repelled Chapeltown residents for thirty years. It has a normality, is a 'natural' process. This is why Amy says "Carnival is in the blood..." (Research Diary 30/1/97): it flows through the life

⁴⁷ And what they wear serves as "a kind of visual metaphor for identity...registering the culturally anchored ambivalence that resonates with and among identities" (F. Davis 1992 p.25; also see Frietas *et al* 1997).

⁴⁸ Although they may recognize and concur with dominant collective memories which identify an 'authentic Carnival': it does not have to be performed to be believed.

⁴⁹ As far as this can be assessed from the few White people I interviewed and worked with.

cycles of all those who imagine themselves to be, however loosely, part of the 'Black community' of Chapeltown:

"It's like *what happens* in anybody's life cycle - you know - you have a period in your life, maybe as a kid, and you do as your parents tell and you get dressed up, and then you have another ten year period in which you'll think 'bloody Carnival' - you know - 'the least I'm gonna do is just get in the Riot Crew'...but I think in their twenties and thirties, they'll say 'Carnival is really something, I want my kids to be in Carnival'...I'm not as worried about all that as maybe the committee is or maybe some of the more sceptical people are" (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.6).

Darcus has a background in Carnival which is more involved than most local people (remember he is Richard's son), yet even he refuses to put on a 'traditional' costume. Surely then the event's authentic traditions are under threat, liable to die with the older generation of Carnivalists. Or perhaps not. Darcus values Carnival, it is familial, a tradition constitutive of identity and place:

"...I'd just like to say I have and always will take part in Carnival. Carnival will always be *part of my life*. Not just the day but for months leading up to it. Without it there's a lot I would have missed and a lot of people that I wouldn't know...I mean, every time I go out of town I say 'you've got to come to Leeds'...(Leeds Interview 21 - Darcus: p.13).

Most of the Riot Crew wore Carnival costumes as children, many would have been coached to play steel pan. If Darcus has children, he would want them to wear a 'traditional' costume, listen to soca, get involved. He might also be concerned that they listen to 'new' musics or in their teenage years refuse to play traditional *mas*, because this threatens the 'authenticity' of Chapeltown Carnival. But he needn't worry, for Carnival has always changed whilst retaining a 'naturalness', a sense of 'the authentic'. Collective memories are not immutable, and "the idea that there has been a smooth accumulation of popular traditions is not viable" (Rowe and Schelling 1993 p.17). Collective memories of Carnival are reproduced as process, withdrawing, rejecting, assimilating, redesigning forms and meanings through trans-local, trans-temporal, global interchange. Local traditions are recycled, just as they are transformed.



Figure 5.3: *Mas at the 1997 Chapeltown Carnival.*



Figure 5.4: *A mas by other means?*

In Chapeltown, Carnival operates in relation to “the ceaselessly changing and multiply-inflected forms of cultural expression that’ve been galvanized within British cities” (Back 1996 p.3; also see Solomos and Back 1996). Sometimes it is (re)constructed in opposition to apparent forces of transformation: it is authenticated through the abjection and castigation of those forms and faces stereotyped as ‘other’. Alternatively - at different times - this othering is internalized, reversed, parodied: it is used to (re)map and tell alternative stories of place. But always Carnival is positioned - objectified and performed - as part of a dialogue which (re)tells, (re)signifies, *masquerades* the social relations of place; and as place changes, so does Carnival. Here is a closing example: young Black members of the Riot Crew do not normally listen or dance to soca; their identities are (re)produced relative to the consumption and performance of musics which might be labelled ‘global’ or ‘placeless’ (see Chambers 1985; Reynolds 1990⁵⁰; 6.1); but the meanings of these seemingly universal, non-local forms are localized through their injection with the cultural politics and social order of place. In Chapeltown, the Carnival tradition of listening and dancing to soca and calypso music at Carnival, is re-positioned relative to other musics, whilst these musics are relativized against that which is collectively remembered as ‘local’. By dancing to soca the Riot Crew are performing a bond with and loyalty to the traditions of family, community, marginalized place, but because they are not wearing ‘traditional’ costumes, they are othered as threatening to the future authenticity and survival of the event.

Networks of reciprocal relations flow against each other, interpenetrate, transform in feeling if not form. Collective memories of community and place are invoked, revered, but they are differently interpreted, contested, discontinued, reconstituted through exclusion *and* inclusion. What is important is the *perception* of continuity,

⁵⁰ Simon Reynolds discusses what he defines as “schizoid music”, which is timeless, placeless, takes us “nowhere”. Hip Hop, for example, is described as a “perpetual now”, a “shallow array of surfaces”. Similarly, Reynolds talks of “oceanic” music, representing “an end of history and an end of geography” (Reynolds 1990 pp.138-9). What he fails to acknowledge is the ways music is contextually located, relationally performed in and between places.

authenticity, fidelity to roots. Here, identities are shared as they are different, and it is their dynamic contextual interaction which set up the boundaries of community and place so they can be once again knocked down. These are struggles for position, ways of making sense. They imprint an impression of social order on to their context, objectifying Carnival as a symbol of place which can be deconstructed, commented upon, to distinguish between and tell stories about each other. Yet, through the reconstruction of collective memories, difference and sameness become unrecognizable, issues of recognition become blurred. The next chapter continues to interrogate these contrasting and overlapping spatialities through a discussion of the trans-global, local and (de)racialized musics which are competing for a part of the symbolic representational space of Carnival...

CHAPTER SIX

'RINSING OUT THE SOUNDS': CARNIVAL, MUSIC AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF PLACE

"Music gives us a way of being in the world, a way of making sense of it: musical response is, by its very nature, a process of musical identification...the 'aesthetic' describes a kind of self-consciousness, a coming together of the sensual, the emotional and the social as performance" (Frith 1996a p.272; original emphasis).

"As a child and young man...Black music provided me with a means to gain proximity to the sources of feeling from which our local conceptions of Blackness were assembled. The Caribbean, Africa, Latin America and above all, Black America, contributed to our lived sense of a racial self. The urban context in which these forms were encountered cemented their stylistic appeal and facilitated their solicitation of our identification¹" (Gilroy 1994 p.115).

"...the Bristol experience is there...certainly the Bristol experience for Jamaican people..." Bristol Interview 8 - Dave: p.5).

¹ The "solicitation of our identification" is interpreted here as musical performance actively searching-out (soliciting) our identification, *and* our identities actively seeking (soliciting) for a musical identification. It is a dialectical process.

6.1 MUSIC AS TRANS-LOCAL RE-ARTICULATION.

Music - “the cultural practice of arranging stabilized sonic pitches for expressive purposes” (Coplan 1997 p.588) - is vital to the (re)construction of collective memories of Carnival and place and is thus central to this project. In **Chapter Five**, music (re)emerges as an important marker of difference which is listened to and performed through processes of enunciation, forming and disbanding collective memories through the relativization of local identities which use musical sounds as ‘discursive operators’ (see Grenier and Guilbault 1997 p.214) to validate ‘themselves’ and define ‘others’. **Chapter Four** outlines how diasporic communal affiliations are re-negotiated and conflated to work through places, their broader trans-local concepts re-articulated to fit within the porous boundaries of the local (by, for example, reproducing a ‘Jamaican’ sound system aesthetic as a ‘naturally’ local form). In **Chapter Three (3.4.1 and 3.4.2)** I discussed how Carnival music in St. Paul’s occupies a ‘representational space’ for dominant collective memories of the ‘local Black community’ which demand that the event is sensitive to local issues (such as the death of Bangy Berry) and the ambitions of local people (such as through the encouragement and promotion of local musicians and DJs). Together with the sound music makes are the meanings it signifies, identities it (re)constructs, places it (re)organizes. Its imbrication with other Carnival forms and their meanings works to demarcate boundaries, *projecting and responding* to individual and collective memories, aspirations, senses of tradition, which are mediated between different spatialities to reconfigure a local politics of place. Sara Cohen (1995 p.442) asserts “(P)articular musical styles and activities come to symbolize particular values, and they can be used as a tool to transform notions of place and identity”; Averill (1994 p.243) recognizes music as a “means by which groups represent and signal their collectivity”; Stokes (1997 p.5) argues music is socially meaningful “not entirely, but largely because it provides a means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them”. This chapter reassembles and expatiates this project’s ongoing musical focus, to engage with the multiple

'spatialization(s) of consciousness' (Fabian 1983) evoked, invoked, sung, played, mixed and amplified *throughout* Carnival in (and therefore through) St. Paul's².

Music is integral to a cultural politics of place, defining, representing, transforming place-bound identities (also see Curtis 1987; Curtis and Rose 1987; Straw 1991). But place is reproduced because boundaries are breached, identities and collective memories reconstructed as process, musical senses of place reinscribed - re-tuned - through influences which are *trans-local, global, discrepantly (de)racialized* (see Pred 1997). The local is inescapably global, just as the global is mediated, practised, re-worked through its contextual performance and consumption. Throughout the chapter, music is presented as operating across '*points of articulation*' and '*re-articulation*' (see Middleton 1990; Guilbault 1997), making and re-making trans-local alliances through the interpenetration and fusion of form (such as musical technologies and styles) and the discursive linkage of political, racialized and community practices (such as through lyrics or the deconstructed and proclaimed meanings of the music). The sounds of Carnival are more than just a 'soundscape', offering a noise to be listened to as a piece of textual deconstruction³, and they do not simply 'reflect' or 'represent' the people who

² Where 'place' is understood as (re)constructed through the specificity of its relations with the 'outside' (see for example Keith and Pile 1993; Massey 1994 and 1995). Examples from St. Paul's are used to heighten the significance of the local whilst revealing processes of 'community' construction which are commensurate (indeed connected) with those of Chapeltown. Furthermore, St. Paul's Carnival's historical background as a 'festival' has provided it with a relative freedom for cultural exploration and translation - something which is more precisely controlled in Chapeltown (see Chapter 5). Just as processes of authentication were approached through a singular emphasis on Chapeltown in Chapter 5, musical processes of cultural interchange and negotiation in St. Paul's demand that they are attended to through the detail of a single chapter. Connections and (dis)similarities are explored throughout the project, though it should be remembered that this *is not strictly* a comparative project (see 2.2.1): connections override dichotomies.

³ See Schafer (1978 and 1992), Porteous and Mastin (1985), and Smith (1994b) for a discussion of the 'soundscape' concept as an ethnographic tool. There is a danger here that music might be listened to and textually deconstructed in terms of what its form *might* signify instead of the varying and contested uses and meanings it holds for different people. Music does not provide a 'sound track' of place where meanings can be read-off from style formations. Instead it is important to critically attend to the 'interactional components' of dialogue which interpret, codify and locate the meanings of the music (see Regev 1986; Back 1996). What people say about music is as important as the sound the music makes.

produce them or the places in which they are produced⁴. Rather, music is constitutive *and* representative of social and cultural positionalities: it is used (self- and unconsciously) as a focus for the (re)articulation of different practices and meanings, offering clues regarding how 'affective alliances' (Grossberg 1984), which coterminously occupy different spatialities, are (re)imagined through their dialogical performance, reception and interpretation.

This has implications for how music is researched. Music is 'referential' and 'embodied' (see Manual 1995): it refers/is referred⁵ to 'extra-musical' entities such as 'community' and collective memory, and it embodies/is embodied through "the ebb and flow of melody, rhythm, harmony, timbre" (Manual 1995 p.227) and their relationships with each other and *the dance*⁶. It is at once textual and discursive; providing commentary and commented upon. The task is to engage with its form *and* feeling, to listen hard and talk *in depth* as a way of understanding how identities are relationally achieved, negotiated, symbolized and (re)invented⁷ (see S. Cohen 1993). Music, and particularly music without lyrics, is a problematic medium for ethnographic research. It is unlocatable, unspecified, a paradox where the sounds it makes produce silences in terms of how they might be interpreted and thus *how they might be written*. Music, like dance, could be considered a 'non-representational act' (Thrift 1997), for its feelings, its meanings,

⁴ The idea of 'homology' between musical form and social structure should be avoided. Identities are not a static and pre-formed object which music 'somehow' conveys (see Middleton 1990). Rather, "(M)usic can be a process of imagining and thus living different sets of social relations, rather than just representing them" (P. Wade 1998 p.16).

⁵ Obviously music does not have an intentionality/agency of its own.

⁶ Indeed, Small (1987) stresses "music itself...hardly exists as a separate art from dance, and in many languages there is no separate word for it..." (Quoted in Dimitriadis 1996 p.181).

⁷ Susan Smith (1997 p.518) stresses how "many genres of (B)lack music arise at the margins of an oppressive White society", such as "from the ghettos of the inner cities" (also see Costello and Wallace 1990; T. Rose 1994). She argues "music is a way of articulating the conditions of existence", often "using sound to communicate what cannot be spoken" (1997 p.517). But she fails to question *why* the music is 'ghetto music'?; *where* is 'the ghetto' in the music?; *how* can sounds "articulate" a putative 'ghetto experience' without the commentary and representational intentionality of words? Music needs to be re-theorized as a multi-layered text which is discursively constituted through contested, overlapping and transforming processes of identification.

are somehow lost through attempts at verbal representation. Moreover, the connections, affections, alliances *felt* through the performance and consumption of music are imagined, reconstituted 'live' and/or vicariously as different people reconstruct their own spatialities through their own interpretation of *what the music means*. No one can ever be sure how other performers and listeners are feeling.

For the ethnographer, it is not possible to escape this methodological dilemma. And yet, music cannot be ignored. Instead, the sounds must be approached *in context*, alongside and within the verbal commentaries (interview transcripts, focus groups, media discourses) which attempt to locate them. Add to this the interpretive imagination of a participatory researcher, grappling to find position within a myriad of sonic, verbal, visual and olfactory texts, and music can at least be conveyed, described, caricatured for the purposes of a wider argument. It is this - a provisional and contestable caricature - that this chapter attempts to convey. Just as a comic caricature uglifies the face of its subject, my verbal interpretations of the sounds of the St. Paul's Carnival work to disfigure and distort the meanings of the sounds, yet without, I hope, rendering them unrecognizable.

The chapter begins with a discussion of how reggae music at the St. Paul's Carnival operates textually and discursively - as trans-local, avoiding subsumption by a homogeneous globality or reduction to the boundedly local. Styles of music listened to and performed at Carnival - such as reggae and its proximate derivatives, dancehall and ragga - make sounds and use technologies which are recognizable across the world and might be interpreted as drawing on and then flattening out local differences to signal the "end of history and end of geography" (Reynolds 1990 pp.138-9; also see Meyrowitz 1985), where music is rendered 'placeless' (see Relph 1976). But musical texts do not operate neutrally; placelessness as text is not replicated by placelessness as discourse. Instead, the

globality of musical form is used to (re)construct multiple spatialities of consciousness through the (re)imagination of trans-local racialized affective alliances which can be heuristically theorized as 'diasporic', and the resurrection and valorization of musical forms which (re)produce senses of place. Musics which range from the Rastafari posturings of reggae to the textual hybridity of jungle are used in Carnival by different people to evoke discrepant notions of a (trans)local, racialized community. Here, music is bound up in the re-construction of community, its form performed and interpreted through the (re)articulation of 'different imaginary geographies' (Hall 1995)⁸, transcending place and nation to (re)form alliances which are "just as powerful as those normally observed within practices which appear to be more organically grounded in local circumstances" (Straw 1991 p.374). But simultaneously, these musics - who produces them and what they represent - are performed, consumed, celebrated as local. Discourses of community which transcend place are re-articulated through context, utilizing music to proclaim outwardly, cross-referential identities which are 'from' St. Paul's, 'Black' and proud; and to negotiate inwardly the different social and cultural positions of place.

On Carnival day in St. Paul's, the streets and Carnival stage vibrate and swing to the sounds of diverse and hybrid musical forms, each re-combining musical elements from a multiplicity of 'origins' which are deconstructed - made sense of - through contested processes of identification that (re)locate disparate sounds to give them trans-local communal significance as varying types of local 'Black' music. What makes them 'local' and 'Black' is often lost in processes of transformation and fixation; that they are (re)constructed and understood through

⁸ Realizing that music is produced and consumed in different contexts to (re)produce diverse senses of community which range from the "fleeting symbolic fiction of contrived intimacy and unity" offered at a music concert (Valentine 1995 p.479; also see 3.5.2) to the "vicarious company" (re)imagined through listening to music in solitude (Valentine 1995 p.481; also see Chow 1993; Kruse 1993). The multiple nuances of collective memory which music evokes are relationally constituted through different domains, many of which are beyond the reach of the ethnographer.

these factors of difference is what matters (see Hall 1992b; S. Cohen 1997). Indeed, the discursive racialization and localization of musical sounds is an articulatory strategy which interprets and reacts to globality through the authentication and fetishization of difference (see Keil and Feld 1994; Erlmann 1996), but it is a *practical process* which validates identities, provides depth, offers security. David Morley (1991) calls this an 'indigenization of global resources' (also see D. C. Robinson *et al* 1991), but it is more than a mere improvizing response to the 'disorientating depthlessness' of globality. Moreover, it does not necessarily rely on the harmful antagonisms of exclusionary and essentialist notions of culture such as those discursively represented through 'nationalistic' musics (see for example Crump 1986; Howkins 1989; Kong 1995; Henderson 1996; Symon 1997). Music at Carnival re-articulates trans-local forms and communal affiliations to (re)create local musics which are an idiosyncratic mix of musical styles, reconfigured uniquely through their contextual (re)production ('bricolage', 'cut 'n' mix', 'the cut') and consumption (how they are mediated through the 'multiple ethnicities' and micro-alliances of place).

The second part of this chapter discusses how music such as jungle is recreated anew through the Carnival process to make distinctive sounds and prompt particular feelings which are constituent of and contribute towards transformative senses of place. These musics have textual continuities and discursive connections with other musics and musically signified communities, but they also have their own sounds and sentiments, offering and reproducing new local identities - a 'scene' - which thrives through its eclecticism, syncretism and differential communal affiliation. St. Paul's Carnival provides a gridded landscape of streets which are made musical through the blare of thumping sound systems. Each street has its own sound, the sounds compete and overlap, offer difference - a choice - but are connected through technology, context and discourses of community which localize Carnival as trans-sonic, ethnically inclusive, productively innovative. The sound systems remain static while Carnival participants move around, listen to new sounds, perform and consume processes

of cultural exchange which displace notions of 'Blackness'⁹, 'Whiteness' or 'Asianness' to create recombinant styles, 'de-centred subjectivities' (see Hall 1992; Bhabha 1994). This mix is local in form¹⁰ - for combinations of trans-local technologies vary from place to place and interact with an inimitable physical and social context; and through discourse - Carnival is (re)constructed as a locally distinctive 'musical scene' involving local people interpreting and mixing trans-local forms to establish new sounds and identities which are normalized, traditional, *made local* through their annual contextual reproduction¹¹ (see Frith 1988; Halfacree and Kitchin 1996; Straw 1991). 1997 Mercury Music Prize-winning Bristolian junglist Roni Size attributes his 'unique sound' to Bristol's isolation from other major cities and the city's diverse people with their diverse musics: "(W)hen Black people came here they brought something with them of their own. It's the breeding ground of history. When I was young I went to places like the St. Paul's Carnival, where they had sound systems set up, and bass flying out of those speakers - *that was normal to me*" (Quoted in *The Guardian*, 30/8/97 p.4; emphasis added). Notions of 'the normal', collective memories of 'local tradition', are reconstructed through the syncretism and multiculturalism of St. Paul's, using music and its intertexts as a point of local communal reference which shatters essentialist evocations of 'racial purity' and (re)creates new alliances, new negotiated local ethnicities.

⁹ Understanding 'Blackness', 'Whiteness', 'Asianness' etc. as "political and ethical construct(s)" (West 1993 p.26), although it can be argued that 'Whiteness' has until recently lacked politics, operating instead as 'invisible', ignored to support and perpetuate existing 'racial' inequalities (see for example Roediger 1991; Frankenberg 1993; Giroux 1997; Jackson 1998).

¹⁰ And is therefore different in Chapeltown.

¹¹ These processes are promoted - made real - through the naming of a 'Bristol sound' by the local and national music media. For example, the dance music magazine *Mixmag* invented the phrase 'Trip Hop' to describe what was identified as a specifically Bristolian sound of slow, dragging break beats which merge the loping bass of dub reggae with the smoke-filled ambience of avant-garde jazz, underlaid with the blunt rhythms of hip hop (see Johnson 1996). This specifically locates the music through the construction of a 'sound' and 'scene', offering a sense of place to which local people subscribe and/or contest.

But the free reign of musical invention is not necessarily replicated through the establishment of inter-racial harmony. Here, disparities between music as text and music as 'discursive operator' are most apparent. Racialized difference emanates from de-racialized sounds. Musics which appear to signify cultural syncretism - such as jungle music which mixes hip hop and techno, the "urban and suburban" (Noys 1995 p.326) - simultaneously and variously symbolize racial harmony *and* ethnic (even 'racial') difference. Not all individuals and groups wander around the streets of St. Paul's on Carnival day indiscriminately intoxicated by the superabundant rhythms of a miscegenated soundscape; they search out the 'right' sounds and the hybrid sounds have racialized meanings. Each street has different audiences with alternative senses and definitions of 'the local'¹², contradictory interpretations of who the music is 'for', who it is 'by', where it has come from, how it is 'raced'. **The chapter concludes by questioning the apparent 'progressiveness' of new musical scenes and their subcultural contexts which appear to represent exciting inter-racial alliances and local integrities (such as those presented in 'dance music' magazines such as *Mixmag* and *DJ*), yet are contested, critically negotiated and contradicted *on the street* through exclusionary practices and discourses of music which - as we have seen - are constituent of the embodiment of a local politics of Carnival.** Through a combination of ethnographic strategies comprising a range of 'interpretive moves' (Feld 1984) which juxtapose and traverse the different musics of Carnival and place (as they are talked about and embodied), music, like *mas* (see 5.3), is re-theorized as something which is played, experienced, mixed and re-mixed as an important *marker of difference*, a focus for articulation and re-articulation which mediates trans-local, locally specific, racially inflected alliances and factions. Like the recurrent loop of a break beat, the chapter persistently returns to this theme.

¹² Especially since many participants are White and/or 'non-local', from outside St. Paul's and its neighbouring suburbs.

6.2 FINDING A HOME FOR THE 'CALL AND RESPONSE'.

"(T)he contemporary musical forms of the African diaspora work within an aesthetic and political framework which demands that they ceaselessly reconstruct their own histories, folding back on themselves time and again to celebrate and validate the simple, unassailable fact of their survival" (Gilroy 1993a p.37).

The Carnival stage stands in the middle of St. Paul's, facing an eroded strip of dry grass between Grosvenor Road and St. Nicholas Road (see **Figure 3.3**). Crowds cover the grass, dancing shoulder to shoulder, arms held aloft. It's getting dark, the piquant aroma of jerk chicken drifts across a coruscating skyscape of stall lights and sound system gantries. The music seems to be getting louder. On stage, local artist 'Prince Green' and his band are finishing their set after an hour of crisp 'roots' reggae¹³. He shouts "Rastafari, Rastafari, Rastafari", salutes the crowd and leaves the stage. Later in the evening the roots theme continues as Jamaican performer 'Junior Delgado' struts and skanks across the stage, lifting his knees up as he hunches his shoulders together, wipes the dreadlocks from his face and sings with a full-throated Kingston-inflected roar: "Rastafari, Rastafari, Rastafari". All the time, as he sings, stern-faced, dark-suited men stand on either side of the stage, metronomically waving flags coloured with the red, green and gold of Ethiopia. Roots reggae is "the staple diet" of Carnival in St. Paul's (Bristol Interview 8 - Dave: p.3), it is "inevitable...because, like I said again, the actual population of the African-Caribbean people, it's Jamaican, and the predominant music in Jamaica is reggae music" (Bristol Interview 13 - Buju: p.6). The headline space on the Carnival stage is always reserved for a roots reggae act. For Ogoni - one of several 'Rastafarians'¹⁴ on the Carnival committee - it is tradition, part of

¹³ 'Roots reggae' is an ambiguous and contested term. Here it is used to refer to reggae with a distinctive lyrical content which emphasizes themes such as the deification of Haile Selassie, repatriation to 'Afrika', contemporary suffering in 'Babylon' (see Barrow and Dalton 1997 p.129), and which retains the rough rhythmic edge of ska evident in mainstream reggae during the 1970s and 1980s in music by well-known artists such as Bob Marley and the Wailers, Gregory Isaacs and Burning Spear. This definition is consistent with most references to 'roots reggae' encountered through the research.

¹⁴ Using this term very loosely, where dreadlocks or Ethiopian/Rastafarian iconography might be worn to represent an affinity with Rastafarianism without necessarily guaranteeing that he or she practices the religion.

the wider collective memory of Carnival in St. Paul's which is "respectful to our heritage...we always try to satisfy the appetites of the older guys" (Paraphrased in my research diary, 12/6/97). Local traditions - collective memories of Carnival in St. Paul's - were inaugurated and are reiterated through their relations with collective memories of Jamaica and Rastafari interpretations of an imagined 'Afrika', re-affirmed, imparted and embodied through the effusion, symbolism and stirring textures of music. Specific strategies of diaspora - those which musically express "a little piece of home" (Paraphrased in my research diary from a conversation with Ras Handi, 4/7/97) are politically and spiritually re-spatialized through affiliation with an imaginary 'Afrikan homeland' and re-inscribed through their contextual performance in St. Paul's (see 4.4).

This situates St. Paul's as part of a global interpretive community, a diasporic location which is reconstructed through the re-articulation of trans-local sounds and symbols of specifically nuanced versions of 'Blackness'. Specific collective memories are honoured at Carnival through the performance of roots reggae - a music of survival - and they are reformed through context by prioritizing reggae music as an axiom which defines place. You do not have to be a 'roots reggae person' to make this connection or recognize the collective memory. Trisha, a young Black woman, does not like reggae:

"OK, we're Black, but not everybody is into reggae. Because we're Black doesn't mean we fit the stereotype and - you know - it's got to be reggae...it's not just reggae...I will only go to Carnival for about an hour and a half max', to see the people who I went to school with because it's like 'oh, I haven't seen you for ages; are you married yet?', and stuff like that. I totter down...I don't take the kids...usually bring a packed lunch...that's all, the only reason I go really" (Bristol Interview 18 - Trisha: pp. 4-10).

Trisha has her own routine which uses Carnival to reproduce collective memories through the embodied preservation of local community ties. Reggae is not central to her personal musical identity - her ethnicity. However, it does hold a constitutive position in the ways she identifies with and understands collective memories of place:

“You expect reggae to be through St. Paul’s, because *it is St. Paul’s* - you know - because if you went up somewhere like Clifton or Patchway¹⁵, you’d expect a certain type of music - you know - it it’s gonna be blaring out or whatever” (Bristol Interview 18 - Trisha: p.9).

Reggae music and St. Paul’s are discursively connected, each (re)constructed through relational collective memories to locate St. Paul’s as constituent of processes of ‘journeying’ which encapsulate the diasporic solidarities and symbols of ‘Black metacommunication’ evident in the music (see Gilroy 1993b pp.75-6; also see Ospina 1995), and translate - *re-articulate* - the music through its mediation and relativization *in context* as part of place.

Indeed, diasporic music such as reggae does not only offer a sense of place through the convergence and interaction of local and global collective memories, but is also re-articulated and resurrected in place by utilizing Carnival’s ‘burden of representation’ as “one of the main events in the community” (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.2) (see 3.4.1). Carnival organizers are keen to attract and promote local artists to perform on stage, providing an opportunity for them to share the bill with ‘national’ or ‘international’ acts¹⁶, (but only if they are ‘good’ enough):

“...it’s our Carnival - you know - it’s our Carnival. We’ve got people that we want to promote because we feel they’re good. It’s not anyone who can get up on the Carnival stage - you know - we always ask them to send in demos¹⁷ so we can listen to them...it’s all about exposing the talent *we* have...and trying to get as much publicity about the local talent as possible. Because...we try to get a national act or an international act if we can afford it and that way it actually enhances the credibility of local people as well” (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.8).

¹⁵ Which are suburbs of Bristol.

¹⁶ So even a non-local act performs to re-affirm ‘the local’.

¹⁷ Each year a group of Carnival organizers meet to listen to ‘demos’ sent in by prospective performers. In 1996, I attended a meeting with four organizers. Seated round a large table at the Kuumba Centre, Ogoni (see Bristol Interview 24) *controlled* the proceedings, playing each tape, stopping the tape when *he* thought we’d heard enough. Choices seemed to be arranged structurally: there had to be a ‘roots reggae’ act “to keep the elders dancin’...Carnival always has roots reggae”, an ‘Afrikan act’ for “that cross-over connection”, and some “soul for the young ones” (Paraphrased in my research diary, 12/7/97). Aesthetic decisions were made through the collective memorization of the musical constitution of Carnival as it overlaps with the imagined musical proclivities of ‘place’.

Here Carnival is reconfigured as a local event, *reggae is localized*, (re)articulated through the protective and proud reconstruction of a 'Black community' which is recognized and collectively remembered as 'of St. Paul's' whilst coterminously "apprehended through a syncretic culture for which the history of the African diaspora supplies the decisive symbolic core" (Gilroy 1993a p.43). Every year, Carnival is used to 'big-up' local talent through the performance of a trans-local form alongside non-local global acts. Local reggae artist Dave regularly performs at Carnival and is appreciative of the event's empowering potential:

"It's an opportunity to say 'here I am', and if you've got *something particular to say* or sell, you could say 'well here, this is available'. It's just an opportunity for you to promote yourself as well as anyone else" (Bristol Interview 8 - Dave: p.4).

And artists such as Dave often have "something particular to say". For example, in 1997, Dave worked with another local reggae singer, 'Dallas', to write a tribute song for Bangy Berry - "Wake Up Community" (see 3.4.1¹⁸) - which was performed at Carnival. The lyrical content of music is as significant as the aura and symbolism of sound in telling stories, conveying ideas, wrapping boundaries around community and place (see for example Hill 1972; Jarvis 1985; Warner 1982). Stories of the local (commentaries of events, embodied performances to the familiar faces of an imagined local community¹⁹) are transcoded through stories of the global ('roots' messages 'from' Afrika and Jamaica) as part of a

¹⁸ Also see *The Free News* Vol.1, No.2, December 1996/January 1997 pp.3-4 for details of how this song-writing collaboration was orchestrated.

¹⁹ Artists such as Dave perform at Carnival to particularized notions of 'who' is in the audience. He performs to them using music and the way it is presented as a referent which is (re)constituted through bodily expression. For example, Dave contextually situates his performance of reggae through an awareness of local collective memories in which he is renowned for immoderate, extravagant costumes. This local knowledge is internalized and parodied each Carnival when Dave 'dresses up':

"...it's the time of year when you have the excuse to dress outrageously...it's planned meticulously...as far as Carnival dressing stakes go, and the suit is never worn again...this year for me was a very conservative year. I actually wore a leather outfit...but it went down a storm..." (Bristol Interview 8 - Dave: p.3).

The music provides a means of social relativization through which local people translate perceptions of their bodies through the performance and reproduction of collective memories (see De Nora 1997).

practical accretive process of collective memorization which uses music to redefine notions of place and identity. Reggae at Carnival is not a transplant or import of reggae music elsewhere. It is specifically translated, understood in context through a “complex system of socio-musical *ecology*” (Middleton 1990 p.95; original emphasis), where ‘what the music says’ changes even though the sound (if not the lyrics) may stay the same.

But ‘roots reggae’, although re-articulated through place, retains structures and ethics which are recognizably and *relatively* unchanging. On the Carnival stage, reggae as ‘form’ is similar to reggae elsewhere, recapitulating diasporic collective memories through links of technology and consciousness. But reggae as ‘form’ has also been deformed and reformed to create new musics which review diasporic alliances, establish alternative senses of community and place. Like in Jamaica, it has been taken on to the streets, transformed through the symbolic, technological and audio power of the sound system. In July each year, the streets of St. Paul’s shake violently to an unremitting polyrhythmic roar of derivative and unconnected sounds. There is house, hip hop, garage, speed garage, techno, ragga, jungle, dub, soul, swing, R&B, and any number of cross-over forms which mix and re-mix these compound, inchoate, arbitrarily separated musical definitions. Unlike Chapelton, where musical positionalities might crudely be described as dichotomously (re)structured through ‘tradition’ against ‘non-tradition’, where dominant collective memories of an ‘authentic Carnival’ of soca and calypso are reconstructed against all those musics discursively symbolized by the ‘sound system’, musical relationships in St. Paul’s avoid such historical linearity²⁰. The event’s development from festival to Carnival (see Chapters 3 and 4) has relieved it of the pressure to conform to stricter notions of an ‘authentic Carnival’²¹.

²⁰ But read on for an introduction to versions of the St. Paul’s Carnival which invoke linear geographies and histories. They exist in St. Paul’s, as they do in Chapelton, yet they are less dichotomous, splintered into groups which escape strategic reification (for narrative purposes) as ‘traditional’ versus ‘non-traditional’.

²¹ Which Carnival traditionalists in Chapelton might define as soca, calypso, steel pan, and a walking *mas* with specifically aestheticized and authenticated costumes.

Instead, Carnival in St. Paul's is re-imagined as a 'Black community event' which has a responsibility to represent the diverse musical identities of local Black people. Roots reggae represents the oldest of these 'local musics', but it operates as a precursor, a musical and cultural referent for collective memory, through and across which multiple new musics have been (re)invented. The Jamaicanness of St. Paul's is continued, collectively remembered through the lilt of reggae on the stage, and it is protected but also transformed through the practical performance of concurrently descendent and discrepant musics on the streets. It is here that new spatialities are embraced, implicating Carnival in trans-local processes of musical exploration, which are re-articulated, re-packaged, reified according to *different notions* - new collective memories - of 'community'.

Andrew, a leading Carnival committee member, makes the connection between Jamaica, the sound system and the perceived role of Carnival as a local community event:

"I think all of us are quite clear that - you know - as a community that's come in the main from Jamaica, there isn't that Eastern Caribbean tradition there, and I think...we've tried to encompass the sound systems into Carnival, that has become a really important aspect of Carnival and it has become a really important aspect of local participation...it has given the Carnival a more *important flavour* than possibly it had in previous years..." (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: pp.3-4).

For Andrew, the sound system is a Jamaican form and aesthetic, an outgrowth of 'reggae culture' which finds a natural home in St. Paul's through collective memories of how St. Paul's is constituted and who it signifies. Like reggae, the sound system is 'multiply diasporized' (see Alleyne-Dettmers 1997), symbolizing 'the local' through its re-articulation of different spatialities, alternative temporalities. This connection is palpable if you walk up Argyle Road and feel the bass of Jah Shaka and his 'Dub Warrior sound system', or stand by the 'Upsetter sound system' on St. Nicholas Road, 'Unique Star' on Campbell Street, 'Iquator' on Grosvenor Road and 'Qualitex Studio' on Denbigh Street²², with their raw DJ-

²² See Figure 3.3 to locate these streets.

centric 'Dancehall'²³ mixes of reggae rhythms or slamming digitalized 'Ragga'²⁴ innovations. Barrow and Dalton (1997 p.276), in their engrossing encyclopaedic 'guide' to Jamaican music, stress that "Jamaican music never stands still for very long...but even when developments establish an unmistakable shift from the preceding period, the break is never total". The dancehall, ragga, dancehall-ragga, dancehall-ragga-dub heard on the streets of St. Paul's, are symbolic of trans-local affective alliance which draws on a musical heritage of reggae²⁵ and translates it into new forms through a close monitoring and imitation of ongoing, contemporary musical re-inventions in Jamaica. Collective memories of Jamaica are re-temporalized to include new and transforming musical styles through *processes* of vicarious, affiliative, diasporic connection²⁶.

Moreover, these recombinant trans-local identifications are not limited to the text of the sound, but are embodied, practised and performed through the idiosyncratic

²³ The term 'Dancehall' became widely used after Bob Marley's death in 1981 and the more general decline in the popularity and production of Rasta-inspired 'roots reggae', but it was fashionable in Jamaica and St. Paul's before this period, embraced by those outside reggae's "international cross-over audience" (Barrow and Dalton 1997 p.231) - those who attended the 'dance hall'. The musical emphasis is on "pure rhythm", harsh sound clashes crucially controlled and chatted-over by DJs and singers. The lyrical content is unspecific, ranging from a recycling of vintage reggae songs to the 'slackness' of sexually explicit, misogynous boastings (see Barrow and Dalton 1997 pp.231-269).

²⁴ Ragga is reggae speeded-up and digitalized. It emerged and developed in the mid-1980s and has since grown and transformed into the most commercially successful 'Jamaican' music since Bob Marley and the Wailers: "(D)rawing freely from virtually every aspect of Jamaican popular culture, including spirituals and hymns, it ranges from rougher-than-rough DJ music, through romantic crooning, on to a new generation of cultural wailers" (Barrow and Dalton 1997 p.273). Most significant is the exaltation of the DJ as the 'Master of Ceremonies', chatting against or over the tracks, fast-styling, toasting, embroiled in a dynamic reciprocative relationship with the crowd and music.

²⁵ Emphasizing that 'reggae' itself has no 'pure' primordial form, but developed through selective syncretisms with other equally syncretic musics such as Jamaican 'folk' music (including Pocomania church music and the fife and drum music of Jonkonnu masquerades), European Quadrille, Mento, American R&B, Ska, Rocksteady and Jazz (see for example Gilroy 1993a; Barrow and Dalton 1997).

²⁶ Perpetuated and assisted by 'local' radio stations such as 'Powerjam FM' - an eclectically 'Black music' station and Carnival 1997 sponsor which holds a temporary Radio Site Licence (RSL) covering greater Bristol; and 'Ragga FM' and 'Unity FM' - which periodically hold a 'community RSL', playing ragga, dancehall and reggae for the 'Black community' of St. Paul's, Easton and neighbouring districts (see Bristol Interview 15 - Steve).

customization of the sound system, individuation of DJ style, indivisibility of DJ and crowd, and body-to-body socialization of the dance. Paul Gilroy argues the technology and performance of the sound system should be understood as located within interpretive “communities of sentiment and interpretation” (Gilroy 1993a p.252) collectively (re)constructed through the ‘kinetic orality’ of ‘Black’ musical forms which can be traced - are ‘routed’ - to the call and response or ‘antiphony’ of ancient Afrikan griots, remaining vital to the contemporary preservation of collective memories of ‘Blackness’ (see for example, Remes 1991; Gilroy 1993b and 1994). On the corner of St. Nicholas Road in St. Paul’s, the ‘Upsetter’ sound system thumps out some of the biggest, loudest, deepest ragga of the Carnival. The bass sizzles from ten foot high speakers, flows through the tarmac, connects with the crowd’s feet and penetrates the body, rushing through the legs, arms, spine, before it is captured in the movement of the dance. The DJ freestyles on top of the bass, growling, shouting, jabbering lyrics in a rich Jamaican patois which proclaims collectivity - “*Me seh you want to jump-up in dis place*” - and locality - “*Me seh St. Paul’s Carnival wants you on its case*”²⁷. The crowd reciprocates, jumps-up as a bobbing unity of Black faces and baseball caps, crouches down as a viscous pool of twitching buttocks and gyrating hips. There is call, there is response: there are rhythmic, stylistic, vocabular commonalities with trans-local ragga forms; structural antiphonic reciprocities allied with ancient Afrikan musical rituals; embodied, affectual connections to dance spaces elsewhere; personal, corporeal, inter-subjective bumping and grinding socialization between people who are predominantly Black and recognizably local. The story-telling of the lyrics, the symbolism of the sound, the felt pleasures of participation, *can be interpreted* as running across and through the multiple spaces of collective memory, situating Carnival in St. Paul’s as a specific version or re-articulation of different inter-connected, improvizing, contextually inflected trans-local processes.

²⁷ Recorded at St. Paul’s Carnival 1997, subsequently transcribed in my research diary 6/7/97. I - the researcher - operated as a participant observer/listener in situations such as this, interpreting the ‘scene’ and sounds as texts within broader discourses stated through interviews or in archival material (see Appendix 2). My readings are thus partial and open to contestation.

With collective memory, where diasporic connections are evident, localness is emphasized; where localness is obvious, it is understood through its relations with the outside. Andrew (a Carnival organizer) identifies the sound system as a logical development for Carnival in “a place like St. Paul’s”, before repatriating its form and symbolism as “from Jamaica” (Bristol Interview 11 - Andrew: p.3). Ronnie, a local Carnival ‘Dancehall’ DJ, emphasizes the significance of having local DJs - the Federation of Sounds (see 3.4.1) - to secure the distinctiveness of the ‘local community’, whilst simultaneously expressing how Carnival reminds him of dances in Jamaica:

“I think that what it is, I think we need as Bristolians to protect. I’m just concerned about people *hijacking* it...as a sound system person I am saying that. So I’m glad that there has now been a sort of sound system around Bristol sounds. It gives the Bristol sounds a huge amount of responsibility. I think that’s a fact...and for me who comes from Jamaica...it gives a remembrance, that *rekindling* of an outside event...” (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: pp.12-14).

There is a constant shifting of time and space. Violent metaphors are employed to protect the locally distinct from the corrupting ‘outside’ despite an apparent indebtedness to influences from elsewhere, ‘then’ and ‘now’; boundaries of community are redrawn through musical texts and their discursive interactive interpretation; bonds and cleavages are (re)created as constituent of practices of collective memorization which re-articulate difference to provide contradictory syntheses of identity, ‘community’ and ‘place’, whilst holding on to a central collectivizing signifier, reworked as ‘versions of Blackness’:

“I think it should be a *Black event* in terms of Black-managed, Black-led...it should be organized by Black people for Black people...it should give priority to Black people in terms of who sells there, what kind of food you sell, *the kind of music*. I think that is what it has to be about, there is *no question of compromising in that way*” (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: p.9)²⁸.

Local and diasporic spatialities are connected through their racial re-signification as *essentially* ‘Black’. Collective memories are reconstituted through the reification of ‘race’. But Carnival in St. Paul’s is characterized by its musical

²⁸ This quote suggests a version of linearity to the racialized spatialities of the St. Paul’s Carnival (see footnote 20).

eclecticism. Round the corner from the reggae, dancehall and ragga, are the cacophonous rhythms of 'new' sounds produced by 'emergent musics' such as 'jungle' - musics through which the spatial practices of musical text, interpretation and verbal and embodied commentary become more paradoxical, less locatable. Here the musical heritage is less evident (there are few obvious sonic links to the 'staple diet' of reggae), and the music can be differently interpreted in terms of how it is 'raced' (unlike ragga and dancehall, it is not constrained by a dominant collective memory which configures it as 'Black music'²⁹) and 'placed' (because it has no unanimously imagined 'root', it might be conceived as 'homeless'). It is round the corner and towards these new musical ethnicities that the chapter now turns.

6.3 RE-ARTICULATING THE SOUND SYSTEM; BREAK BEAT AND THE 'BRISTOL SOUND',

"What is impressive about musical practice in all its variety is that it takes place in many different places, for different purposes, for different constituencies and practitioners, and of course at many different times" (Said 1992 pp.xviii-xix).

Jungle music has developed a huge following at the St. Paul's Carnival³⁰ since clattering break beats were heard ricocheting off the walls of Brighton Street in 1994, emanating from the first all-jungle sound system of 'United Productions'³¹. It draws revellers from many of the other sound systems, choking the street with Carnival's largest crowd. But - as already mentioned - jungle differs from the more 'established' musics of Carnival. It thrives as a music of multiple

²⁹ Despite contesting collective memories which differently 'race' these musics, ranging from mixed crowds at a dancehall event to a 'community of bedrooms' where cross-racial alliances are (re)created vicariously through imitation and rejection (see Dimitriadis 1996).

³⁰ This is not to assume it gained its popularity through Carnival. Jungle music existed outside of Carnival before contributing to the transformation of the event.

³¹ A local sound system collective based at the 'Rave Den', a Jungle record shop on City Road in St. Paul's (see Bristol Interview 23). Like all the other sound systems, it operates as part of the local 'Federation of Sounds'.

ambiguities, drawing on and reconfiguring different forms, spatialities, alliances: ask different people 'what' it 'is', 'where' it has come 'from', 'who' it is 'for', and the answers are likely to confuse. Benjamin Noys (1995 p.321) describes jungle as "a techno hip hop, taking the rolling break beats of hip hop and speeding them up to 150 beats per minute"; it is a "British hip hop" which - like hip hop - uses the MC as the link, but - unlike hip hop - "is not indebted to lyrics", instead acquiring from techno, garage and house the ethics of "music as a producer of pleasure" (Noys 1995 pp.322-5). Les Back (1996 p.233) *routes* 'London's jungle scene' as descendent of a "late '80s fusion between techno and house from Detroit and Chicago respectively, and the break beat music of hip hop, ragga DJs and reggae sound systems" which draws on a 1991 'Rebel MC' sample that uses the term 'jungle' to refer to an area of Kingston (Jamaica) called Tivoli Gardens. It is a music "fostered in the alternative public sphere" (Back 1996 p.233), pioneered through small independent record labels, private and 'pirate' radio stations, 'underground clubs', extemporized by networks of DJs who customize the sound system with computer programming, multiple sampling and 'timestretching'³², to provide "an inexhaustible amount of options for the junglist composer" which causes the form to fracture onto "a whole corona of sub-genres from ragga-style to jazz-inflected forms" (Back 1996 p.234). But despite the heterogeneity of its limitless repertoire, jungle leaves "the fundamental ethos and social structure (of the sound system) intact" to "demonstrate(s) a diaspora sensitivity that renders explicit the Jamaican traces within hip hop culture", but manages to do so without excluding Whites or 'Asians', because jungle is (re)produced through transcultural dialogue: "It's not a Black thing and it's not a White thing - it's a *vibe thing*" (DJ Moose, cited in Back 1996 p.233; emphasis added).

So jungle is ambiguous, but this does not render it meaningless, 'route-less', theoretically impenetrable. When approached holistically as a collective noun

³² Which enables "percussive or melodic sounds to be speeded up and slowed down without altering the pitch" (Back 1996 pp.233-4).

which encapsulates numerous sounds, styles, ethnicities, it is unfathomable, a 'postmodern exhilaration of surfaces' (Wheeler 1991), a blur of globality. But, as Les Back seems to suggest, when deconstructed in context as a *specifically inflected* form with particularized meanings evolved through locally-defined processes of cultural exchange and affiliation, jungle (re)emerges as a *contested cultural form*, patterned by (re)constructions of community and place which are translated through the terminology of 'the vibe', 'scene', 'flava'. Bristol has become synonymous with jungle music: it's the home of Roni Size and his Reprazent collective; DJs Die, Krust, Flynn and Flora are all part of 'the scene', re-mixing, *re-articulating* jungle through tiny record labels such as 'Full Cycle' and 'Independent Dealers', to produce a distinctive sound - a 'Bristol sound'. Author and journalist Phil Johnson evokes this *sense of place* in his 1996 book 'Straight outa Bristol':

"...the normally rather programmatic format of jungle has become unusually expressive, echoing the reggae roots and trip hop slackness of the earlier Bristol hip hop producers. The typical sound is like wheels within wheels. On the outside rim the skittering drumbeats stutter madly along at 160 beats per minute, though there's never a single metronomic regularity to their measures. Instead, the snare patterns remain doggedly unorthodox, the machine's virtual drumstick rarely falling in exactly the same place twice, as if obeying a kind of indeterminacy principle. On the next rim the beat is halved to 80 beats per minute, propelled by a fat synthesized-bass sound, and this is the tempo at which people dance, if they dance at all. Further in still come odd samples and bits and bobs of this and that, snatches of movie dialogue, spacey synth chords, stereo pans, crackly vinyl surface noise leading into battered Fender Rhodes loop...Further in than that, is the very heart of darkness - though it's difficult to know if what you're hearing isn't just an auditory illusion - of a loping reggae pulse and sundry dub *shenanigans*, or perhaps the slower than slow ghost of a slack trip-hop rhythm..." (Johnson 1996 p.185; emphasis added).

'Bristol jungle' has been added to a discursive continuum - the Bristol sound - as a kind of "Break beats in the blues" (T. Marcus 1995 p.57), a drum and bass extension of a mythical 'scene', deserving of a place in a book which celebrates the distinctiveness of a 'Bristol sound' and musical 'sense of place' through a particularly vivid poetic journalism that recognizes sameness ('the scene') and unlocatedness (the "shenanigans"). Popular music-making in Bristol has been written into the musical folklore of Britain, even the world, made famous through the success of acts such as Massive Attack, Portishead and Tricky, with their relaxed, dreamy, slowed-down hip hop beats, skanking, languid reggae bass and

film-noir atmospherics, combined to create a new music, a 'Bristol music' which *Mixmag*, followed by almost every other musical publication, defines as 'trip hop'³³. There is a logicity to this place-bound jargon, an imagined (re)construction of place which makes a series of connections, a "commingling of associations" (Bell and Valentine 1997 p.155), linking the rough edges of punk to an emergent jazz and funk 'scene' which was translated through the development of Bristol hip hop to 'trip hop' to 'trip hop jungle', all underpinned by the bass of reggae, transmitted through the Jamaican heritage of the sound system, made accessible through the cosy somnolence of an imagined Bristol³⁴. These sounds developed through the social relations of place: at blues parties³⁵, in clubs such as the 'Dug out' in Clifton, where "Black kids from St. Paul's and the estates met Clifton trendies and those from the White working-class tower blocks of Barton Hill and the outlying districts" (Johnson 1996 p.49), or the Star and Garter public house and the Bamboo club on either side of St. Paul's; through the Black/White alliances cemented during the 1980 'riots'; and at the St. Paul's Carnival, where Black/White sensibilities were dialogically fused through the unremitting innovative power of the sound system, personified by acts such as the Wild Bunch collective³⁶ who played on the streets every year. This is the "breeding ground of history" to which Roni Size refers, a collective memory discursively constructed through the music press which unproblematically grafts together different musical

³³ See A. Smith in *The Sunday Times* 'Culture' supplement (19/4/98 pp.2-3), or M. Williams in *Juice* (April 1998 pp.16-17) for further examples of the mainstream media adding to imagined geographies of 'the Bristol sound'.

³⁴ An article in *The Observer* (24/2/91), featuring a band from Bristol, suggests "Bristol's character, particularly its pace, does seem to have influenced the music produced there" (Cited in S. Cohen 1997 p.121). Stereotypes of place are linked to how sounds are listened to and classified.

³⁵ 'Underground', illegal parties in basements, pubs and clubs, featuring reggae sound systems (see Pryce 1979 for an ethnographic evocation of the Blues 'scene' in St. Paul's).

³⁶ The Wild Bunch formed in 1982 "around the scene that had developed at the Dug out" (Johnson 1996 p.80). They were Bristol's first New York-style sound system crew, a Black/White collective renowned for playing at the best parties, but most of all for their sets at the St. Paul's Carnival (although it was then called a 'Festival') where they would play until dawn. Since disbanding, Miles Johnson, Robert Del Naja and Andrew Vowles went on to form Massive Attack; Nellie Hooper is a well-known producer/mixer who has worked with bands such as the Sneaker Pimps and London-based R&B/pop band 'All Saints'.

identities *and* sounds into a single corporate definition through the evocation of an imagined geography - a scene or sense of place - of 'the Bristol sound'.

There is a danger here that musical texts are being used to present stories of place which don't exist, that Carnival and artists such as Roni Size are being appropriated - misrepresented - as part of some mythical two-tone Bristolian 'Bloomsbury Group' which makes music together through uncomplicated additive and innovative processes of cultural exchange (see Johnson 1996)³⁷. Roni Size's 'breeding ground' might represent multiple spatialities of collective memory, involving an awareness of journeying and roots, diffusion and syncretism³⁸, exclusion and inclusion, but these are lost through a mythical reification of 'the local'. Notions of a 'Bristol sound', of 'trip hop' and laid-back drum and bass, are marketing tools, fantasies of a local authenticity which invents homologies of musical form and social structure to sell records and critically locate new ones (see S. Cohen 1997). However, if Roni Size identifies with the existence of a cross-racial 'scene', of a specific 'Bristol experience', flava, vibe, attitude - whatever - which surrounds and engages with Carnival, then these are 'real' processes (they have real consequences) for they impact upon collective memories, identities, senses of place, regardless of how he may authenticate the roots of these contemporary spatialities. Media discourses are internalized, negotiated, tested against experience; they provide commentary which is situated relationally across and alongside practical processes of interaction, inter-racial dialogue, musical performance and interpretation. Carnival operates within these matrices, re-

³⁷ Dick Hebdige (1979, 1983, 1987) could be accused of this. His concepts of 'cut 'n' mix' and 'bricolage' (drawing on ideas from Lévi-Strauss 1976) employ a post-structuralist method which reads off meanings from texts without engaging with the practical processes of performed negotiation and contestation which constitute social relations and identity (re)configurations (also see Hesse 1993).

³⁸ This is further evidenced in a 1998 article where Roni Size locates the roots of this 'breeding ground'. Roni recalls listening to his (Jamaican) mother's records: "(S)he had about 150 seven-inches, Studio One, Prince Buster, loads of stuff. She'd walk around the house singing, and at every family party and wedding there was a sound system. *That culture just bred and bred*" (Roni Size, quoted in *Juice*, April 1998 p. 17; emphasis added).

articulating the social relations of place through the (re)creation of new musics, recombinant alliances, trans-local and cross-racial spatialities which transform the potential of music by revealing its significance in the reproduction of place, for “music is...not simply *in* a context, but its performance is itself a context in which things happen, that make things happen” (Coplan 1997 p.589; original emphasis).

It's mid-afternoon at the 1997 St. Paul's Carnival, and Brighton Street is scorching in the sunshine. At the top of the street, close to City Road, a huge scaffolded sound system gantry, as tall as first-floor windows, towers over a swarming multi-‘racial’ throng of dancers. The mixing desk, walls, entire front yards, are draped in netted khaki camouflage, providing visual evidence that this is the ‘jungle street’. But the sounds are already making this clear: drilling muscular break beats shoot rapid-fire against the distinctive background of pink, orange and cream terraced houses, then they shatter and splinter, slow down and collapse at the mercy of an elastic oozing bass. Here the MC takes to the mike: “*It's Carnival, big up Carnival, giving a shout out to all you at St. Paul's Carnival...are you ready for the bass?*”. Subtle traces of a Bristol accent are then lost in the guttural roar of fast-style ragga as the MC and his associates herald the re-grouping of the beat: “*Here it comes...are you ready?*”. The break beats regain their momentum, ricochet across the street, jolt through buildings, saturate the crowd with an all-embracing sheet of sound. The crowd responds³⁹ - this is the point of release, the descent on a rollercoaster - they whoop and scream, hold their hands in the air as they dance on the street, on walls, rooftops, out of windows. From his surveillant position, the MC interjects: “*It's St. Paul's Carnival '97, this is where it's at*”.

Here - as text (and as I ‘felt it’) - on the streets of St. Paul's, something new, exciting, *special* is in process. On Brighton Street they dance to drum and bass, on

³⁹ And here I was dancing, a situated participant in the crowd (see 2.3.3).

Campbell Street it's swing and R&B, at the far end of Wilder Street the sound systems of Lakota⁴⁰ are rinsing out the sounds of techno, house and garage. The musics are hybrids, re-mixes of trans-local, cross-'racial' sounds played by Black and White local DJs⁴¹. Crowd-members are equally diverse, yet they dance to the same beats, wear similar clothes, speak with resemblant accents and dialects. Carnival works as a scene and symbol of cultural exchange, a product, process and *context* of embodied transculturative dialogue, emulation and alliance, born out of proximities and resemblances which *re-articulate* racialized identities to (re)create new scenes, vibes, flavas, senses of place, *collective memories of multicultural*.

Suddenly, 'Afrika' seems less relevant. For the multi-'racial' Rave Den Posse - many of whom DJ on Brighton Street for Carnival and in clubs for the rest of the year - Carnival is a chance to 'shop around', check things out:

"In Carnival people will *wander about* and think 'well I'll go here and I'll go there', and they get there and they decide they like that sort of music, if they *like the taste*...it's a party atmosphere so you get more of a vibe really because they're at the Carnival...so - you know - it's a lot easier to introduce people into it...rather than like a club - you know" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member, Bob: p.1).

It "breaks down barriers", is a local tradition, collectively remembered as a changing scene where 'new', emerging musics are brought out of the *relatively segregated spaces* of clubs and parties⁴², on to the streets of Carnival where they are accessible to a wider, *wandering* audience:

"It used to be all reggae, then I can remember at one Carnival on Brighton, no, Campbell Street I think, and the old Wild Bunch, and they were there until eight o'clock in the morning and people were still there when I left, and I left because I was tired - you know what I mean - I don't know what they had...But

⁴⁰ Lakota is a major Bristol night club. Situated on Stokes Croft, on the south-western edge of St. Paul's (see Figure 3.3), the club is nationally renowned for its house, techno and jungle nights, attracting 'top-name' DJs to maximize the potential of Bristol's relatively relaxed licensing hours (in August 1997, there were four 24-hour club licences in Britain; Bristol had three of them).

⁴¹ And Carnival is thus a hybrid of hybrids; a hybridized and hybridizing context.

⁴² Yet Carnival is itself highly segregated in terms of how it is spatialized by some participants: 'wandering' can be located as a spatial practice with exclusive, essentialist meanings (see 6.4).

we were the first organizers of drum and bass - yeah - three years ago, that's why we mainly promote drum and bass parties and that's why we actually did it because we knew, *I say it's moving with the times* - you know what I mean - that's what pulls the major crowds to be honest" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member, Bob: p.4).

And the significance of the ambience, vibe, *nowness* of the streets, cannot be over-emphasized:

"It's natural. I reckon on the streets is where it is. I walk round the Carnival and I walk on that street and I walk around the corner and use another street and I go on another sound system...we've got all the sounds in one place...everybody wants to play there and be there - you know what I mean - everybody says 'yeah I want to play, I want to do the Carnival', and they're all there, Black and White, and it's brilliant" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member, Mick: p.8).

Carnival symbolizes, articulates and intensifies the social relations of place through the practical performance of distinctive sounds and feelings, transformed through the "reworking of symbols within context where they have a particular creative expression", as part of a "landscape of interaction and negotiation" (Back 1996 p.51) which selectively destabilizes and vacates supposedly incompatible racialized identities to (re)create notions of a 'local scene' which makes a racially (the "Black and White") and spatially (the "wandering") inclusive 'local sound'.

Interacting in and through the unique built context of the streets of St. Paul's are juxtapositions of different musics on parallel streets offering a particularized mix of locally-produced sound which is embraced through declarations and performances of locality and collectivity from local MCs, embodied through the felt pleasures of dance, discursively constituted in the media and by localizing comments from performers and participants such as the Rave Den posse. In a discussion of the socio-spatial construction of 'Manchester sound', Halfacree and Kitchin (1996 pp.50-55) argue that music, and how it is understood, offers an "oratory of identity related to place" through the establishment of imagined geographies of a 'local scene' practically achieved through the identification or 'centring' of distinctive sounds, performative communities, senses, feelings, perceptions of socio-musical territory (also see Frith 1988; Straw 1991; Street 1993). Perceptions of and identifications with 'the local' are developed at Carnival

through their performed practice and consumption on the streets and their location in terms of the social relations of place. The 'local' is collectively remembered through embodied trans-'racial' alliance.

However, this is not to imply *any* notion of geographical determinism. Rather, senses of place are (re)inscribed - recoded - through the re-articulation of different spatialities and temporalities; multiple communities are (re)entered and accessed simultaneously; collective memories are (re)created dialogically through their imbrication with alternative and similar traditions, divergent and overlapping ethnicities. DJ/MC/Massive Attack member, Miles Johnson, makes this clear in a discussion of how different musics were (f)used to establish a distinctive syncretic sound as part of a distinctive syncretizing 'Bristol scene' of which his crew - the Wild Bunch - are collectively remembered as representative:

"Although hip hop was American and we were British, there was never that sense of not understanding it. We were West Indians dealing with reggae and they were dealing with soul, everyone had the same struggles, the same search for enjoyment. It was wild, *cutting like that*. What I liked about punk...was the same as I liked about hip hop - you didn't have a regular rhythm and you could be creative with it...we started to work as a crew...there'd be parties on the Downs in the summer and St. Paul's Carnival where we used to set up, borrowing speakers, right on the front-line...St. Paul's Carnival was the ultimate. We used to play really early in the morning and we'd have the biggest set and the loudest system...we'd mix reggae with hip hop and the classic soul...Bristol taste was different, you could drop some reggae in there..." (Miles Johnson, quoted in Johnson 1996 pp.85-6; emphasis added).

A trans-national diaspora consciousness expressed through musical affiliation - the reggae/hip hop connection - is *re-articulated in place* by decentring Blackness through punk, and works to *re-articulate place* through the identification and *normalization* of a local mix symbolized by the fresh contemporaneity of Carnival within and through the "different" "Bristol taste".

This notion of normalization is important. Jason, a young White Carnival volunteer working as a liaison officer with local musicians and sound system operators, remembers Carnival as "always representing the latest musics...and now it's into jungle because *jungle is what Bristol is all about*" (Paraphrased in my

research diary, 2/7/97). When asked why Bristol 'means' jungle, Jason is equally candid:

"I've always gone down to Carnival, got in *Carnival mode*, and it's where it's at - you know - it used to be reggae, but all the other musics have come in and from that you've got jungle. It's what we're all about" (Paraphrased in my research diary 2/7/97).

Carnival is an iterative performative process which enables young Whites such as Jason to vacate designated musical identities in favour of a continual (re)identification with cultural forms and collective memories which are simultaneously Black, White, local and trans-local. Each year identities are reproduced and collective memories translated, made sense of through practical alliances of music production and consumption to (re)form imagined alliances and (re)configure *and normalize* ethnicities through the multi-'racial' associations of place. "What we're all about" symbolizes the nascent local loyalties realized through the 'transcultural dialogues' (see Rojek 1993) identifiable in the music and practised in the schools (see for example 4.4.1), clubs, pubs, and on the streets of a self-consciously transforming yet procedurally ritualized Carnival.

Much has been written of music's power as a practice and medium for cultural exchange and inter-'racial' alliance. Simon Frith (1996b p.125) asserts "(M)usic is...the cultural form best able to cross borders - sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations - and to define places; in clubs, scenes, and raves...we are only where the music takes us". It is especially *fashionable* to discuss musics which appear to challenge cultural or racial binaries, those sounds which reside in a "sonorous interjacence" (Back 1996 p.227) of multiple connections, 'hybrid' forms, syncretic cultural sensibilities. You can read about bhangra and its re-articulation through other forms such as disco, rock, ragga and dancehall (see for example, Banerji and Baumann 1990; Baumann 1990; Burton and Awan 1994; Gopinath 1995); chutney-soca as inflected by ragga (Manuel 1995 and 1998); zouk (Guilbault 1993), salsa (Ospina 1995) and samba (Chasteen 1996) as representative of a cultural journeying which leads to the (re)construction of "superethnic identities" (C. Waterman 1990 p.18); and it is

only recently that irksome references to the British-Birmingham-Punjabi-Jamaican music of Apache Indian have at last abated⁴³ (see for example Gilroy 1993b; Back 1996). These fusions of musical text and their inferential connection to the establishment of recombinant, stuttering ethnicities, are presented as exciting, inspiring, extraordinary. What they fail to realize is that for many people these processes are practically lived, experienced, *collectively remembered as normal*:

“...the whole Carnival is like you get used to it don't you, so every year it's like you get into the *Carnival mode* don't you - you know what I mean?” (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member, Mick: p.9).

“My cousin had the sound systems during the Seventies and I used to get involved back then - you know - I used to mess about with the knobs on the sound system back then (laughs). So I mean you're talking sort of like a *thoroughbred* in the music scene and the whole complete scene of Carnival. I've always been there - you know - from day one...we play all the dance musics: jungle, techno, garage - you know - the *complete run-down*, and it's a combination of DJs like - you know - a racial mix...it's not just Black people, there's *different combinations*...so you've got a *proper mixture*, a proper blend...people are into it - you know - they like it and enjoy it...it's not just Jamaican people you have in the community, you've got a combination of different cultures...it's just lots of people, they've come together to enjoy themselves (Bristol interview 15 - Steve: pp.1-2).

Local identities are not deconstructed and understood *entirely* as a cumulative product of layer upon layer of different histories, traditions, cultures⁴⁴, but are conceptualized holistically, as coherent, distinctive, practical. For DJs and local people such as Steve, Jason and the Rave Den Crew, “combinations” of musics are symptomatic and (re)generative of “combinations” of local people, representing and transforming senses of place whilst retaining a coherence or normality through the ritual, *modal* performance of a ‘scene’: this is the “proper mixture”, a “whole scene” for which there are “thoroughbreds”, those people who capture the essence of the local - the mix - through the collective memorization of

⁴³ It seemed at ‘Apache Indian’ was being mentioned in academic texts almost as a metaphor for ‘healthy’ cultural hybridity.

⁴⁴ Although this is how they are theorized. For example, Liisa Malkki (1992 p.37) argues “(I)identity is always mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, partly a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories, et cetera. It is a creolized aggregate composed through bricolage”. This analysis of identity as text needs to be integrated with analyses of identity as discourse, addressing the stories people tell *and* how they tell them.

syncretism as tradition. This is what they are used to, what has 'happened' since childhood when - for example - Peter, a local Black dancehall vocalist,

"...went to Millpond school - you know - so it's more or less in the community, it's almost automatically involved...it was part of St. Paul's when we were growing up, so when the Carnival was coming up the school was always involved...we used to be on the floats and have painting competitions and things like that, and then the sounds come in...it's *just become routine*..."
(Bristol Interview 17 - Peter: pp.5-10).

At Mill Pond school today⁴⁵, children actively negotiate symbolic codes of music, dance, style, recomposing identities which vacate notions of 'race' and traverse disparate 'routes' through exchanges which for them are familiar - normality - but for others - discerning textual deconstructors - are exciting, a novelty⁴⁶. These children are the new actors, stepping into a Carnival tradition in St. Paul's which they, like the DJs and dancers of today, will transform, *collectively remember* as a traditional local 'scene' - their routine - which sounds like and thus signifies the identities of *their place* and no one else's.

It is from such scenes of textual hybridity that local identities are (un)fixed and senses of place (re)made. There is a 'Bristol sound' to which St. Paul's is central, but it is not the sound of 'trip hop' or the smoochy break beats of Roni Size. It is the sound of reggae riffs, whirring break beats, techno thunder, choral garage crescendos. It is a dissonant cacophonous juxtaposition and intermixture of sounds, crystallized and transformed at Carnival through the ritualized interactive attendance of a crowd of multiculturalism which uses Carnival to integrate notions of the local, habitually bundling together different sounds so they make sense as one progressive local scene which uses the mix of the local as a means of solidarity. But for every expression of inter-racial collectivity, mutually employed stylization, deracialized communal alliance, there are expressions of exclusivity, reifying and essentializing the 'roots' of music to (re)construct boundaries of community,

⁴⁵ Mill Pond Primary School is one of the schools I visited regularly as part of the St. Paul's Carnival Camps Project (see for example 2.3.2 and 7.2).

⁴⁶ Accepting that much of the 'new ethnicities' literature (see for example Hall 1992c; Bhabha 1994; Back 1996) has a progressive agenda despite the repetitiveness of their textual analyses.

reconfigure the cultural politics of place: *there are multiple collective memories, occupying - simultaneously - spatialities which are essentialist and progressive.* For some, the musical scene of St. Paul's Carnival represents an alliance born of the elision of race from the positional repertoire of those participating in a 'local scene'. Here 'the local' supersedes and displaces 'the racial'. But for many (and this can be the same people), music is strategically defined, performed and understood through difference. The technical mix of sound and physical mixing on the streets of Carnival symbolizes affinity and intermixture, but is often interpreted through the (re)construction of racial binaries, where discourses of 'the scene', 'community', 'place' return to differently bounded collective memories of 'Blackness': the 'wandering' is not indiscriminate.

6.4 RE-ARTICULATING 'BLACKNESS' - RE-RACING THE MUSICAL 'WANDER',

"The fragmentation and subdivision of Black music into an ever-increasing proliferation of styles and genres has also contributed to a situation in which authenticity emerges as a highly charged and bitterly contested issue" (Gilroy 1994 pp.103-4).

By discussing music as re-articulated in context, sonically and discursively reassembled through the replacement of 'the racial' with the alliances of 'the local', 6.3 swims alongside arguments which point to the innovative imitative moves of White youth "decisively shaped" by "Black expressive culture" (Gilroy 1993a p.35; also see - for example - Back 1988 and 1996), and redefinitions of 'Blackness' in terms of "the emergence of a Black British culture" where "for the first time, being Black is seen as a way of being British" (Gates Jnr 1997 p.2; also see). The succession of 'culture contacts' (Hewitt 1989), friendships, musical and danced associations, which lead to syncretisms and creolizations of form and sentiment, can cause the "ejection of 'race' from peer group common sense" (Back 1996 p.51; also see Back 1993), where instead, positionalities are renegotiated through the commonalities of context to (re)create new deracialized local *and* British identities. However, these processes of fusion exist as factors of

identity without ever fully constituting notions of 'self' or 'community', for 'race' continues to inform understandings and performances of music; it remains as vital sustenance for the regeneration of collective memories as they are located as 'coming from somewhere' and 'for someone'. Musics such as jungle are understood as 'Black music' as well as 'mixed music' through negotiated processes of contextual re-articulation which variously expunge and promote ethnic signifiers (which may be reified as 'racial') to (re)present numerous unsettled and overlapping (un)fixed collective memories and senses of tradition which proclaim and traverse difference.

In the late 1960s and early 1970's, the St. Paul's Festival, organized predominantly by a well-intentioned ecclesiastical White middle class (see Chapters 3 and 4), was presented - proclaimed - as a 'multicultural event'. Writing in the 'Caribbean column' of *The St. Paul's Sun*, A. Stanford⁴⁷ makes this clear:

"The meaning and moral is very simple. People of all races, collectively united, can be happy together when, altogether, they work for that end...(L)et St. Paul's and all who work to this end provoke the province of England to jealousy until all is filled, that we can be one people, living in the harmony of each other in the light of goodwill" (*The St. Paul's Sun*, 6/7/69 p.6).

This intention was articulated through the event's inclusion of the area's *diverse* musics. For example, in 1970 an 'International Concert' was held as part of the Festival's week-long 'artistic programme'. It involved "(S)ongs and dances from Africa, West Indies, India, Ukraine, the British Isles", a "Barbadian steel band, Scots pipers, Welsh harpist, and a massed children's choir" (see St. Paul's Festival Programme 1970 p.3). It would be easy to disparage - laugh at - what seems a naive attempt to harmonize cultures through the crude juxtaposition and celebration of reified, authenticated musical symbols, but this was thirty years ago, these people were actual 'technical' immigrants, Powellite scaremongering was in vogue. Moreover, is there such a difference between this version of

⁴⁷ His or her 'first name' is not given in the text of the *St. Paul's Sun*.

multiculturalism and narratives which commend the cut 'n' mix soundscape of the contemporary St. Paul's Carnival? Both purport to a textual multiculturalism where 'race' is unproblematically and simultaneously neutralized, exoticized, assimilated or lopped off; both replace 'difference' with 'diversity', rejoicing in the splendid unity projected by the sweet, euphonious, undiscriminating music of place.

But crucially, *the* major similarity can be found in the processes of contestation which undermine these musical intentions and directions, processes which in the 1970's and 1980's re-structured the event as by and for 'the local Black community', and in the 1990's are reclaiming the music of Carnival through its (re)imagination as a multiply-spatialized 'Black music' which is open to Whites, but by 'invitation-only'. In the 1970's, the St. Paul's Festival slowly and complexly changed from a 'community event' for which 'community' shared the boundaries of a diversely constituted 'place', to a 'community event' organized by, for and with the burden of representing the 'local Black community' (see Chapters 3 and 4; also see Wood 1992). Externally ascribed hegemonic discourses which (re)presented St. Paul's as a 'Black place'⁴⁸ and a 'problem' were internalized, introjected and negotiated through Carnival, transforming the event through its reconstitution as ethnically-sealed, proudly local (in defence of St. Paul's), resolutely Black (in defence of St. Paul's as a Black place). The ownership changed (White to Black), and so did the themes (harmony to struggle to pride), structure (multicultural events and a colourful gala of floats to an educative, culturally edifying walking *mas*), music (replacing the sitar, harp and bagpipes with the technologies and sensibilities of the sound system). Carnival was respatialized as a *vehicle of diaspora* (see Chapter 4): differentially Afrikanized and linked to Jamaica; indubitably local and *Black*. Long-time committee member Andrew remembers:

⁴⁸ Where "race is a privileged metaphor through which the confused text of the city is rendered comprehensible" (Keith and Cross 1993 p.9).

"In its early years it was very much multiculturalism, harmony and togetherness, sort of peace and love and all that stuff...then we started *getting rid of*, more different people came on to the committee who had a little bit more of...slightly more conscious in relation to Black awareness...they were kind of the first people who really made a stand...the Afrikan-Caribbean aspect of it became the most important focus and that was pushed through on different levels...the community comes out and supports those particular events...it's just for the community" (Bristol Interview 2 - Andrew: pp.2-3).

This reorganization and re-racialization of the 'Festival' as an 'Afrikan-Caribbean Carnival' is today established, entrenched as a dominant collective memory for the event. It is expressed through musical form such as in the lyrics and sound of reggae or the call and response of ragga, but it is also continued, perpetuated and contested in terms of how supposedly 'new', 'hybrid' musics are performed and understood. Herein lies the similarity between how early events were changed and how contemporary events are racialized: there is a *continuity of collective memory* re-imagined through the reconstruction of a 'Black community event' which - despite its musical transformation - remains reified through an appreciation of music as a bounded signifier of ethnicity and - variously - 'race'.

Back on Brighton Street, a multi-'racial' crowd jumps-up to the syncretic sounds of jungle, but their collectivity is not guaranteed. White participants like Jason consider the music representative of a Bristol scene because, as mentioned above, "it's what Bristol is all about" (Paraphrased in my research diary, 2/7/97). Black members of the Rave Den posse agree, but for them jungle is *also* understood as an extension of collective memories which are local, trans-local, global, historically understood as 'Black'. They point to the form and feeling:

"It's in the sound. The reggae is still there, and there's dub. We were all in to reggae and hip hop. They are both big in St. Paul's - you know what I mean - the bass of the reggae and toasting and that, there's links to hip hop there, and that's American. It's part of a whole tradition of music..." (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member, Bob: p.1).

"Yeah...it's *Black music*, part of our heritage, it's just happening here like all musics change...it was like reggae...and at the time that's all - you know - and now it's like mainly rave and dance - you know what I mean - so that's the *music of the time innit*" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den Member Mick: pp.1-2).

Jungle is located spatially and temporally as part of a continuum of Black music which stretches across time and space. It is the “music of the time”, linking it to communally-defined ‘musics of other times’ as a contextual innovation, a musical development which remains technically and communally indebted to wider notions of Black diaspora consciousness and to a history of the St. Paul’s Carnival. Here, a music textually deconstructed as eclectically and cross-racially *routed*, is re-routed to represent collective memories of Blackness as part of a local tradition where Carnival in St. Paul’s is conceptualized as of and for the ‘Black community’. ‘Wandering’ thus involves inclusion, exchange through “getting a taste” (see Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den member, Bob p.1), but for Rave Den posse members such as Bob, the music and the feeling taste of something *different*: they taste ‘Black’.

Jungle thus provides an example of how collective memories are reconstructed, translated, converted *and* maintained through their trans-local collective re-imagination. It is a music used to affirm *a version of ‘Blackness’* (linking ‘Black America’ to ‘Jamaica’) which draws on and re-invents traditions through their re-interpretation as musical text. It is *segregated and open*. Paul Gilroy discusses music as an “important factor in facilitating the transition of diverse settlers into a distinct mode of Blackness” (Gilroy 1993b p.82); it is used through Carnival to reconstruct the boundaries of the ‘Black community’ despite its transformation. For Gilroy, musics such as jungle practice and symbolize the processes of ‘travelling’ or ‘journeying’ constituent of ‘diaspora experience’ (also see for example Hesse 1993; Clifford 1994 and 1997). They offer a ‘politics of fulfilment’ and ‘transfiguration’, by providing a simultaneity of security and change which collectively remembers the music as Black without denying access to non-Black influences and audiences. The ‘call’ and the ‘response’ remain routed through the ‘fractal trajectories’ of Blackness, but “(T)he calls and responses no longer converge in the patterns of secret, ethnically encoded dialogue...(T)he original call is becoming harder to locate” (Gilroy 1994 p.115), but it is (re)constructed as ‘there’ nonetheless.

Indeed, the assertion that Carnival is primarily a 'Black community event', open to the 'wider community', supplies the context for selective processes of protection and exchange. Ogoni, the Carnival organizer responsible for co-ordinating the sound systems, makes this clear:

"I am working for the wider community but - you know - obviously I'm for my community. Don't let anybody tell you different or call them a liar - you know - because everybody is for their people primarily and whatever comes out of it is just secondary..." (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.15).

For Ogoni - a Carnival committee member and sound system organizer - the musics of Carnival are 'Black musics', their syncretic transformations of 'secondary' importance. Moreover, this conceptual segregation of the musics of Carnival is evidenced, concretized through its embodiment on the streets. Music is contemplatively defined through its resemblance and imagined connection to diasporic forms and communities of other times and places, and it is produced and consumed locally through distinctive spatial and temporal patterns of racialized performance:

"If you look what happens on the streets...during the day it's mixed but - you know - the main stage we had wider forms of music on the main stage this year, but I know the young people, the young Afrikan people, they say there's nothing on the main stage for them because it's normally dominated by Europeans - yeah - because European people, they are more into live music than the Afrikan people - yeah. The younger Afrikan people, they are more into the sound systems...and if you see there at night, it's all the Black community out there" (Bristol Interview 24 - Ogoni: p.13).

There are 'time-geographies' and practices of spatial distinction on the streets of St. Paul's at Carnival; 'wandering' develops as an exclusive practice, enabling the embodiment of its exclusive meanings. During the day the main streets and specific sound system crowds are mixed, teeming with local and non-local Blacks, Whites and Asians. There is plenty to attract visiting middle class Whites⁴⁹. For example, Grosvenor Road (see Figure 6.1) offers a landscape of delights for those willing to 'chance' their palate through the consumption of 'Caribbean

⁴⁹ And the following description is intentionally parodic, recognizing that middle class Whites visit Carnival for a multiplicity of reasons and have many different relationships with 'other' Black and Asian participants at the event.

foods'⁵⁰; the main stage (see Figure 6.2) presents a soundscape of roots reggae and a range of 'World musics'⁵¹ to satisfy their exotic(izing) musical tastes; sound systems such as those on Brighton Street (see Figure 6.3) pump out ear-splitting beats to which they awkwardly and self-consciously dance. But on the backstreets the crowds are predominantly Black, and after dark, most White people have gone home. It is in these spaces and at these times that the musics are reclaimed as 'Black', collectively remembered through the embodied performative reciprocity of the dance.

It is close to midnight. The air is filled with the smell and smoke of charred food. It irritates the eyes, impedes breathing. On Brighton Street, as earlier in the day, break beats slash and scorch through bodies and buildings, offering connection, a felt, resonating unity. But this time the crowd is different⁵²: primarily 'African-Caribbean Black' (see Figure 6.4); dressed smarter with more 'designer' labels and exposed flesh; it drinks less alcohol. Moreover, it *dances harder*: groups of girls line front-yard walls, hands held aloft, knees bent, bottoms thrust piercingly towards those standing behind; a topless man sits on the shoulders of an invisible crowd-member, throws his arms in the air, showering the bobbing headscape with

⁵⁰ Which might have formed the basis of another chapter, since food (and drink) is central to processes of authentication, capturing and translating different spatialities which range from 'home' to 'nation' to 'diaspora' (see for example Bell and Valentine 1997). The ways Carnival is performed and consumed - the events' collective memorization - can be linked to the socio-cultural (de)construction of the tastes, sights and smells which provide the streets of St. Paul's and Potternewton Park in Chapeltown with very distinctive 'flavas'.

⁵¹ 'Roots reggae' - a music with a cross-over audience since the global commercial success of Bob Marley and the Wailers - headlines the stage show after a programme which includes 'Afrikan music' (such as King Masco in 1997 or Mick Jo Lusala and the Soukous Gang in 1993), ska (such as Black Flamez in 1991), and zouk (such as 'This is it' in 1992). Together these musics fit marketing definitions of 'world music' - a term which compartmentalizes diverse and hybrid forms from 'marginal cultures' across the globe so they can be understood, commercially located (on the shelves and by their 'roots') through their distribution and consumption as authentic, undiluted, primeval (see for example Barrett 1996; Erlmann 1996; Hernandez 1996; Guilbault 1997). 'World music' demarcates and exposes an imaginary space for consumption and appropriation by - amongst others - a fascinated fetishistic White Western 'music-loving' public.

⁵² And here I stand on a wall, beer in hand, overlooking - 'reading' - the situation. I feel uncomfortable - I am distinctly of a minority, I cannot dance - yet I have the power of the 'panoptic' gaze.

sweat; the whole crowd - *as text* - moves together - sinuous and propulsive, corporeally symbiotic. The dance is a *performance*, socially constituted by 'collectively meaningful postures' (see Connerton 1989); it is a practice of collective memory (and there are many collective memories), a vigorous connective embodiment which symbolizes and demonstrates affective alliance, community, place (see Shilling 1993; Shotter 1994; Thrift 1997) (see 3.5.2). Tonight the 'scene' is redefined, wresting jungle music from its daytime bleaching, reaffirming its 'Blackness' through the connective rhythms and performed identifications - the touch, rub, warmth - of the dance.

The jungle of the night confidently adheres to collective memories of St. Paul's Carnival's Black 'routes' (See Figure 6.4). It remains contingent with and regenerative of place - local DJs, people and the built surroundings provide a 'vibe' and 'flava' founded through body-to-body socialization as *joint action*; and it *connects with*, mixes, embodies different spatialities through the re-articulation of constructedly 'Black' forms and feelings 'from' elsewhere, collecting together *scraps of memory* (see De Certeau 1984; Holmes-Smith 1997) which *might* provide affective alliance with the dance halls of Jamaica, hip hop arenas of Black America, the 'Riot Crew' of Chapeltown⁵³. This is because, for participants such as members of the Rave Den Posse, it "tastes" 'Black': the vibe - flava - of the music and dance is "moving with the times" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den member Bob: p.4), reconstitutive of a "Carnival mode" (Bristol Interview 23 - Rave Den member Mick: p.9) collectively remembered as 'Black'.

⁵³ If what I see and hear - the text - is coupled with the diasporic intentionalities proposed by what respondents say in interviews or research encounters subsequently paraphrased in my research diary.



Figure 6.1: *Grosvenor Road on Carnival Day 1997: a landscape of 'exotic' food...for whom?*



Figure 6.2: *The crowd gathers at the main stage, St. Paul's Carnival 1997...a conspicuously White audience for King Masco and his 'Afrikan rhythms'.*



Figure 6.3: *Black and White mingle under the break beats...Brighton Street in the afternoon, St. Paul's Carnival 1997.*



Figure 6.4: *Embodying collective memories of 'Blackness'...Brighton Street at night, St. Paul's Carnival 1997.*

Yet there are different versions of this 'Blackness'; the 'wandering' is spatialized yet further. Ogoni - the Carnival organizer - presents a notion of Blackness imagined through the evocation of 'Afrika'⁵⁴, textually evident in his insistence that the Carnival logo is imprinted on all jungle promotions (see Figure 6.5), discursively evident in his declaration of Carnival's position where, "...as an Afrikan group...we should be supporting Afrikan groups..." (Bristol Interview 24: Ogoni p.15). Black members of the Rave Den posse suggest a less specific understanding of Blackness, routed through musical spatialities of Jamaica and Black America. Roni Size shares these collective memories and - likewise - respatializes them in context through the evocation of a transforming 'breeding ground'. Different racialized identities are connected to different musicalized spatialities, advanced through a discrepant simultaneity of essentialism and re-articulation, where the wandering feels different, tastes different, means different things to different people; yet the wandering - the music, its performance and consumption - is somehow 'Black'.

But the music of Carnival is *not restricted*, pinioned by its Blackness, for "ethnicity is always about negotiations" (Back 1996 p.158), objectified, essentialized but relationally (re)constructed through processes of syncretism which *escape fixity*, because - inevitably - "if you fix identity, it gives way" (Spivak 1996 p.40). Across the street, Jason dances alongside his Black friends; high above on the decks, a White member of the Rave Den posse takes his turn on the mike: "*Big-up St. Paul's, coming at you loud and clear...from out of the jungle into the jungle*". Not all the White or Asian people have gone home or elsewhere, because this is their scene, something with which they identify and which their presence and participation actively transforms⁵⁵. These people are not simply appropriating 'Black' forms and symbols as *a matter of style* (see Lury

⁵⁴ And remember his evocation of the Jamaican 'roots' of Carnival in 6.1.

⁵⁵ And I have started to dance.

Club Junglist in association
with Jungle Magic, Bruck
Out, Jungle Express and
Jungle Rock, in aid of the
St. Pauls Carnival '95
present a Night called



United Jungle

DJ's

**Bryan G, Sting Ray,
Roni Size, Bunji,
Donovan Bad-Boy**

MC's

Dazee

Joe Peng, Wile-Up & Guest

Saturday 29th April 95

**£5 at the INKWORKS CENTRE,
Hepburn Road, Bristol**

9.00 TIL VERY LATE

Figure 6.5: *The Afrikanization of 'jungle'.*

1996⁵⁶), reducing and devaluing collective memories of Blackness through processes of imitation and cross-racial standardization. Rather, jungle music at the St. Paul's Carnival facilitates and is reconstituted through selectively inclusive and exclusive collective memories. The music is constructedly bounded as 'Black' through routed collective memories of diaspora, before it is cautiously re-articulated in context through the exploration and expression of syncretic alliance. Significantly, this is at least a two-way process: the re-articulation of ethnicities propelled through jungle music demands a departure from essentialized/rooted notions of 'Blackness' *and* hegemonic Anglicized versions of 'Whiteness'. These are new ethnicities, 're-tribalizations' (see Bhabha 1994 p.177), founded and embodied through critical transformations which (re)negotiate the boundaries of community and place by shattering *and* returning to 'racially'-bounded collective memories. Spatialities of Carnival are predicated upon trans-local collective memories of 'racial' in-exclusivity.

That recombinant cultural forms and ethnicities are achieved is significant; that they are normalized, ritualized, reconceptualized as constitutive of 'place', is particularly important. For Roni Size and others, the sound systems of the St. Paul's Carnival - their syncretic customization and performance - are '*normal*'. They are symbols, products, processes of place; vehicles of diaspora and interactive cross-'racial' hybridity; technologies of narrativity which tell a story of place through the negotiated mixture and separation of racialized collective memories. Normality is achieved through their contextual reproduction and transformation as they are grown-up with, lived with, socially habituated, recognized - naturalized - within the local social and material landscape. Music

⁵⁶ Celia Lury (1996 p.1), in a discussion of the racialization of 'consumer culture', argues "racialized identity has increasingly come to be seen to be created in practices of imitation and that this is, in part, a consequence of the stylization that is characteristic of contemporary consumer culture". By extension, White participants at Carnival or anywhere else involving an 'imitation' (vicarious or face-to-face) of Black forms and aesthetics (such as fashion, music, dialect) might be theorized as 'buying into' racialized identity, wearing 'Blackness' as a 'matter of style' through its relativization "as just one difference amongst others" (Lury 1996 pp.9-10). In contrast, for Black people, these cultural forms have meanings beyond mere notions of 'style'.

“both creates and articulates the very idea of community”, it helps people “to make sense of their social world and their place in it” (Frith 1992 p.177). Music at Carnival is vital to the reconstruction and affirmation of collective memories which span the globe and imagine other times, but the music is realized, re-articulated in a *racialized context* to provide and recreate a ‘scene’ or ‘sense of place’. In Bristol (and Chapeltown), ‘the scene’ relies on the constant establishment, normalization and vacation of new multiply spatialized, complexly racialized *local* identities. They are local through their relativization with ‘the outside’ as these collective memories are re-articulated on ‘the inside’ through the dialogic reconstitution of place.

The capacity for Carnival to mobilize trans-local and cross-‘racial’ alliance through the reproduction of new ethnicities despite the storage, preservation and embodiment of ‘old’ bounded and essentialist collective memories, has provided a theme throughout this project, and offers a basis for the (in)conclusion of this chapter. Throughout Carnival, different people connect spatialities of music to their racialized identity⁵⁷. Trans-local sounds are collectively remembered as such whilst their sound is transformed through the local; this localness is recognized, bounded through imagined geographies of local distinctiveness; this sense of place is understood as predicated upon cross-‘racial’ alliance and exchange (which enhances the local distinctiveness); yet the trans-local is sustained through essentialisms of ‘Blackness’; which are displaced, upset, confused, vacated through different routes, alternative collective memories, divergent ethnicities, contrasting senses of place. These spatialities are maintained - expressed, embodied, stated - as musical identities and identifications, existing simultaneously for each Carnival participant as trajectories of collective memories which overlap, clash, diverge and (re)create new directions - new individual and collective memories - through continuity *and* innovation. This is the point: we identify with many spatialities, inhabit multiple collective memories; they are at once

⁵⁷ Through the dialectical ‘soliciting’ mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

complementary and conflictual ('Black' and 'White', 'local' and 'global', 'familiar' and 'exotic' as open signifiers⁵⁸); normalized, given coherence as 'identities' despite - through - the paradoxes of their spatial and 'racial' (re)articulation...

⁵⁸ Open to reification and exclusion as much as syncretism and inclusion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES, NEW ETHNICITIES: A CAUTIONARY ENDNOTE

"The subject is not one but split, not sovereign but dependent, not an absolute origin but a function ceaselessly modified" (Foucault, in Lotringer 1989 p.61).

"(T)he complex pluralism of Britain's inner-urban streets demonstrates that...elaborate processes are underway...the kaleidoscopic formations of 'trans-racial' cultural syncretism are growing daily more detailed and more beautiful¹" (Gilroy 1993a p.101).

"Contestation over the possession and interpretation of memories means that there are multifarious ways in which remembrance is practised in situ" (Edensor 1997 p.176).

¹ And by this judgement, Gilroy might be interpreted as understanding syncretism as an inevitably positive process, rather than patterned as much by exclusion as inclusion (as it is argued in this project).

This thesis has advanced understandings of collective memory by showing how the performance (embodiment and narration) of memory is central to the ways relational identities are reconstructed through their racialized context. An analysis of collective memory can tell us much about the politics of 'race' and 'place' in Britain today. Contestations over the meanings of Carnival are re-worked by and through contestations over the meanings of 'place' and 'race', since it is through the social relations of a globalized local and localized global that collective memories are reconstructed, re-imagined, racialized and re-mapped. Such memories are modified and represented, individualized and collectivized through their position(s) in relation to processes reducible to 'issues'. Through the limitations and potentialities of this *participatory, ethnographic research project*², local racialized identities are *located* through a discussion of a range of 'local Carnival issues': for example (and amongst other things), **Chapter Three** engages with how Carnival is discrepantly and collectively remembered within imagined geographies of the city which problematize St. Paul's and Chapeltown through discourses of racism; **Chapter Four** attends to the discordant production and consumption of 'Afrika' through the St. Paul's Carnival; **Chapter Five** enunciates some of the contested themes and processes of authentication and aestheticization which re-draw the boundaries of the 'Black community' in Chapeltown; and **Chapter Six** traverses complex terrains of 'musical identities' to suggest that through Carnival, new, syncretic, (de)racialized identities are emerging, translating, reassembling. These '*local Carnival issues*' conflate, incorporate and re-articulate spatialities - travel stories, routes, imagined communities - stretching from versions of 'Afrika' to 'Jamaica', 'St. Kitts' to 'New York'; displacement, slavery and (de)colonization to the migratory precedent of the Empire Windrush³, and the racism, segregation, diaspora reconstruction and cultural

² In contrast to the textual/deconstructive norm (see for example S. Smith 1994; Lewis and Pile 1996; Waterman 1998).

³ On 22 June 1948, the Empire Windrush arrived at Tilbury docks carrying 492 Jamaicans. This was the first 'mass' orchestrated immigration from the Caribbean to Britain, and is symbolic of the processes of journeying and re-settlement that followed (see Fryer 1984 p.372 and Phillips and Phillips 1998 for more detail).

interaction that followed. This is because it is 'here' and 'now' that they are established as 'issues'; issues illustrative of translating collective memories.

But these issues are not exhausted by these spatialities, because, as the project has shown, the discrepant embodied performance of Carnival actively translates tradition, meets and creates new individual and collective memories⁴, forgets as the present suffuses the past through the introduction and valorization of *new spatialities*. Carnival in St. Paul's and Chapeltown is reconstructed, re-spatialized through the performance of collective memories which are syncretic, hybrid, (re)founded through dialogue, transmission and transfer despite the contrary assumptions of those who assume 'authenticity'. Yet, collective memories are predicated as much on exclusion as inclusion, re-articulated through the continued prevalence of racialized boundaries.

Inclusive and exclusive collective memories are (fleeting)ly achieved through their relationality within imagined communities. This is a central feature of this thesis. It is thus through and in relation to Carnival that new identities (re)develop commensurate with and extending beyond commentaries which appeal to recombinant notions of 'Blackness', 'Whiteness', 'Britishness', 'localness'; *new ethnicities*⁵ *regenerative of new senses of place* (see for example Jones 1988; Wulff 1988; Bhachu 1991; Hall 1991a and 1992a,b,c; Gilroy 1993a,b). Samuel Schrager, in questioning "(W)hat is social in oral history?" (1998 p.289), writes that a "single account belongs to an entire narrative environment", and that "(I)t is only by recognizing its resemblances to related accounts that we begin to locate its traditionality". Narratives throughout this project are situated relationally as developed and developing positions founded through community and difference,

⁴ Where the 'individual' and 'collective' are mediated through each other.

⁵ Where the term 'ethnicity' offers a way of acknowledging "the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated and all knowledge is contextual" (Hall 1988 p.257).

where there are multiple communities and thus multiple differences. It is through this relationality that spatialities of collective memory (their spatial, temporal and 'racial' location) are translated and authenticated, for by occupying multiple communities, transformation and reification occur through each other. Collective memories are thus dependent upon notions of difference as they are reconstituted as spatialities; understood as identities.

This attention to the *multiple spatialities of collective memories as they are re-articulated through a trans-local place* can therefore be credited as *adding to and progressing debates in social and cultural geography* (and the social sciences in general) which point to a trans-local/globalized 'identity politics of place' and 'spatialized politics of identity' (Keith and Pile 1993; also see Massey 1994; Pile and Thrift 1995; Pile 1996), the de-essentialism/re-negotiation of 'race' and inauthenticity/appropriation of 'tradition' (see for example Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Jackson 1987, 1989; Robins 1991; Jackson and Penrose 1993; Gilroy 1994; Jacobs 1995; P. Crang 1996; Lury 1996), and the concomitant multiplication of new ethnicities and new racisms (see for example, P. Cohen 1988; Hall 1992c, 1995; Back 1996; Pred 1997). Using a method which accentuates 'listening' *and* 'taking part', collective memory has been brought out of a relatively fusty 'oral history' context and shown to be spatialized and spatializing, capturing affiliations and antagonisms as they are caught dialectically through the performance and thus transformation of new identities, new ethnicities. Memory has been opened-up and spatialized through a multi-method ethnography, re-theorized and re-engaged as a continuum through and catalyst for new ethnicities.

It might be appropriate at this stage - since this is the 'concluding' chapter - to identify, code and name these new ethnicities and their 'owners' by elucidating their spatial constitution through a synopsis map of the preceding chapters. Indeed, reductive labels have already been used where - for example - generational differences in Chapeltown were cited as attributable to the contestation between

(older) Carnival 'traditionalists' and those (younger) people who perform a '*mas by other means*' (see 5.3); or in St. Paul's, boundaries of community and place were identified by highlighting the ways school children (re)negotiate notions of 'Afrika' enforced by Carnival organizers (see 4.4.1). Yet each attempt to name positions, to arbitrarily close or *frame* a 'spatialized identity', is subverted, exposed for its narrowness and inflexibility, for identity is "a dynamic, *emergent* aspect of collective action" (Morley and Robins 1995 p.237; original emphasis); it moves, leaving only traces of where it might have been. Moreover, new ethnicities cut across, embrace and resignify different spatialities to redevelop yet more new ethnicities, thus escaping reification as a specific position, for even those which allude to stasis - authenticity - are reciprocal, ephemeral, remoulded and displaced through the socio-cultural relations of a globally-inflected context. This is why the project has emphasized identity reconstruction *as process*: by drawing on and simultaneously reinventing multiple spatialities, collective memories of Carnival and place are understood as syncretic responses to trans-local re-articulatory forces. Positions - new ethnicities - are suggested, offered as examples, before they are disengaged, substituted by alternative positions.

What then is 'the point' of this project? How can it discuss the spatialities of collective memories of Carnival if they are not presented - palpably delineated - as conclusions? That they cannot be isolated and 'framed' is exactly 'the point'. This 'point' was the *aim of the project*, and its inconclusion proves 'the point'. In the final chapter of *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (1991) suggests 'there are no conclusions, only openings'. I would like to end this project by offering two 'openings', two *ethnographic examples* which show how Carnival might be understood - not known. **The first opening emphasizes the trans-spatiality of Carnival**, using the stated meanings of the event by one person - Albert (Leeds Interview 9) - to show how memories are contradictory, translated simultaneously through multiple senses of place derivative of spatialities which confound any attempt at classification, because *taken separately they are so different*. What they have in common is their localness: trans-local and trans-temporal spatialities re-

articulated as *individual and collective memories of place*. The second opening uses a range of ethnographic material to engage with and offer a cautionary perspective of arguments which accentuate the apparent progressiveness of new ethnicities. Such arguments are based on a presumption that hybrid forms and identities (which might implicate Albert) are symbolic of cross-racial alliance, de-racialization, a re-fashioned 'Britishness' 'struck up' on inner-city streets in social spaces such as Carnival. They do not account for how identities are reconstructed as much through exclusion as inclusion (see Back 1996), stylization and authentication (see Willis 1990), confirming and rejecting - but never excoriating - pervasive and transforming racisms. Carnival is constantly re-articulated through the reconstruction of new ethnicities: it is a medium for and symbol of inter-cultural (which includes inter-'racial') exchange; its varied performance embodies and represents the transforming cultural identities of place (and thus nation); but hybridity does not always imply progressiveness, for collective memories of Carnival are contested, politicized, used passionately to celebrate alliance by vilifying 'others' (see for example Chapter 5). Moreover, to traverse boundaries of 'racial' difference requires the existence of racisms which define those boundaries: the racialized context reinforces and reproduces racisms as it enables their displacement (see for example Chapter 3).

These two openings are used to say the same thing in different ways. The first opening points to the paradoxical, contextually composite spatialities evoked by an individual grappling with the paradoxical, contextually composite spatialities of 'the global', as they are thrown into intense and immediate contact as 'the local'. Collective memories are reconstructed - re-articulated - relationally, through imagined communities, trans-local spatialities of connection which work as contexts through which narratives are socially situated. Despite the acceptance of translation, Albert continues to provide stories of racialized authenticity and local exclusiveness as a way of *renegotiating multiculturalism through the reconstruction of place*. The second opening recognizes these multiple spatialities as constituent of new ethnicities, accepts that they may symbolize and present an opportunity for

trans-‘racial’, post-colonially ‘British’ identities, but emphasizes the fragility and relationality of identities which, when reconstructed through difference, thrive as much on discord as accord: ‘roots’ remain (although reinvented) while everything around seems to move. Together, the two openings *advance understandings of collective memories* as they are reconstituted - re-spatialized - through new ethnicities which depend on multiple cultural transformations and multiple corresponding racisms. It is on this cautionary endnote that the project is closed.

7.1 COLLECTIVE MEMORIES IN MOTION.

“The presumed certainties of cultural identity...which housed stable cohesive communities of shared tradition and perspective, though never a reality for some...(are)... increasingly disrupted and displaced for all” (Carter et al 1993 p.vii).

“We look back for something to lean on, only to find ourselves embracing ghosts” (Berman 1983 p.333).

Albert is a Black musician in his early thirties living in Chapeltown. He wears a black leather tam from which dreadlocks pour down the sides of his face. Albert attends Carnival every year to listen to music, meet friends, be seen. He leans across the desk, fixedly stares into my eyes, begins to speak:

“Carnival for me is I suppose one of the biggest social events of the year. You can say it’s like one of the major events anyway in the Black/Afro-Caribbean calendar - you know - everybody looks forward to it” (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.1).

For Albert, Carnival is a Black community event, delimited by a notion of “*everybody*” which conflates ‘community’ and ‘race’ with ‘place’. He thus - *through this quote* - adheres to a collective memory of Carnival which conceptualizes the event as *exclusively* for Black people. But Albert is concerned; he worries that Chapeltown Carnival is not *inclusive* of the ‘local Black community’:

“...We have to move with the times - right - I mean...(in Carnival)...there’s something for the elders and a lot of people my age and younger who like that sort of stuff, but I think they should also be showing, I suppose because the media spotlight is on for us as Black people and there’s a diversity of our culture - right - it’s not just steel bands, calypso and so forth; there’s also

reggae, hip hop, soul, that sort of thing here. Yeah, because we do want to attract the younger people and we do want to continue it as a tradition" (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.2).

Albert therefore argues that if Carnival occupies a representational space for 'the Black community', for 'Black Chapeltown'⁶, then it should represent the "diversity" of that community rather than a selective repertoire of "steel bands, calypso and so forth". If the "tradition" is to "continue" then it must transform, incorporate other elements, because they too are 'Black', 'local'⁷, constitutive of "here", and thus suitable for a 'local Black community event'. The existing Carnival is relativized in terms of what it might and should become, and is thus understood through a story about 'race', 'community' and 'place'. Albert then elaborates the spatialities of this story:

"...What comes to mind...I suppose is maybe first generation, second generation, third generation Afro-Caribbeans - right - I mean for instance, my generation's views are a bit wider than say my parents', and like my kids now, their views are even wider than mine. So, I mean, Carnival should incorporate that and *move with the times* - you know - keeping hold of the traditions, because like for anything to build up you need strong foundations and the strong foundations are there. We just need to build and expand on it" (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.2).

For Albert, generation becomes a distinguishing factor used to map the racialized intricacies of community and place. It works as a primary factor of difference within notions of 'the community' by operating as a metaphor of spatiality: younger people have "wider" views, broader connections, diverse trans-local affiliations which Albert constructs as contemporary; older people also have trans-local affiliations (they remember 'home'), but they are of the past, antiquated, in need of reform. Tradition is assumed as natural to and necessary for 'the community' - a dominant collective memory is retained - but for Carnival (as a symbol of community) to survive, then traditions must be re-invented to flow with rather than against the *multiple contemporary spatialities of the local Black community*.

⁶ Where 'place', 'race' and 'community' are conflated through an accedence to dominant imagined geographies of a racialized context (see Chapter 3).

⁷ Or this is the position they hold in Albert's *spatial imagination*.

At this point, Albert leans back, looks to the ceiling, takes a deep breath; so let us pause for a re-cap: for Albert, Carnival is for local Black people; presently it is structured through spatialities of collective memory which appeal most to 'older' people; this collective memory must be retained, but it should be adapted to meet spatialities of collective memory constituent of 'younger' identities, because these younger people are also local; yet they are also Black, so it is important that they acknowledge and internalize the collective memories of their elders. By talking about Carnival in this way⁸, the boundaries of the local Black community are *specifically* drawn through divisions between young and old, their internal relations mapped. But now Albert has leaned forward again, reverting to an interactive posture; he has an idea, new spatialities are (criss-) 'crossing' his mind:

"I'm into anything and everything - right - I don't believe that people should be narrow-minded, they should have a broader view on things. I mean, if you just concentrate on the one then, I mean, as a person, spiritually and mentally - right - you can't really grow. This is England now and England is a multicultural society and you have to take everything" (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.2).

He continues:

"...Black people have something to offer - right - and - you know - this (Carnival) is a bit of our culture, because when you look at culture in the mainstream anyway - right - Afro-Caribbean, Asian culture has added so much to it - right - I mean just look at the language now. For instance the way we speak - you know - very much into using catch phrases and - what do you call it? Slogans...like for instance the word 'wicked' now is in the Oxford English Dictionary as 'wicked meaning good'...and it's little things like that people don't tend to notice - right - but it adds to the general flavour of the country. I mean, it's one of those things we add all the time...like it's a melting pot of cultures in England at the moment..." (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.3).

Here Carnival is opened-up, re-spatialized *in context* as an element of a reconstituted nation. It is an offering 'from' "Afro-Caribbean" people to "multicultural society", a contribution (like language/dialect⁹) to a more inclusive and transforming Englishness which challenges "the absolutist view of Black and

⁸ Where this project uses notions of racialized collective memory to re-theorize the spatialities of identity.

⁹ See for example Roger Hewitt's work which discusses the 'creolized' languages of children in ethnically-mixed contexts (Hewitt 1982, 1986, 1989).

White cultures as fixed, impermeable expressions of racial and national identity” (Gilroy 1987 p.61). For Albert, a Carnival which is sensitive to the “wider” concerns of young Black people can legitimately claim a space at the vanguard of cultural pluralism, for it transcends the cultural insularism - the yearning - of intransigent Carnival traditionalists, opening the way for hybridity through cross-participation, or what Albert calls “a diplomatic exchange of ideas and happiness” (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.3).

But then Albert stops talking, checks himself as if he knows he has faltered. He chuckles, winds up to speak once more:

“But you see, not forgetting its original concepts. You must always keep the original concepts in - you know - you can grow with that and widen things out...the reason I keep some of the traditional stuff is for the younger ones coming up behind us to know and be able to identify with that. Because I mean, luckily, my generation, because I suppose I’m first/second generation born over here in England - right - so luckily my parents were always telling me about things that happened in the Caribbean - right. I try now to show that to my children and let them know ‘well you know your granddad and grandma used to do this and when I was growing up they used to tell me that’ - right - and I’m hoping that they will pass it on. And when you look at that, that is an *Afrikan tradition* anyway, and now - you know - my children, they have been *instilled with a sense of identity* - right. Yeah, they go to school and they listen to hip hop and soul and everything like that, and they don’t really like calypso, but they still identify with the fact that it’s *part of the Black people’s culture*...It’s all Afrikan-based isn’t it really...everything like the drum and bass¹⁰ is from Afrika, it’s just like evolved from there...” (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.4).

Albert’s travel story for Carnival is not a linear narrative; it does not bend; it’s not even a spiral. Instead, it is *entangled* (see P. Crang 1996) with multiple spatialities, caught dialogically in a web of contradictory yet cumulatively complementary memories, aspirations, authentications, syncretic positions. The above quote introduces yet more spatialities: hybrid re-inventions of Englishness are qualified by the insistence of a primordial collective memory of ‘The Caribbean’ and then ‘Afrika’ (which can be imagined in many ways), and this - somehow - “instils” his children with a coherent rooted “sense of identity” to carry with them into “the melting pot”. These *moving spatialities* cannot be concluded - only opened,

¹⁰ Referring to the musical style rather than the instruments ‘drum’ and ‘bass’.

unpacked - and the key to beginning to understand how these seemingly discrepant spatialities interact to re-articulate collective memories of Carnival, lies in *the context*: these are local re-articulations, worked for through consent and contestation, embodied on the streets, named through commentary, linked together through what - in aggregation - might be termed *the collective memories of place*.

The inseverable link between the reconstruction of collective memories and the cultural politics of place is fundamental to this project. Albert's travel story only 'makes sense' in Chapeltown and especially in the 'Black community' of Chapeltown. It is here that 'Afrika', 'The Caribbean', 'Blackness' and 'Englishness' are re-worked (and each re-works 'the other'), crafted as they conjoin through the specificities of the local; it is here that positions are renegotiated, hegemonic collective memories defined, identities fleetingly achieved; it is here that multiple particularized racisms, which problematize 'Black Chapeltown', persist. Take away the place and you get the disparateness of the global; leave it in, watch it work, and you get transfer, translation, strategic and compulsive cultural interaction; you get *a sense of place*.

This is the first 'opening' of this 'concluding' chapter. In their book *Collective Remembering*, Middleton and Edwards (1990 p.1) stress that "(R)emembering and forgetting are integral with social practices that carry with them, in important ways, a culturally evolved legacy of conduct and invention..." Cultural identities - new ethnicities - are all about remembering and forgetting, reinventing tradition whilst assuming - incorporating - inscribed notions of conduct. Albert gets up to shake my hand; he makes one last comment:

"I suppose one of the things that makes Chapeltown Carnival different from all the others is that the majority of us up here are St. Kitts and Nevis people...so I mean that's one of the things we brought to it, and I don't think any other Carnival does that..." (Leeds Interview 9 - Albert: p.5).

Through the variegated, scrambled spatialities of Carnival presented by Albert, discernible place-specific conducts, connections, travel stories, remain. These conducts are not primarily concerned with 'St. Kitts' and 'Nevis' (or 'Afrika' and 'England'), but with Chapeltown, for it is Chapeltown - that porous though constructedly bounded place - through which spatialities are understood and reconstructed, (re)combined. The local provides the backdrop and foreground, transmitter and receptor, symbol and medium for the telling of stories, embodiment of identities, transformation of collective memories; it operates as the primary factor of difference within and through which differences - spatialities - interact, reformulate, escape elsewhere. Island loyalties, diasporic affiliations, racialized identities, generational differences - global and trans-temporal collective memories - are re-cast, sworn-in, syncretically performed and contested in and through the cultural politics of place. *They are local(ized).*

7.2 NEW ETHNICITIES, SAME DIFFERENCE?

"Extraordinary new forms have been produced and much of their power lies in their capacity to circulate a new sense of what it means to be British" (Gilroy 1993a p.2).

"...(I)t's not just about being Afro-Caribbean, it's about people. That's the thing Carnival brings together - different nationalities, different nations, different types of people with different experiences. That is part of the original meaning of Carnival...it's a people experience...which is what it is, a Carnival" (Bristol Interview 4 - Suc: p.7).

"Identity is as much about exclusion as it is inclusion" (Schlesinger 1987 p.235).

This project has sought to explain how Carnival is implicated in dynamic processes of identity reconstruction. Collective memories are transformed and recreated through their performance as part of the Carnival process; their spatialities reworked within a cultural politics of protection and exchange, (de)racialization, geographical imagination. The event is thus a harbinger of 'new ethnicities', symbolizing and - through practice - reconstituting notions of belonging, new

senses of place. Accordingly, it is tempting to wrap Carnival up with discourses of a 'New Britain', a 'Cool Britannia' of inter-racial harmony, relaxed syncretic alliance; a nation where the innovative inclusiveness of its inner city streets has supplanted the cultural hegemony of its Anglo-Saxon 'green and pleasant land'. Carnival, with its "we t'ing" signature¹¹, captures and processes this cultural paradigm: listen to the hybrid music; watch the 'Black', 'White' and 'Asian' faces smile as they dance together; immerse yourself in the revelry of this post-colonial, redefinitional space, for these are exciting times. Carnival as text seems to sit comfortably alongside late-1990s consumer cultures predicated upon a stylization of 'multicultural Britain' (see for example Lury 1996). But hold on, slow down, don't be dazzled by the spectacle, for - as this project has shown - Carnival is not a neutral space but a 'contested territory', a trans-spatial, conflictual product and process of cultural-political struggle where - as Stuart Hall argues - 'living with difference' is not a gentle integrating process, but a fraught exchange of sameness and incommensurability across which racisms persevere and metamorphose.

Carnival has never existed 'outside the nation state' or 'mainstream city' (see 3.2), because it has always stood across an axis of fear and desire as the nation or city defines its 'other' (see for example Pieterse 1992; Mercer 1994; Fusco 1995). But today - increasingly - Carnival is presented as central to 'progressive', 'tolerant', 'multi-'racial'' discourses of Britishness: the desire has overtaken (or creatively transformed) the fear¹², White people go to Carnival. 'Whiteness' is thus theorized as reconstructed through the imitation, syncretism and appropriation of 'Black' forms and styles (see for example Hebdige 1987; Gilroy 1993b; Back 1996) to the extent that "(I)n most urban areas of Britain...Black youth culture simply *is* youth culture" (Younge 1998 p.2), and 'Cool Britannia' is 'Black culture' worn by

¹¹ See Leeds West Indian Carnival Programme 1988 p.2.

¹² See the 'Spotlight on the Caribbean' in *The Times* (29/10/96) for an example of how Carnival is exoticized - desired - in the national 'broad-sheet' press through the use of colourful photographs and metaphors which sit alongside representations elsewhere in the same newspapers which problematize Black people, often through the social spatialization of 'Black places'.

senses of place. Accordingly, it is tempting to wrap Carnival up with discourses of a 'New Britain', a 'Cool Britannia' of inter-racial harmony, relaxed syncretic alliance; a nation where the innovative inclusiveness of its inner city streets has supplanted the cultural hegemony of its Anglo-Saxon 'green and pleasant land'. Carnival, with its "we t'ing" signature¹¹, captures and processes this cultural paradigm: listen to the hybrid music; watch the 'Black', 'White' and 'Asian' faces smile as they dance together; immerse yourself in the revelry of this post-colonial, redefinitional space, for these are exciting times. Carnival as text seems to sit comfortably alongside late-1990s consumer cultures predicated upon a stylization of 'multicultural Britain' (see for example Lury 1996). But hold on, slow down, don't be dazzled by the spectacle, for - as this project has shown - Carnival is not a neutral space but a 'contested territory', a trans-spatial, conflictual product and process of cultural-political struggle where - as Stuart Hall argues - 'living with difference' is not a gentle integrating process, but a fraught exchange of sameness and incommensurability across which racisms persevere and metamorphose.

Carnival has never existed 'outside the nation state' or 'mainstream city' (see 3.2), because it has always stood across an axis of fear and desire as the nation or city defines its 'other' (see for example Pieterse 1992; Mercer 1994; Fusco 1995). But today - increasingly - Carnival is presented as central to 'progressive', 'tolerant', 'multi-'racial'' discourses of Britishness: the desire has overtaken (or creatively transformed) the fear¹², White people go to Carnival. 'Whiteness' is thus theorized as reconstructed through the imitation, syncretism and appropriation of 'Black' forms and styles (see for example Hebdige 1987; Gilroy 1993b; Back 1996) to the extent that "(I)n most urban areas of Britain...Black youth culture simply *is* youth culture" (Younge 1998 p.2), and 'Cool Britannia' is 'Black culture' worn by

¹¹ See Leeds West Indian Carnival Programme 1988 p.2.

¹² See the 'Spotlight on the Caribbean' in *The Times* (29/10/96) for an example of how Carnival is exoticized - desired - in the national 'broad-sheet' press through the use of colourful photographs and metaphors which sit alongside representations elsewhere in the same newspapers which problematize Black people, often through the social spatialization of 'Black places'.

White people. Moreover, caught within these relationally reconstructed identities, 'Blackness' is re-imagined as a new affirmatory Britishness - a way of *being* British by *being* Black (see for example, Alleyne-Dettmers 1997; Gates 1997). Yet, simultaneously, racisms persevere, exclusion remains. This final opening of the project briefly exposes the contestability and provisionality of these new ethnicities. Three discourses: 'inclusion', 'exclusion' and 'in-exclusion' are presented as representations of the multiple spatialities of Carnival as the event is imagined and performed as - simultaneously - de-racialized¹³ and unified; racialized and sectional; inter-racial, variously and inseparably 'Black' and 'White'. Notions of collective memory are used here to show the precariousness and ceaseless transmutation of identities. As they traverse the global through the local, the 'progressiveness' of 'new ethnicities' is questioned, exposed as existing alongside a cultural politics of authentication and in-exclusivity.

Inclusion

Carnival is fun, celebratory, supplying splashes of colour, bouncing happy sounds, a spectacle of teeming gleaming togetherness. The Carnival streets are open, welcoming: you enter with your own agenda, claim your space, and dance *through* the crowd to the irresistible lilt of the unity beat. Black, White and Asian people work together for Carnival: making costumes¹⁴, mixing music¹⁵, integrating recipes¹⁶. And they play together at Carnival: in a troupe, on the decks, in the crowd (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2). In Chapelton and St. Paul's, Carnival appears as a symbol of harmony, a process of harmonization. It "is about joy, happiness,

¹³ They are 'de-racialized' because 'race' is re-imagined as unimportant, an irrelevance in 'the unity'. But of course, the initial construction and continuation of discourses of de-racialization depend on notions of racial difference for their 'neutrality' to be realized.

¹⁴ Such as school children as part of the *Mas* Camps Project in St. Paul's (see 4.4.1).

¹⁵ Such as the Rave Den Posse in St. Paul's (see 6.4).

¹⁶ A bewildering variety of food is available at Carnival, ranging from dishes authenticated as 'Caribbean' such as 'jerk chicken', to dishes which might be understood as 'hybrid' such as the 'saltfish balti' available at the St. Paul's Carnival in 1997.

fun, unity” (Norma Hutchinson 1997 p.28¹⁷), a “unifying bridge between the cultures of the English people and the West Indians” (Leeds West Indian Carnival Programme, 1988 p.8), predicated upon the “re-working of symbols in context where they have a particular and creative expression (which) provides the terms and means of cross-racial communication” (Back 1996 p.51).

There is an intentionality of inclusion - “(I)t’s a great way to bring different classes, races and cultures together at least for one day of the year” (Leeds Interview 1 - James, quoted in the Leeds West Indian Carnival Programme, 1992 p.2); an awareness of inclusion - “whatever stick I was getting from the ‘Black Power’ people...in Carnival you could just - you know - you could get involved...” (Leeds Interview 16 - Rex: p.3); and sounds and symbols of inclusiveness - syncretic music and de-racialized costumes¹⁸ confirm that “it ain’t where you’re from, it’s where you’re at” (Gilroy 1993a pp.120-45). Carnival practically re-works previously discrepant collective memories through their new-found proximity as senses of place. It brings together routes, provides a space for their interaction and transformation, operates as a symbol of racial transcendence. Carnival gains its form and meanings in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s through the social relations of those places; notions of alliance, exchange, complementarity, hold a discursive position as a dominant collective memory, celebrating difference by extolling sameness; and thus, new inclusive senses of place emerge.

¹⁷ Norma Hutchinson is the (Black) Labour Councillor for Chapeltown. This quote is from *The Yorkshire Evening Post* ‘Carnival Special’, 28/7/97 p.2).

¹⁸ Those costumes without an obviously ‘racialized theme’. Of course - however - they can be worn ‘in a Black way’, or imagined as a ‘White costume’, regardless of form.



Figure 7.1: *Black and White jump-up together in St. Paul's, July 1997.*



Figure 7.2: *'Mixing it' in Chapelton, August 1997.*

Exclusion

Discourses of inclusion do not stand alone as *the meaning of Carnival*: difference remains primary. The social relations of a trans-local place are structured as much through abjection as affection, exclusion as inclusion; for identities are reconstructed across difference, understood through same/other negotiations which never fall neatly into neutral spaces of a de-racialized collective 'we'. Moreover, bridges across cultures or 'races' - creating new cultures - are only necessary where differences are constructed and perpetuated through underlying racisms. Despite syncretism (be it inter-Caribbean, inter-generational, Black-White etc.), roots are defined, authenticated, mapped on to the social relations of place as a way of identifying people through their constructed differences. Carnival is variously 'Afrikanized' (see for example 4.4), Caribbeanized (see for example 4.2), essentialized as by, of and for 'Black' people - the 'Black community' (however this is *bounded*) - through the evocation of collective memories which other 'races' and ethnicities could never share: the 'de-racialized costume' may be authentically 'Black' in meaning if not form. Richard (Leeds Interview 7) makes this clear:

"I think it was Malcom-X who said that - you know - 'we've got to believe it ourselves before we start doing it for others'. I think Carnival is very much the same. If the majority of Afro-Caribbean people - right - took part in Carnival in Chapeltown, then it's inevitable that other people from other origins will take part. But if Black people in Chapeltown aren't too actively taking part, then why should people want to jump the queue and take over or participate? I think it's truly about getting more Afro-Caribbeans to take part and then others are more welcome to follow if they do it right...At the moment it's the only positive means of portraying Black culture from a Black perspective without being controlled by White institutions, and I for one wouldn't want that to change" (Leeds Interview 7 - Richard: p.14).

Here, 'Black culture' is protected and valorized through Carnival *in* Chapeltown; 'White culture' can participate if 'they' respect the roots and ownership of the event by 'doing it right', but the priority is to remind Black people that the roots are theirs to (re)claim, perform, proudly exhibit. Carnival - on these terms - is a 'Black' event; costumes are worn from a 'Black' perspective; Whites are there by invitation only.

Yet there is an inconsistency here, for although many Black people do not participate¹⁹, many Black people participate in Carnival without 'doing it right' in terms of adhering to the collective memory of the 'authentic' Carnival to which Richard refers²⁰. Moreover, increasing numbers of White people seem to be 'doing it right' - adorning costumes, joining steel bands - while Blacks (and Whites, Asians etc.) are down the street dancing to jungle through their *mas by other means*. In this sense, Carnival is commodified and bought by different ethnicities - creating new ethnicities - through an edifying cultural politics of alliance. But here - again - contradictions emerge. For example, from above - as text - Black and White youth at Carnival dance together, wear the same clothes, make the same music, revel as a hedonistic ensemble in which 'race', 'roots' - the 'right thing' - is forgotten, displaced through the productive multiculturalism of the local and the recombinant trans-local collective memory of an emergent 'Bristol scene' or 'Cool Britannia'; yet each performs with his or her own travel story, subscribes to different collective memories through the reification of identity and the authentication of their actions. In this sense, jungle music, puffa jackets, basketball vests and baseball caps, can be re-imagined as part of the Carnival 'tradition', essentialized through diasporic affiliation²¹ as regenerative of collective memories which are 'Black' and of *this* community regardless of what Richard might say. Harry, a Black youth worker in Chapeltown makes the distinction between Carnival as it might seem from an aerial perspective, and the event "from the heart, as it is for myself":

"With the jungle and all that, or even with the White people wearing costumes, it looks - you know - as if it's all together, that anybody can do it and understand it...but we must remember the roots. The roots go back to Afrika" (Leeds Interview 18 - Harry: p.17).

¹⁹ And this project might have been stronger had more non-participants been contacted.

²⁰ Of calypso and soca, and a walking *mas* of costumes which are colourful, flexible, original (see 4.3.1).

²¹ Which finds connection with 'Black America' as well as (in combination) with 'The Caribbean' or 'Afrika' ('Afrika' can be imagined through 'American' clothes, depending on its interpretation *in context*).

The forms may change, but the message - the meanings - are reconstructed as static, dutiful, steadfastly (yet discrepantly) of 'Carnival' and thus 'Black'. Whites might enjoy this - they may even find it exotic - but ownership can never be theirs: they can play along, but there are rules - Black rules - which they must observe, respect and follow. Ronnie, a Black youth worker in St. Paul's adds to these rules:

"I think it should be a Black event in terms of Black-managed, Black-led; it should be that way, it should be organized by Black people for Black people - for all people - but it should be Black-managed and Black-led in the way it was designed to be...it should give priority to Black people in terms of who sells there, what kind of food you sell, the kind of music...there is no question of compromising in that way...I think they (the Carnival organizers) should specifically focus and call it what it is - it should be called an Afrikan-Caribbean Carnival to discount the fact that there are White people living in St. Paul's who feel 'this is for me as well'..." (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: p.9).

The prevalence of contextual racisms - which necessitate this Black protectionism - kindle exclusive collective memories as a political and affectual necessity. The unity beat fades, it is an impostor: the sound of Whites dreaming of Blackness, a stylization²² without the substance - authenticity, pride and pain - of an exclusively 'Black' collective memory.

In-exclusion

There is not one collective memory of Blackness; there are many. Different notions of Afrika interpenetrate different notions of Caribbeanness, Europeanness, Britishness, or *however* the spatialities of identity might be imagined and termed. Each works through and against the other to reconstruct Carnival and place; each is reconstructed through the performance of Carnival and place. Together - as new ethnicities - the signifier 'Black' is re-articulated, translated, contested through its

²² Celia Lury (1996 p.162) argues that - increasingly - 'race' is "represented as a matter of *style*" (original emphasis), a "masquerade" of aesthetics where Whites imitate and 'wear' Blackness through dress, music, 'attitude'. Yet, Lury's idea of the 'masquerade' is problematic since it suggests there is something 'real' beneath White appropriations of 'Black' aesthetics. However, to overcome this problem, rather than understanding the 'real' as some primordial racial essence, it can instead be interpreted *masking* the multiple racisms which permeate masquerades of Blackness, where Carnival and other cultural formations are appropriated by 'mainstream' culture. Carnival transforms yet Black people lack control over its transforming meanings, as it is exoticized and stylized by Whites who decide what to 'wear' and what this represents.

application and disavowal on the streets of Chapeltown and St. Paul's. Richard understands Blackness through the performance of a 'traditional' Carnival of walking *mas* with soca and calypso music; Harry maintains that jungle music upholds a fidelity to its 'Black roots' through its 'Afrikan perspective'; together with Ronnie they agree that Carnival is 'Black' without agreeing how this 'Blackness' is constituted. These discourses of spatiality are suggestive of how collective memories of Carnival and place variously overlap and clash, but also how they are relationally reconstructed, for each is a form of geographical knowledge - a trans-local and trans-temporal spatiality - reconceptualized through the contestation of what it means to be 'here' and 'now' in 'the local'.

This contestability over the meanings of Blackness is thus a contestation over the meanings of place: it is a matter of local racial politics, a struggle for the representation of specific collective memories which work through each other *within the multicultural*. It is through these struggles that identities are transformed, relationally reconstituted through the syncretism and counter-position of spatialities, (de)formed by the shadow of racism. It is thus through these struggles that terms - markers of difference - are redefined, recast, parodied and extemporized as well as reified and protected. 'Here' is an 'opening': Hanif Kureishi (1989 p.29) asserts that "(I)t is the British, the White British, who have to learn that being British isn't what it was. Now it is a more complex thing involving new elements". Contestations over the meanings of 'Blackness' at Carnival in Chapeltown and St. Paul's are caught in a dialectic which implicates multiple ethnicities, opening the way for a re-definition of 'Britishness' because it is 'here' - in Britain - that spatialities are reconfigured - made British. Despite their authentication as *exclusively* 'Black', Carnival forms and meanings - as they are contested - come into contact with, translate and are translated through the identities of British Whites, Asians - (and) other *local people*²³. Moreover, these

²³ Where there are many local ethnicities, many versions of 'local people', exceeding and displacing restrictive terms such as 'Black', 'White' and 'Asian'.

'groups' are also changed by Carnival, change Carnival; their 'Britishness' re-defined by the event, their differences²⁴ patterned through re-definitions of ethnicity as part of the social relations of place and thus Carnival.

This study of collective memories shows there is more to Carnival than the appearance of syncretic inter-cultural convergence, and Carnival is not demarcated - reconstructed - entirely through exclusion as a 'Black event'. Here is an extract from my research diary:

"9/6/97...This morning I walked across to Millpond school for the first time - across the motorway from St. Paul's...a walk past piles of rusty broken washing machines and fridges - an odd graveyard of 'white goods'. I met the others outside the school - each volunteer loaded with pens, strips of card, sacks of reject fabric from the hot air balloon factory. Inside the school we were introduced to the kids: 40 nine-eleven year-olds. Once the teacher had left, the noise started. We were showered with questions from anonymous voices in the crowd. Everyone seemed to know what Carnival would involve: "Will we be dancing on the stage again?", asked a gangly Black girl; "I want to be Carnival Queen cos last year they said it's for top juniors", screamed a podgy Asian girl in an orange sari; "What's the theme? It's Nike innit?", joked a little White boy as he prodded his Black friend with a pencil; "Yeah, and I'll be the Afrikan King of Nike and you the English Princess", retorted his friend...an argument followed..."I'll be the King", said the White boy; "nah, you can't cos you're not Black innit. You is the Princess and everyone down Grosvenor Road will laugh at you". They were getting rowdy, so Sue (Bristol Interview 4) told them to shut up..." (Extract from my research diary after a visit to a school as part of the St. Paul's Carnival Camps Project).

Carnival is collectively remembered by *all* these children: it is part of 'growing up' in St. Paul's. For them, the event is not structured through exclusion: it is 'for' everybody, inclusive - without question - of the entire peer group. Contestations over the 'roots' of Carnival seem to take place 'somewhere' else, perhaps as an 'adult thing'. For these children, Carnival has developed as *their tradition*, incorporated across new ethnicities to become an event recognized as local and thus inter-racial, reconstructed through the amalgam of identities negotiated in the classroom, at the park, down the youth club. In this sense, Carnival is a symbol and process re-worked through the interaction and exchange of different cultural

²⁴ And corresponding racisms (see P. Cohen 1988; Pred 1997).

identities in context; and it provides a forum for their reconstruction as recombinant new (Bristolian, British...) ethnicities.

But there are discrepancies in this collective memory: different meanings of Carnival are claimed by different people through the “relativization and re-articulation of ethnicity” (Julien and Mercer 1988 p.5). In the above extract, the White boy suggests a Nike theme for Carnival - a global symbol localized through its recognition as a feature of multiculturalism. His Black friend then re-appropriates this version of Nike through its re-spatialization as an Afrikanized form. This position is *out of bounds* for his White friend, delimited by boundaries which define notions of difference within the collective memory of an in-exclusive St. Paul’s Carnival. Whiteness and Blackness are re-invented through the sharing of symbols (such as Nike) and thus memories (of Carnival and place), but their cross-identification and syncretism is encoded through processes of exchange and protection, commensurability and difference; bounded by place (Grosvenor Road, the classroom) and displaced (by spatialities of ‘Afrika’ or ‘Nike’). Just as Blackness is contested through Carnival, so are meanings of Whiteness, because senses of place, collective memories of Carnival, affinities and feelings of ownership, are re-negotiated (in this case through humour and irony²⁵) for everybody: through, with and against each other; within the social relations of the local.

Carnival is thus in-exclusive: collective memories are re-imagined through inclusion and exclusion; translating signifiers of ‘race’, redefining ethnicities; re-articulating multiple spatialities through their contested and embodied performance through - in, of, as - contemporary and transforming senses of place. Carnival is re-articulated differently in Chapeltown and St. Paul’s: it is contingent with and regenerative of different and connected collective memories. It re-makes

²⁵ Perhaps reducing the seriousness of claims of difference, or used to negotiate their seriousness by increasing their social acceptance.

place through these discrepantly racialized spatialities. Yet in each place the message is similar: collective memories are transforming through place. Carnival is a “we t’ing” because it implicates everybody, re-inventing place and nation through the cultural politics - in-exclusions - of the multiple spatialities of place. Ronnie (Bristol Interview 21) charts the transformation of Carnival in St. Paul’s:

“...it’s thirty years now since it started. When it first started it was what you call first generation Blacks coming in. Now there’s a whole heap of people who don’t have connections to Carnival in that way...so...there is a *new mood, there’s new people*, it’s not just about ‘oh let’s celebrate what happened in the Caribbean’...Carnival has changed with the community and St. Paul’s as a whole” (Bristol Interview 21 - Ronnie: p.13).

Wayne (Leeds Interview 11) relocates Carnival in Chapeltown:

“...it’s not really clear whose culture it is - you know - is it becoming a *Leeds thing*? Is it a *Black thing*? It’s definitely a Black thing because it came from the West Indies, but now it’s in Chapeltown, so it is a *British thing* now...” (Leeds Interview 11 - Wayne: p.13).

Together - at once - Wayne and Ronnie appear to be saying something similar, but they are not: Wayne talks through Chapeltown, Ronnie through St. Paul’s. Yet the processes, if not the spatialities, are resemblant: they connect Carnival to a contemporary *racialized context* and use this connection as a basis for memories of the event as it is routed across spatialities of migration and metropolitan transformation. Carnival symbolizes and re-articulates these dislocations and relocations, and performative struggles over how these travel stories should be represented provide a dynamic of antagonism and identification requisite for achieving and re-inventing a sense of place which is at once ‘progressive’ and obdurately essentialist. Racialized contexts (re)produce racialized Carnivals as they are re-articulated through racialized collective memories. It is through this opening that the project is closed...

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1,

SITUATED SITUATIONING: NAMING 'THE RESEARCHED'...

Each interviewee is introduced as 'from' Leeds or Bristol, and then through his or her number and pseudonym: e.g. 'Leeds Interview One: James'. This is followed by a brief summary of *selected* biographical and contextual 'information'. Each interview location was chosen by the interviewee. Care has been taken to maintain respondents' anonymity, but should anyone be 'exposed', please accept my apologies.

THE LEEDS INTERVIEWS:

NAME, LENGTH, PRACTICALITIES	DATE	BIOGRAPHY AND CONTEXT
Interview 1: JAMES Length: 1.5 hours. Taped and transcribed.	13/8/96	James is Black, in his fifties, working in education. Born in Nevis and a Leeds resident since the late 1950's, James is a prominent and long-serving member of the 'Leeds West Indian Carnival' committee and 'United Caribbean Association' (see 3.3.1 and 4.2). James is well-known throughout Chapeltown for his dedication to these organizations in terms of the maintenance of their 'traditions', and is often approached by the media as a 'community leader' who <i>always</i> has something to say. James was approached as a potential interviewee with this in mind: a 'figure' central to collective memories of Chapeltown and its Carnival. The interview was conducted at his workplace, across his desk. My first interview in Leeds, it was an opportunity to test preconceptions, develop directions and establish contacts.
Interview 2: JAMES	19/9/96	This was a follow-up interview with James to discuss Carnival post-Carnival 1996 ¹ . I was keen

¹ Following Cook and Crang (1995 p.36): "Given that the main aim of interviewing in ethnographic research is to allow people to reveal their own versions of events in their own

Length: 1.5 hours.
Taped and transcribed.

to explore further those directions indicated in 'Interview 1', and to contextualize them in terms of the latest Carnival which I had - for the first time - 'experienced'. I was also interested in developing the construct that James is a staunch (Chapelton-style) Carnival 'traditionalist'. Like before, the interview was conducted at James' workplace.

Interview 3: PHIL
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

10/3/97

Like James, Phil might be termed a '*Chapelton* Carnival traditionalist'. Black, in his sixties, a retired professional 'from' Trinidad, Phil is a central organizing figure for the event and is a patron for the West Indian Centre on Laycock Place. This was a follow-up interview to an unrecorded pilot interview on 3/9/96. The interview was arranged to discuss Phil's memories of Carnival in Chapelton through his memories of Port of Spain Carnival in Trinidad which he'd just visited for the first time in 15 years. The interview was held at his house².

Interview 4: JULIE
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

22/13/96

Julie is Black, in her thirties and one of the younger members of the Carnival committee. I met Julie through 'participant observation' as I helped manufacture costumes before the 1996 Carnival. Julie seemed to offer varying attitudes towards both Chapelton and Carnival, simultaneously supporting arguments such as those posited by James and suggesting re-articulations of these collective memories. Also, in 1996, Julie was 'Queen' for 'The Palace' troupe, so I was interested in exploring her gendered appreciation of the event (so far as this is possible from my gendered perspective). The interview was conducted at her workplace, where she manages a youth and community centre.

Interview 5: CYRIL
Length: 30 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

30/13/96

Cyril is White, middle-aged, and works for Leeds City Council's 'Recreation and Leisure Services'. Cyril was approached - quite simply - to discuss how Carnival is funded and organized. The interview was conducted at his workplace in east Leeds.

Interview 6: ELEANOR

8/9/96

Eleanor is Black, middle-aged, originally 'from'

words, it is important to ask follow-up questions in such a way as to encourage and critically question the stories told".

² Denzin (1970) rightly argues location is an important factor which influences the social relations of the research encounter. However, he discourages interviewing in respondents' homes, suggesting this overly burdens them since they are doubly pressured as interviewees and hosts. Instead, I consider the home - like any other venue - as a factor which should be considered in the psychodynamics of research, not avoided *through fear*. If the respondent asks for the interview to be conducted in his or her home - if he or she feels 'comfortable' with this - then 'the home', like 'the office' or anywhere else, provides a context to be taken into account, because context should not be ignored *wherever* the interview is staged.

Length: 1.5 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

Barbados, and works for a 'Black' charity organization in west Chapeltown. The interview was arranged speculatively in an attempt to escape the 'Carnival committee' emphasis of Interviews 1-3. Long and absorbing, the interview exemplifies how explorative cold-calling can introduce strong, detailed 'definitions of the situation'. The interview was conducted at her workplace.

Interview 7: RICHARD

11/9/96

Length: 2 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

Like Julie, I met Richard pre-Carnival 1996, in a cramped *mas* camp. I later 'got to know' Richard through my attendance at 'Costume-making classes' at 'The Palace' (see for example 2.3.2). Richard is a Black, middle-aged professional, originally 'from' St. Kitts, and a long-time Carnival committee-member. He is also renowned for his skills as a costume designer and his dedicated attempts (such as through the costume-making class) to preserve and promote costume-making in Chapeltown. Richard was a 'priority interview': to supplement what I'd learned from working with him, and to explore further what he had and hadn't expressed thus far. The interview was conducted - after watching several videos of previous Chapeltown Carnivals - in Richard's living room.

Interview 8: SIDNEY

12/9/96

Length: 1 hour.

Taped and transcribed.

Sidney is an exiled Chapeltown resident now living in Sheffield. Black, middle-aged, a 'professional', Sidney was born in St. Kitts. Despite living in Sheffield, Sidney always attends Chapeltown Carnival. Moreover, he travels regularly to Leeds before the event to assist with costume-making and to meet-up with friends and family. I met Sidney before Carnival 1996 while working at a *mas* camp. Interested in how and why he maintains his connection to the event, I arranged an interview which was held at his workplace in central Sheffield.

Interview 9: ALBERT

28/11/96

Length: 45 minutes.

Taped and transcribed.

Albert is a Black dreadlocked man in his thirties. He works for a local homeless charity. I met Albert at the Mandela Centre Singing group, where he plays the guitar and offers guidance to the younger performers. An interview was arranged after we'd had several conversations about Carnival and music while waiting for the singers to warm-up. I was particularly interested in how Albert contextualized Carnival in terms of wider musical and social spaces of Chapeltown, as a way of approaching Carnival *through* its contemporary cultural context and from beyond those more closely affiliated spaces occupied by Carnival committee members such as James and Phil. The interview was conducted at his workplace in the leafy surrounds of east

- Chapeltown.
- Interview 10: ANDY 6/12/96 Andy is Black, in his forties, and a popular soca DJ in Chapeltown. Each year he DJs at most of the Carnival events. Since music is central to Carnival, I was keen to interview someone who performs and produces music at and for the event. I met Andy over the bar at the West Indian Centre, bought him a drink and eventually *manoeuvred* (see 2.2.3) into a position where an interview was arranged. Andy failed to attend the interview - arranged for the back room in the West Indian Centre - so I went to find him where I thought he would be: the 'bookies'. Andy was losing that day, so he seemed quite pleased to follow me back to the West Indian Centre for the interview.
- Interview 11: WAYNE 24/1/97 Wayne is Black, in his late twenties, of Jamaican parentage. He manages a local media production company which focuses on cultural and political issues sensitive to Chapeltown - such as Carnival. I approached Wayne speculatively, because I wanted to talk to some younger local people, away from the organizing core of Carnival. Since the interview I spent a lot of 'social time' with Wayne, away from my overt capacity as a 'researcher', meeting other young Chapeltown residents in local pubs and bars. The interview was conducted at his workplace west of Chapeltown Road (see Figure 3.1).
- Interview 12: AMY 28/1/97 Amy is a Black reggae and soul singer in her thirties. She helps organize the singing group at the Mandela Centre. Her father is well-known locally for tutoring many of Chapeltown's steel pan players. I was interested in exploring Amy's memories of Carnival through a discussion of her father's influence on how she views the event, especially since her 'normal' (outside Carnival) musical tastes differ from those of her father. I was also aware that I'd interviewed few women. The interview was held after a session of the Mandela singers, at the Mandela Centre, west of Chapeltown Road (see Figure 3.1).
- Interview 13: LENNY 30/1/97 Lenny is a Black keyboard player in his thirties. Like Amy, he helps organize the Mandela Centre singing group. The interview was a follow-up to conversations I'd had with Lenny during my 'visits' to the centre. I was interested in contextualizing Carnival in terms of its relations with the 'wider musical scene' of Chapeltown. The interview was conducted at the Mandela Centre.
- Interview 14: SYLVESTER 3/2/97 Sylvester is a Black barber in his mid-twenties. I visited Sylvester through cold-calling: I had a hair

Taped and transcribed.

cut, got talking, arranged an interview. During the interview - held in his barber shop - we were joined by Sylvester's friend, a young St. Kittian visiting Leeds. His comments - as part of a conversation with Sylvester - added an extra dynamic to the interview, enabling me to take a less involved role as Sylvester and his friend became embroiled in an in-depth discussion of their own accord. The interview thus worked as a *mini focus group*, changing my involvement from interviewer to moderator.

Interview 15: CLIVE

5/2/97

Length: 1.5 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

Clive - Black, in his late-twenties, an engineer - is the youngest member of the Carnival committee. I met Clive in the Carnival costume-making classes at 'The Palace'. It became apparent that Clive holds different opinions regarding Carnival to other more 'traditionalist' committee members I'd spoken to previously. The interview was an opportunity to explore these issues further. Contrary to Valentine's (1997 p.117) warning that "noisy places" like pubs should be avoided, the interview was held in a pub in north Chapeltown which wasn't too 'noisy' and - after a couple of drinks - provided a particularly congenial atmosphere for conducting an interview.

Interview 16: REX

6/2/97

Length: 1.5 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

Rex is White, in his late-forties, a university lecturer. He is one of the few White people closely connected to 'community politics' and Carnival in Chapeltown. For many years he has worked unofficially as Carnival's photographer, documenting the event for public display in places such as the West Indian Centre foyer (where there is a permanent Carnival display). My journeys through Chapeltown seemed to coincide with those of Rex, so - eventually - an interview was arranged to discuss Rex's involvement with and attitudes towards the event, as a middle class White man in a largely Black working class context. The interview was held in Rex's house.

Interview 17: HANNAH

28/10/96

Length: 40 minutes.

Not taped or transcribed:
detailed notes taken after
the interview.

Hannah is a Black charity-worker in her sixties. I contacted her through cold-calling at an early stage in the research process. Hannah declined from having the interview tape-recorded. The interview was held over a desk at her workplace in west Chapeltown.

Interview 18: HARRY

13/2/97

Length: 2.5 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

Harry is a Black youth and drama worker in east Chapeltown. He helped to establish 'The Chapeltown Theatre Company' (latterly 'Kuffdem') in 1988. His activeness in local 'art networks' and his connection to youth drama projects meant that Harry was prioritized as a potential interviewee: for his views on Carnival, and to make new contacts. After cold-calling, an interview was arranged, which was conducted at

- Harry's workplace over coffee and doughnuts.
- Interview 19: MATT 19/2/97 Matt is a Black dreadlocked youth worker at the Mandela Centre. He was my first contact at the centre, introducing me to the singing group and youth project. Matt is the principal organizer for the 'Reggae in the Park' festival which occurs each year on the previous day to Carnival (see 5.2.2). This requires Matt to liaise with the Carnival committee. Moreover, it demands that he explores, books and promotes music for the festival, held to account by local youth eager to hear live reggae, soul and hip hop. This situates Matt specifically in relation to Carnival - a political and musical position I was keen to explore. The interview was held over Matt's desk at the Mandela Centre.
- Length: 2 hours.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 20: NICKY 19/2/97 Nicky is Black, in her sixties, a nurse. She is a stalwart Carnival costume-maker, each year working alone or as part her church's *mas* camp. An interest in this church-Carnival relationship prompted me to contact Nicky - by cold-calling and name-dropping - for an interview, which was conducted in her house.
- Length: 45 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 21: DARCUS 24/2/97 Darcus is the son of Richard (Interview 7). I interviewed Darcus to explore his memories of and attitudes towards Carnival as a comparison with those of his father. The interview was held - like Interview 7 - in his house in north Chapeltown.
- Length: 1.5 hours.
Taped and transcribed (although a faulty cassette limited the amount of audible material).
- Interview 22: ROGER 6/1/97 Roger is a Black Leeds city council office manager in his fifties. This interview was initially planned as an explorative interview in October 1996 (Roger had been suggested as a potential interviewee by a senior youth worker), but Roger went on holiday, followed by sick-leave. He then telephoned me to ask if I still wanted an interview, so, given the difficulties experienced arranging interviews with reluctant respondents, this was considered an opportunity which could only be a positive experience. The interview was held - with difficulty - in a noisy office in Leeds city centre.
- Length: 45 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 23: SAMANTHA 27/2/97 Samantha is Black, in her thirties, a public relations officer and Carnival committee member. Knowing her parents are Jamaican, I was interested in exploring Samantha's attitude towards Carnival - an event *in Chapeltown* organized mainly by people of Eastern Caribbean descent. I met Samantha prior to the 1996 Carnival when she visited the Palace *mas* camp. The interview was conducted in her house.
- Length: 1.5 hours.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 24: PAMELA 28/2/97 Pamela is Black, in her thirties, an editor of a

Length: 30 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

local 'community newsletter' and a poet. She has written a book of Carnival poems. The interview was arranged to discuss her memories of Carnival, using the poems as a starting point. I was also interested in talking to Pamela about her newsletter in terms of its purpose in Chapelton and her positionality as a local woman working to highlight those 'more positive' aspects of place. The interview was held in Pamela's flat.

Interview 25: DAVE
Length: 40 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

5/3/97 Dave is a Black teenager - the grandson of Nicky (Interview 20). He was approached through Nicky to discuss his position relative to Carnival - nurtured on Carnival, yet exploring different cultural spaces with his peer group. The interview was held in his kitchen.

Interview 26: DEBBY
Length: 20 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

11/3/97 Debby is a Black Trinidadian academic working at Leeds University. She actively networks with 'Carnivalists' across the world, co-ordinating a Carnival working group. I interviewed Debby 'researcher to researcher' to share ideas, explore concepts. The interview was held at her workplace.

Interview 27: LUTHER
Length: 1.5 hours.
Taped and transcribed.

12/3/97 Luther is a Black Trinidadian in Leeds to teach steel pan. Luther was approached as a 'global Carnival practitioner': he has recent memories of performing Carnival across the world. The interview was conducted in Luther's house, where I was also treated to flapjack, a steel pan recital and elementary pan lesson.

THE BRISTOL INTERVIEWS:

Interview 1: EMILY
Length: 30 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

20/6/96 Emily was interviewed as a 'pilot interview' as I 'explored' St. Paul's. Black, in her thirties, 'unemployed', Emily - like myself - worked in 1996 as a Carnival volunteer. The interview was held at the Kuumba Project.

Interview 2: ANDREW
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

19/6/96 Andrew is White, in his forties, a leading organizer of the St. Paul's Carnival. He has worked with the event for as long as anybody since he arrived in the area as a community worker in the 1970s. Andrew was interviewed here as an exploratory interview as I 'settled in' to my role at Kuumba where Andrew works. Andrew's Whiteness - his minority status - was a factor I was keen to discuss. The interview was held in the Sankore library at the Kuumba Project.

Interview 3: RODNEY

27/6/96 Rodney is a 'Rastafarian' and reggae record shop

Length: 30 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

owner in St. Paul's. He was approached 'over the counter', as I visited his shop. I mentioned I was researching Carnival, he showed interest, an interview was arranged. I was keen to develop an understanding of the event's musical development through the memories of someone such as Rodney.

Interview 4: SUE
30/6/96
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

Sue is Black, in her late twenties, a designer seasonally employed by the St. Paul's Carnival to co-ordinate the 'Carnival Camps Project' (see for example, 4.4.1). I worked with Sue everyday for eight weeks leading up to the 1996 and 1997 events, developing as friends and counterparts. By the end of the 1997 Carnival, Sue had revealed her attitudes towards the event in St. Paul's in greater depth than any interview could hope to divulge. However, this interview was conducted - at the site of the Camps' Project base in west St. Paul's - when Sue and I were relative 'strangers'. Different 'levels' of affinity affect the structure of the interview, the social dynamics and power relations, and thus what is said and how it is interpreted.

Interview 5: MATILDA
21/6/96
Length: 30 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

Matilda is Black, in her thirties, a secretary at a local charity. This interview was arranged through cold-calling as I knocked on the door of her workplace one afternoon when 'wandering' the streets. The interview was conducted in her workplace as a speculative venture with the hope - perhaps - of developing ideas and finding new contacts.

Interview 6: INNA SENSE
2/7/96
Length: 40 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

This 'mini focus group' was held at the Kuumba Project where 'Inna Sense' - a Black youth theatre group - were rehearsing for a performance as part of the pre-Carnival 1996 programme. Present were two boys, two girls and Julian - a cameraman (although this was not filmed) I worked with for a few weeks prior to Carnival 1996 (someone I 'shadowed' as a point of 'entry'). Julian and I acted as facilitators, discussing with Inna Sense their attitudes towards Carnival and recent 'troubles' in St. Paul's (see Chapter 3). This was a research opportunity: set-up by Julian, gatecrashed by me, as my first chance to talk to some younger people 'outside' Carnival's central organizing networks.

Interview 7: BARBARA
11/7/96
Length: 45 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

Barbara is a White community development officer at a local church. Keen to 'get involved' with Carnival, identifying it as a 'community event', she was given responsibility in 1996 of 'Mandela's Hideaway' - the 'childrens' area' of the event. I wanted to explore her attitude towards Carnival in terms of its relationship - as a 'community event' - to 'the community' and

- the church. The interview was conducted over Barbara's 'home-made' chocolate cake at the church office.
- Interview 8: DAVE 11/7/96 Dave is a well-known reggae artist who has played at the St. Paul's Carnival several times. I was introduced to Dave through my work for *The Free News*. Eager to interview some musicians and DJs - as a way of complementing what was heard at the event - I arranged an interview which was conducted at his house, surrounded by keyboards and amplifiers.
- Interview 9: WINSTON 25/6/96 Winston is Black, in his seventies, a local publican and a previous Lord Mayor of Bristol. It was suggested by staff at the Kuumba Project that I might talk to Winston to discuss his memories of early events. The interview was held at Winston's pub on the eastern edge of St. Paul's.
- Interview 10: GAYNOR 10/7/96 Gaynor is Black, in her eighties, the oldest member of the Carnival committee. Winston suggested she would be 'good to talk to' since she had many memories of the event and had maintained an active involvement. This snowballing was followed-up by cold-calling as I knocked on Gaynor's door and introduced myself as a student interested in Carnival. After 'dropping' a few names with which I knew Gaynor was familiar, an interview was arranged and eventually held in Gaynor's house.
- Interview 11: ANDREW 17/7/96 This interview with Andrew serves as a follow-up to Interview 1. New directions, queries, ideas, had emerged, Carnival 1996 had passed and Andrew had more time to sit down and discuss Carnival in more 'depth'. Like before, the interview was conducted in the Sankore library at the Kuumba Project.
- Interview 12: GARETH 14/3/97 Gareth is Black, in his early thirties, a theatre director working in Leeds. Gareth established the 'Carnival Camps Project' in St. Paul's before moving to Manchester, then Leeds. He remains a member of the St. Paul's Carnival committee. The interview was held at his workplace in Leeds to discuss his role in and attitudes towards Carnival in St. Paul's, and to engage with his experiences of local cultural politics as they are differently reproduced in Leeds and Bristol.
- Interview 13: BUJU 22/4/97 Buju is a Rastafarian managing a youth and community centre in St. Paul's. His work 'in the community' and his role as a dancehall (see 6.2) venue promoter provided 'reasons' to pursue an interview. After cold-calling, the interview was conducted over a desk in his workplace.
- Interview 14: JANE & BEV 7/5/97 Jane and Bev are Black women in their early

Length: 40 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.

thirties, working for a local charity. Originally I planned to interview Jane 'alone', interested in her memories of Carnival as an active and prominent 'community' member, and as a Bajan with memories of Carnival outside St. Paul's. However, Bev asked if she could also participate, the added dynamic of another voice was appealing, and a 'mini focus group' commenced.

Interview 15: STEVE
Length: 3 hours.
Taped and transcribed.

15/5/97 Steve is a Black jungle music DJ in his early thirties. I met him at the Kuumba Project, which he visited to finalize details of where his sounds would be played during Carnival 1997. An interview was arranged to discuss his memories of Carnival and his attitude towards the event as a DJ interested in playing records. The interview was held in Steve's flat, surrounded by piles of records and mixing decks.

Interview 16: PAUL
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

20/5/97 Paul is White, middle-aged, working for Bristol Racial Equality Council (BREC). He was involved in early Carnivals (then called 'festivals'), and has maintained an interest in and connection to the event. I visited Paul to do some archival research at the BREC office in central Bristol. After chatting to him about his memories of Carnival, I asked if he would be interviewed so I could discuss his role in the event's development and how he contextualizes the event within wider socio-cultural relations of the city. Paul obliged, and the interview was conducted in his office.

Interview 17: PETER
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

23/5/97 Peter is Black, in his twenties, a reggae singer who has played at Carnival on three occasions. Someone at the Kuumba Project had 'recommended' him as a young local musician with "a lot of attitude". Considering this a *chance* to talk about Carnival away from the organizers and with someone younger, I approached Peter in his office (a charity campaigning for awareness of racially-motivated attacks and 'justice' for their [unpunished] persecutors) across the road from my flat. The interview was held in his office.

Interview 18: TRISHA
Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.

29/5/97 Trisha is Black, in her late-twenties, working for the 'Bristol Sickle Cell Anaemia and Thalassaemia Centre' on the western edge of St. Paul's. I approached her speculatively after a friend at the *mas* camps project suggested she would be interested in my project. Aware that I hadn't interviewed many women (although 'representativeness' is not my intention), I visited Trisha at her office and arranged an interview. The interview developed into a 'mini focus-group' when Trisha's colleague, Janice, asked if she could participate.

- Interview 19: BECKY 30/5/97 Becky is White, in her thirties, working for 'Community 500', a pressure group created to raise awareness of the sanguinary underbelly of Bristol's maritime 'glory' (see 3.2.2). I arranged to interview her to discuss how she remembers (historicizes, re-constructs) 'place' relative to dominant collective memories of Bristol which tend to elide factors such as the slave trade, instead glorifying in the cleansed grandeur of a 'city of trade and adventure'. The interview was conducted in the Sankore library at the Kuumba Project.
- Length: 40 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 20: CHARLES 2/6/97 Charles is Black, in his forties, the city councillor for 'Ashley Ward', which includes St. Paul's. Of Nigerian descent, Charles 'appealed' as a potential interviewee for his memories of masquerades in West Africa, his comparison of them with contemporary 'British' *mas* and his socio-political understanding of Carnival and its context - the area which he 'represents'. The interview was held at his office on the southern edge of St. Paul's.
- Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 21: RONNIE 18/6/97 Ronnie is a Black youth worker at the Kuumba Project. He is also a reggae DJ and has played annually at Carnival since arriving from Jamaica 10 years ago. A central figure in the 'Federation of Sounds' (see 3.4.1) his political centrality to the musical structure of Carnival was a motivating factor in arranging the interview. The interview was conducted in Ronnie's office at the Kuumba Project.
- Length: 1 hour.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 22: SOPHIE 15/7/97 Sophie is Black, in her forties, an artist of Nigerian descent. She is a Carnival Camps worker, paid to assist Sue (Interview 4). After working alongside Sophie during the 1997 Carnival, chatting about Carnival, St. Paul's, her artwork (which is deeply influenced by images of *mas*), I 'used' the interview to explore further issues and ideas developed over time. The interview was held at Sophie's flat in the middle of St. Paul's.
- Length: 1.5 hours.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 23: RAVE DEN 22/8/97 The 'Rave Den posse' are a group of four DJs and distributors based at a jungle record shop on the southern edge of St. Paul's. Black, White, in their twenties, the posse were approached to discuss their role in Carnival (as DJs and participants). Of particular interest was the ways collective memories might be (de)racialized within the posse as Black and White members offered discrepant and convergent opinions. The interview - or 'mini focus-group' - was held in the back room of their shop.
- Length: 40 minutes.
Taped and transcribed.
- Interview 24: OGONI 22/8/97 Ogoni is a 'Rastafarian' in his thirties. He works

Length: 2 hours.

Taped and transcribed.

as a manager at the Kuumba Project and is a leading figure in the organization of Carnival. The interview represents the culmination of several months working together as researcher (volunteer) / researched (boss) and friends.

APPENDIX 2,

MAKING INTERVENTIONS: CODING THE RESEARCH MATERIAL...

In this appendix, I describe how interview transcripts were coded and analysed alongside other research material. Each transcribed interview was read and re-read, and then colour-coded - thematically organized - through the identification of 'systems of signification' (see Wetherell and Potter 1992). Links were made between narratives from different interviewees and 'other sources' such as archival material and observations and interpretations made 'in the field'. This is based on an understanding that I - the interviewer and analyst - am intervening "in a process that is already highly developed", where each definition of the situation belongs to an "entire narrative environment" (Schrager 1998 p.297), interdependently (re)constructed through the (re)negotiation and performance of collective memories. What Wayne (Leeds Interview 11) says in the following transcript extracts (Extracts 1 and 2), is thus connected discursively to memories - spatialities - suggested by other respondents and in relation to 'knowledges' accumulated intuitively and in writing (such as in my research diary) as the research process and the allocation of themes developed. My role is to identify these connections, as well as disconnections, and thus interpret what is said in terms of how it might be thematically arranged as a comprehensible and relatable position.

At first there was no formulaic process through which I arranged information. I gathered scraps from what I saw, heard, read. These were often filed (thrown) together in folders, sometimes linked through notes. Gradually - through assiduous and eclectic cumulation - the potential of research material began to emerge. Through each research approach (from an interview to a costume-making class) I looked for similarities and differences. I attempted to identify and name individuals and groups by seeking (dis)connection between what I felt as I - for example - made costumes, what others might feel, and how they told me they felt in an interview or through a more 'casual' remark. *Triangulation* thus developed

by webbing together messages as I struggled to simplify - make sense of - spatialities which had developed from scraps to great smothering sheets of information.

Mistakes were made: it was easy to 'get lost', to be overwhelmed by an array of conflicting, paradoxical, seemingly amorphous narratives. At first I was too keen to enforce easy-to-write patterns on to non-compliant 'data': crude compartments such as 'young Black' and 'old Black' were sketched on to complex inter-generational relations as I discussed Carnival *too generally* with a large and unconnected 'sample' (see my research diary, 30/6/96). But gradually, by limiting the range of narratives to those of local (and mostly 'Black') people with a specific connection to Carnival, commonalities (collective memories which are widely recognizable if not supported) and significant differences (as these distinctive collective memories are contested) could be approached in more detail. In this sense, the approach - who I talked to and the questions asked - operated as a controlling factor, tightening the range of potential responses such that they were identifiable in relation to specific issues and particular memories. These 'specific issues' were identified as strategic interventions into trans-local spatialities. Different, contested and overlapping notions such as those of 'Afrika', 'The Caribbean' (referring to the 'region' and/or specific islands), 'St. Paul's', 'Chapeltown', and 'the Black community' were pre-eminent; they offered a means for the temporary classification of messages³.

It was at this stage that *colour-coding* was used. It was applied as a filing procedure, where colour-coded passages of interview transcripts, research diary notes and archival material, were grouped together or apart for their (in)compatibility. These groups offered a means of highlighting themes (which were already highly developed) through which different narratives could be

³ Which could have been termed in many different ways.

represented as the *writing process developed*. This arrangement of research material therefore responds to and conditions thematic direction, because it enables analysis to capture and identify pre-existing and transforming emphases. Below is an extract of a colour-coded transcript of the interview with Wayne (Leeds Interview 11). This is an early attempt at colour-coding, using only four colours to identify and highlight those general themes which were developing through the cross-analysis of different research materials. These codes were later re-coded, refined into sub-codes (see **Extract 2**), offering a more detailed interpretation of ‘what Wayne says’ and his position in relation - within systems of signification - to ‘what others say’. Moreover, each passage of text might inhabit - simultaneously - more than one code, or it might not be clear which code to use. In these situations, new codes or sub-codes were devised as part of an iterative process of reformulation through which chapters and sub-headings were developed to co-ordinate codes, systematize spatialities. For example, **Chapter Four** neatly contains discourses of ‘Afrika’ and ‘The Caribbean’; **Chapter Six** discusses these spatialities as they are re-articulated through discourses of ‘place’ in interview transcripts and alternative ‘sources’, as part of the sound, symbolism and commentary of music. Such chapters developed through a gradual identification of possible themes, and the internal dynamics of each chapter (the contested spatialities of collective memory) represent variations on or conflict with each dialectically-produced theme.

CODING SYSTEM.	EXAMPLES OF LATER (SUB)CODES.
Discourses of ‘Afrika’...	Discourses of ‘Rastafari’...
Discourses of ‘The Caribbean’...	Discourses of ‘Afrikan nationalism’...
Discourses of ‘place’/‘Chapelton’...	Discourses of ‘Afrikan roots’...
	Discourses of ‘St. Kitts/Nevis’...
	Discourses of ‘Jamaica’...
	Discourses of ‘home’...
	Discourses of ‘crime’...

Discourses of 'hybridity' ...

Discourses of 'the Black community' ...

Discourses of 'neighbourhood valorization' ...

Discourses of 'exchange' ...

Discourses of 'Black Britishness' ...

TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT 1.

TOM FLEMING (TF): Basically if we start off from your experience of Carnival and go in it at an angle from what you've been doing this year or last year, in terms of filming it and why or how you got involved and that sort of thing.

WAYNE (W): Yeah, well I mean originally, obviously I was just like a participant in the sense that - you know - I just turned up as a consumer, so it was like a one-way process at one point and - you know - you just sort of go to Carnival and you're not necessarily a part of it - you know - you just kind of attend it. That's how it used to be. I never actually even used to live in this area, I used to live in Hyde Park, and about ten years ago, Hyde Park, the young people in Hyde Park and people from Chapeltown used to actually be - you know - actually confront each other.

TF: Really?

W: Yeah, they were very sort of territorial and - you know - they were both sort of Black groups cross-over in fact. Hyde Park is more of a cross-over area, you've got Whites, Blacks and Asians - you know - and they'll mix a little bit. Chapeltown is a bit more Black. But you had like this Black on Black sort of - you know - confrontation thing going on. Now this is going back about ten, eleven years.

TF: Where was the battleground, in the Meanwood valley?

W: The battle was like Little London. I don't know if you know that area, Little London is like in-between, a sort of separate, and Little London is also like an area for like peace talks and - you know - for compromise and things like that. So that was all interesting because we're only going back ten years, so much things have changed in terms of I suppose - you know younger people from Hyde Park and different areas being able to come to Chapeltown freely and attend things like the Carnival as well. So - yeah - I used to be part of that crowd anyway. But then I started getting into youth work and things like that, and I'd come to the Carnival and then I'd get, well I was more interested in terms of who's performing and - you know - whether the people in the area could actually relate to the performers and get things from these performers. But what I learnt quite quickly was you have, you notice they have a Carnival committee in Leeds to keep things in order and everything, but the Carnival committee was quite distant in that I didn't really know who they were. I mean I'd moved to Chapeltown by this time and everything, I didn't know who the Carnival committee were, I didn't know what they were planning to do at the forthcoming Carnival. So I had to turn into some sort of investigator just to find out - you know - who was doing what. And even then I only got a couple of names, and those people were really sort of - you know - maybe not purposefully, but they were elusive - you know - in that they were busy or whatever - you know. You call and say 'can you get back to us'

and they probably just thought 'oh we ain't got time to get back to these people enquiring about how we operate'. And what's more recently emerged I think is the fact that the Carnival committee is - you know - it sort of starts and ends with them - you know. You've got to be almost maybe a part of that committee to have any sort of influence on how the Carnival is run. There's not like a consultation process going on whereby they'll come to the community or they'll advertize on the radio or whatever and ask younger people and generations to get involved.

TF: They decide who's gonna be on it as well don't they?

W: Yeah, yeah, they decide that as well to a degree, which is, I mean it's all fair enough to a degree, I've lived to accept it more and more because of basically - you know - you're gonna have your youth groups that are more cross-over, because it's a generational thing almost. You know, my parents sort of came and they're West Indian even though they've taken residence here, they feel they're West Indian. So they've got traditions there, and the fact is at the younger age, like - you know - I suppose sort of under tens or whatever, they do enjoy it. They enjoy the little fairground section, because obviously that's, they can't really recognize it as a West Indian Carnival, and put it all into context. But yeah, it's just kind of fun to them and - you know - costumes and all things like that. So - you know - I do see a sort of value to it and a cultural value in that there's a connection between the younger Blacks living here and the Black people in the West Indies. You know - how they operate things there. It's just the fact that it's not really clear whos' culture it is - you know - is it becoming a Leeds thing, is it a Black thing, which it is definitely a Black thing really but it's from the West Indies, but now it's in Leeds, so it is a British thing now, but there is still this sort of Carnival committee thing. But, like I say, that's OK because it gives it an identity - you know - rather than people like me coming along and saying 'well I was born in Britain and you should put this guy on or that person', because for me, I should be able to do that as well. But maybe it is for them to sort of teach the general community more about the West Indies.

TF: Even then it's a very distinctive sort of Carnival and it's very one aspect - if you like - of it. I mean, from what I've found out from people I've met on the committee, it's basically what they remember in Nevis and St. Kitts, more so than other parts of the West Indies or whatever, so it's even more local than that from a...

W: Yeah...I accept that, I accept that - you know...it's not a sort of fixed terrain in terms of culture in the West Indies, because regionally and sort of from Africa or wherever and that connection's there, and you do get the young Black British person who's obsessed with that idea. You know - 'returning to Afrika' and stuff like that, and they don't know anything about Africa, in fact if they were to go to Africa, they'd probably be rejected - you know what I mean (laughs). Because I've heard all kinds of stories of people going to Africa - you know - young Black people, and they've got an English accent or whatever or - you know - the West Indian accent is put on almost and things like that. Because you are what you are, and they've just been called English and - you know - rejected in some ways and accepted in others - you know. That's just the way it is. I mean the West Indians over there are more accepted than Black British or Black European, but even then like - you know - you've got, West Indies is for West Indian people at the end of the day, because you've got Chinese, White, all kinds of different people in the West Indies who are West Indian - you know. It's not really clear as to how that's happened, because when you talk about West Indies or Jamaica, you think Black people, I do - you know - well I used to should I say and - you know - that's how it's been. So I'm learning more and more every day about how things are as opposed to how things should be or how things were or whatever. I don't know if I've answered your question there (laughs).

TF: It's just because when you talk about the West Indies and it's obviously a very diverse place and in a sense so is Chapeltown, so you have this very sort of, this Carnival is very definitive and people are very sure of what it is and where it is coming from and what it should be, like the rules and regulations of the Carnival and some people want to change it and some people don't and...

W: That's it, this is the point though I suppose. I don't think the people who want to change it, maybe they shouldn't have any right to change it anyway. Maybe they should be catered for in other ways - you know - I think that's maybe the way it should be. Because it is - you know - you may have a Black community, but you've still got diversity within that community - you know - you have different groups that think in different ways and...things like that really. But yeah, I think it maybe should stay in the hands of the people who originally set it up, even though I don't know what's gonna happen.

TF: Do you see it surviving like that?

W: I think it will change but I also think that - you know - the Carnival committee will battle to keep it more or less how it is...

TF: Do you think it has - you sort of mentioned - an education value or whatever? Do you think that is important, do you think there is a sense that you're in Britain, you're British and this is British, so there are cross-overs going on, but do you think Carnival is important for educating people about - you know - origins or whatever or...?

W: Yeah, well it raises your awareness doesn't it in a fairly sort of light-hearted way - you know - because Carnival is about celebration and doesn't get too serious. You don't like sit down and ask questions about your identity - you know - nobody forces you into those situations in fact. You know - if you're Black, you're not obliged to go at all really. That's how it is now - you know - it's just Carnival which they have in a certain area and attracts certain people. As I say, you get all sorts of different coloured people now, like proper West Indies, so it doesn't really have to be Black...I think it's more about like culture and things like that now. But yeah, I think there's an educational value to it as well - you know...just raising awareness really, of what's going on around us - you know - what's happening in the West Indies, how people live to a degree. Because once you see something at Carnival, it's so spectacular, you see the colours, you see the effort put into the costumes and things like that, well - you know - it has to mean something to somebody sort of thing (laughs). Because I mean it is so colourful and things like that...

TF: All the work that goes into it as well...

W: That's right.

TF: There's a hard-core of people that are in there all the time.

W: That's right, yeah. So you recognize that and you respect it - you know what I mean - because it is kind of very creative as well, and encourages creative initiative to design a costume and things like that, which - you know - are well impressive at the end of the day. Because they will base these costumes on different themes which have, I suppose at once upon a time, I mean I don't know too much about the history of Carnival and I would like to learn more - you know - and I suppose it's the Carnival that has put these questions into my head anyway. But once upon a time apparently, a lot of the costumes and things like that were based on something to do with slavery - you know - and slave masters and slaves and how the slaves behaved towards them and different things like that which were more serious, but it was all put on in a very sort of light-hearted way and was more seen as a celebration. But in fact it might have been a communication thing between, or the only means of communication - you know - for Black people or whatever - you know - to do with slaves or things like that. So I myself want to learn more about this...

Through this general coding process, themes were redeveloped through processes of selection. Such processes grew more discriminatory as the 'writing-up' period approached. At this stage, confirmatory material was highlighted ahead of awkward and contradictory material, since general themes had developed in relation to dominant narratives which could not lose their status as research or chapter themes because of minor deviations. However, discordant narratives were noted in a separate folder, themselves grouped together in relation to the themes which they transgressed (see **Extract 2**). Such material proved useful to illustrate how collective memories are ceaselessly contested and transformed.

This final coding process focused specifically on quotes, key words, corroborative material. Themes which had survived the ongoing scrutiny of trans-textual codification, required illustration, explanation. Passages from transcripts, photographs, archival material, my embodied memories (all of which had been analysed to develop research themes), were selected for inclusion within the critical written text of this thesis. Then, within this text, just as prior to writing this text, they were deconstructed, specifically accentuated, presented in relation to the flexible projections of strenuously-devised themes and directions. But, as with all of this research, they were left open to contestation, differential interpretation, *especially* from those quoted or described. **Extract 2** (which is the same text as **Extract 1**) shows how I struggled to highlight specific words, potential quotes and specific emphases of the interview with Wayne. The co-existence of different spatialities (such as discourses of 'Jamaica' and discourses of 'exchange', or

discourses of the 'Black community' developed through a criticism of 'them' on the Carnival committee) points to the complexity and multiplicity of collective memory, where each individual simultaneously occupies several overlapping and contradictory positions to create new memories as contemporary senses of place. An advanced version of the coding system used for **Extract 1** is employed in an attempt to convey this complexity (but different sub-codes were used for deconstructing other research texts).

CODING SYSTEM.

Discourses of 'Rastafari'...

Discourses of 'Afrikan nationalism'...

Discourses of 'Afrikan roots'...

Discourses of 'St. Kitts/Nevis'...

Discourses of 'Jamaica'...

Discourses of 'home'...

Discourses of 'crime'...

Discourses of 'the Black community'...

Discourses of 'neighbourhood valorization'...

Discourses of 'exchange'...

Discourses of 'Black Britishness'...

TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT 2.

TOM FLEMING (TF): Basically if we start off from your experience of Carnival and go in it at an angle from what you've been doing this year or last year, in terms of filming it and why or how you got involved and that sort of thing.

WAYNE (W): Yeah, well I mean originally, obviously I was just like a participant in the sense that - you know - I just turned up as a consumer, so it was like a one-way process at one point and - you know - you just sort of go to Carnival and you're not necessarily a part of it - you know - you just kind of attend it. That's how it used to be. I never actually even used to live in this area, I used to live in Hyde Park, and about ten years ago, Hyde Park, the young people in Hyde Park and people from Chapeltown used to actually be - you know - actually confront each other.

TF: Really?

W: Yeah, they were very sort of territorial and - you know - they were both sort of Black groups cross-over in fact. Hyde Park is more of a cross-over area, you've got Whites, Blacks and Asians - you know - and they'll mix a little bit. **Chapelton is a bit more Black.** But you had like this Black on Black sort of - you know - confrontation thing going on. Now this is going back about ten, eleven years.

TF: Where was the battleground, in the Meanwood valley?

W: The battle was like Little London. I don't know if you know that area, Little London is like in-between, a sort of separate, and Little London is also like an area for like peace talks and - you know - for compromise and things like that. So that was all interesting because we're only going back ten years, so much things have changed in terms of I suppose - you know younger people from Hyde Park and different areas being able to come to Chapelton freely and attend things like the Carnival as well. So - yeah - I used to be part of that crowd anyway. But then I started getting into youth work and things like that, and I'd come to the Carnival and then I'd get, well I was more interested in terms of who's performing and - you know - whether the **people in the area** could actually relate to the performers and get things from these performers. But what I learnt quite quickly was you have, you notice they have a Carnival committee in Leeds to keep things in order and everything, but the Carnival committee was quite distant in that **I didn't really know who they were.** I mean I'd moved to Chapelton by this time and everything, I didn't know who the Carnival committee were, I didn't know what **they** were planning to do at the forthcoming Carnival. So I had to turn into some sort of investigator just to find out - you know - who was doing what. And even then I only got a couple of names, and those people were really sort of - you know - maybe not purposefully, but they were elusive - you know - in that they were busy or whatever - you know. You call and say 'can you get back to us' and **they** probably just thought 'oh we ain't got time to get back to these people enquiring about how we operate'. And what's more recently emerged I think is the fact that the Carnival committee is - you know - it sort of starts and ends with **them** - you know. You've got to be almost maybe a part of that committee to have any sort of influence on how the Carnival is run. There's not like a consultation process going on whereby they'll **come to the community** or they'll advertize on the radio or whatever and ask **younger people and generations** to get involved.

TF: They decide who's gonna be on it as well don't they?

W: Yeah, yeah, they decide that as well to a degree, which is, I mean it's all fair enough to a degree, I've lived to accept it more and more because of basically - you know - you're gonna have your youth groups that are more cross-over, because it's a generational thing almost. You know, **my parents sort of came and they're West Indian even though they've taken residence here, they feel they're West Indian.** So **they've got traditions there,** and the fact is at the younger age, like - you know - I suppose sort of under tens or whatever, they do enjoy it. They enjoy the little fairground section, because obviously that's, they can't really recognize it as a West Indian Carnival, and put it all into context. But yeah, it's just kind of fun to them and - you know - costumes and all things like that. So - you know - I do see a sort of value to it and a **cultural value in that there's a connection between the younger Blacks living here and the Black people in the West Indies.** You know - how they operate things there. It's just the fact that it's not really clear whos' culture it is - you know - is it becoming a Leeds thing, is it a Black thing, which it is

definitely a Black thing really but it's from the West Indies, but now it's in Leeds, so it is a British thing now, but there is still this sort of Carnival committee thing. But, like I say, that's OK because it gives it an identity - you know - rather than people like me coming along and saying 'well I was born in Britain and you should put this guy on or that person', because for me, I should be able to do that as well. **But maybe it is for them to sort of teach the general community more about the West Indies.**

TF: Even then it's a very distinctive sort of Carnival and it's very one aspect - if you like - of it. I mean, from what I've found out from people I've met on the committee, it's basically what they remember in Nevis and St. Kitts, more so than other parts of the West Indies or whatever, so it's even more local than that from a...

W: Yeah...I accept that, I accept that - you know...it's not a sort of fixed terrain in terms of culture in the West Indies, because regionally and sort of from Africa or wherever and that connection's there, and you do get the young Black British person who's obsessed with that idea. You know - 'returning to Afrika' and stuff like that, and they don't know anything about Africa, in fact if they were to go to Africa, they'd probably be rejected - you know what I mean (laughs). Because I've heard all kinds of stories of people going to Africa - you know - young Black people, and they've got an English accent or whatever or - you know - the West Indian accent is put on almost and things like that. Because you are what you are, and they've just been called English and - you know - rejected in some ways and accepted in others - you know. That's just the way it is. I mean the West Indians over there are more accepted than Black British or Black European, but even then like - you know - you've got, West Indies is for West Indian people at the end of the day, because you've got Chinese, White, all kinds of different people in the West Indies who are West Indian - you know. It's not really clear as to how that's happened, because when you talk about West Indies or Jamaica, you think Black people, I do - you know - well I used to should I say and - you know - that's how it's been. So I'm learning more and more every day about how things are as opposed to how things should be or how things were or whatever. I don't know if I've answered your question there (laughs).

TF: It's just because when you talk about the West Indies and it's obviously a very diverse place and in a sense so is Chapeltown, so you have this very sort of, this Carnival is very definitive and people are very sure of what it is and where it is coming from and what it should be, like the rules and regulations of the Carnival and some people want to change it and some people don't and...

W: That's it, this is the point though I suppose. I don't think the people who want to change it, maybe they shouldn't have any right to change it anyway. Maybe they should be catered for in other ways - you know - I think that's maybe the way it should be. Because it is - you know - you may have a Black community, but you've still got diversity within that community - you know - you have different groups that think in different ways and...things like that really. But yeah, I think it maybe should stay in the hands of the people who originally set it up, even though I don't know what's gonna happen.

TF: Do you see it surviving like that?

W: I think it will change but I also think that - you know - the Carnival committee will battle to keep it more or less how it is...

TF: Do you think it has - you sort of mentioned - an education value or whatever? Do you think that is important, do you think there is a sense that you're in Britain, you're British and this is British, so there are cross-overs going on, but do you think Carnival is important for educating people about - you know - origins or whatever or...?

W: Yeah, well it raises your awareness doesn't it in a fairly sort of light-hearted way - you know - because Carnival is about celebration and doesn't get too serious. You don't like sit down and ask questions about your identity - you know - nobody forces you into those situations in fact. You know - if you're Black, you're not obliged to go at all really. That's how it is now - you know - it's just Carnival which they have in a certain area and attracts certain people. As I say, you get all sorts of different coloured people now, like proper West Indies, so it doesn't really have to be Black...I think it's more about like culture and things like that now. But yeah, I think there's an educational value to it as well - you know...just raising awareness really, of what's going on around us - you know - **what's happening in the West Indies**, how people live to a degree. Because once you see something at Carnival, it's so spectacular, you see the colours, you see the effort put into the costumes and things like that, well - you know - **it has to mean something to somebody sort of thing** (laughs). Because I mean it is so colourful and things like that...

TF: All the work that goes into it as well...

W: That's right.

TF: There's a hard-core of people that are in there all the time.

W: That's right, yeah. So you recognize that and you respect it - you know what I mean - because it is kind of very creative as well, and encourages creative initiative to design a costume and things like that, which - you know - are well impressive at the end of the day. Because they will base these costumes on different themes which have, I suppose at once upon a time, I mean I don't know too much about the history of Carnival and I would like to learn more - you know - and I suppose it's the Carnival that has put these questions into my head anyway. But once upon a time apparently, a lot of the costumes and things like that were based on something to do with slavery - you know - and slave masters and slaves and how the slaves behaved towards them and different things like that which were more serious, but it was all put on in a very sort of light-hearted way and was more seen as a celebration. But in fact it might have been a communication thing between, or the only means of communication - you know - for Black people or whatever - you know - to do with slaves or things like that. So I myself want to learn more about this...

In **Extract 2**, spatialities of 'Afrika' *and* 'exchange' are highlighted in green. This is because, at that stage in the analysis, I was pursuing the notion that spatialities of collective memory overlap and should thus be developed as concepts in relation to each other through processes of research analysis. Here, I was interested in how 'Afrika' can be discussed through notions of exchange and a recombinant 'Black Britishness'. Such cross-coding shows how themes constantly redevelop through the cumulation of ideas as they are drawn from relational narratives.

REFERENCES

- ABRAHAMS, R. (1983) *The man of words in the West Indies: performance and the emergence of creole culture* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore).
- ADORNO, T. W. (1941) 'On popular music', *Zeitschrift Fürsozialforschung* 9: 17-49.
- AGNEW, J. A. and DUNCAN, J. S. (1989) *The power of place* (Unwin Hyman, London).
- ALLEYNE-DETTMERS, P. T. (1996) *Carnival: the historical legacy* (Unpublished Paper - Copies available from author: Department of Sociology and Social Policy, Roehampton Institute, London).
- ALLEYNE-DETTMERS, P. T. (1997) "'Tribal Arts': a case study of global compression in the Notting Hill Carnival", in EADE, J. (ed.) *Living the global city: globalization as local process* (Routledge, London) pp.163-80.
- ALBROW, M., EADE, J., DÜRRSCHMIDT, J. and WASHBOURNE, N. (1997) 'The impact of globalization on sociological concepts: community, culture and milieu', in EADE, J. (ed.) *Living the global city: globalization as local process* (Routledge, London) pp.20-36.
- ALLINSON, E. (1994) 'It's a Black thing - hearing how whites can't', *Cultural Studies* 8.3: 438-56.
- ANDERSON, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism* (Verso/New Left Books, London).
- ANG, I. (1996) *Living room wars: rethinking media audiences for a postmodern world* (Routledge, London).
- APPADURAI, A. (1988) 'Putting hierarchy in its place', *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1): 36-49.
- APPADURAI, A. (1990) 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy', *Public Culture* 2 (2): 1-24.
- ASANTE, K. W. (ed.) (1996) *African dance: an artistic, historical and philosophical inquiry* (Africa World Press Incorporation, London).
- ATKINSON, D., COOK, I., LAURIER, E., and NASH, C. (1996) 'Remembering Bristol's late-imperial identities: tourism, commodity relations and the banana boat, 1918-96' (Research Proposal - Copies available from D. Atkinson, Department of Geography, University of Lancaster, Lancaster).
- ATKINSON, J. M. and HERITAGE, J. (1984) (eds.) *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- AVERILL, G. (1994) 'Anraje to Angaje: Carnival, politics and music in Haiti', *Ethnomusicology* 38: 217-47.
- BABCOCK, B. (1980) 'Reflexivity: definitions and discriminations', *Semiotica* 30 (1/2): 1-14.
- BACK, L. (1988) "'Coughing up fire': sound systems, music and cultural politics in South East London", *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 6: 203-18.
- BACK, L. (1993) 'The unity beat', *The Guardian* 13/10/93
- BACK, L. (1996) *New ethnicities and urban culture* (UCL Press, London).
- BAKHTIN, M. (1984a) *Rabelais and his world* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington Indiana).
- BAKHTIN, M. (1984b) *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics* (Trans. and Ed. By Emerson, C.) (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).

- BAKHTIN, M. (1986) *The dialogical imagination* (University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas).
- BANERJI, S. and BAUMANN, G. (1990) 'Bhangra 1984-8: fusion and professionalization in a genre of South Asian dance music', in OLIVER, P. (ed.) *Black music in Britain: essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (Open University Press, Milton Keynes) pp.137-52.
- BARRETT, J. (1996) 'World music, nation and postcolonialism', *Cultural Studies* 10 (2): 237-47.
- BARROW, S. and DALTON, P. (1997) *Reggae: the rough guide* (Penguin, London).
- BARTHES, R. (1973) *Mythologies* (Trans. by Lavers, A.) (Paladin, St. Albans).
- BASTIDE, R. (1978) *The African religions of Brazil: towards a sociology of the interpretation of civilization* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London).
- BAUDRILLARD, J. (1994) in FRANÇOIS, E., 'J. Baudrillard: une ultime réaction vitale', *Magazine Littéraire* 323 July-August 1994: 22.
- BAUMAN, Z. (1991) *Modernity and ambivalence* (Polity Press, Oxford).
- BAUMAN, Z. (1993) *Postmodern ethics* (Blackwell, Oxford).
- BAUMANN, G. (1990) 'The re-invention of bhangra', *World of music* 32.2: 81-95.
- BELL, D. and VALENTINE, G. (1997) *Consuming geographies: we are what we eat* (Routledge, London).
- BENJAMIN, W. (1973) *Charles Baudelaire: a lyric poet in the era of high capitalism* (1983, Verso, London).
- BENNETT, T. (1988) 'History on the rocks', in BARRY, D. and MUECK, S. (eds.) *The apprehension of time* (Local Consumption Publications, Sydney) pp.4-15.
- BERMAN, M. (1983) *All that is solid melts to air: the experience of modernity* (Verso, London).
- BERNARD, H. R. (1988) *Research methods in cultural anthropology* (Sage, Beverly Hills).
- BERTHELOT, J-M. (1992) 'Le corps comme opérateur discursif', *Sociologie et Sociétés* 24 (1): 11-19.
- BETTELHEIM, J. (1988) 'Jonkonnu and other Christmas masquerades', in NUNLEY, J. W. and BETTELHEIM, J. *Caribbean festival arts* (The Saint Louis Art Museum, in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle and London).
- BHABHA, H. (1986) 'Foreword: remembering Fanon: self, psyche and the colonial condition', in FANON, F. *Black skin, white masks* (Pluto, London).
- BHABHA, H. (1990a) 'The third space: interview with Homi Bhabha', in RUTHERFORD, J. (ed.) *Identity: Community, culture, difference* (Lawrence and Wishart, London): 207-221.
- BHABHA, H. (1990b) 'Interrogating identity: the postcolonial prerogative', in GOLDBERG, D. T. (ed.) *Anatomy of racism* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).
- BHABHA, H. (1994) *The location of culture* (Routledge, London).
- BHACHU, P. (1991) 'Culture, ethnicity and class among Punjabi Sikh women in 1990s Britain', *New Community* 17.3: 401-2.
- BONDI, L. (1990) 'Feminism, postmodernism and geography: space for women', *Antipode* 22: 156-67.
- BONNETT, A. (1996) 'Constructions of race, place and discipline: geographies of 'racial' identity and racism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 19.
- BOON, J. (1990) *Affinities and extremes* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

- BOURDIEU, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- BOURDIEU, P. (1984) *Distinctions: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA).
- BOURDIEU, P. and WACQUANT, L. J. P. (1992) *An invitation to reflexive sociology* (Polity Press, Cambridge).
- BRAH, A. (1992) 'Difference, diversity and differentiation', in DONALD, J. and RATTANSI, A. (eds.) *Race, culture and difference* (Sage Publications, London) pp.126-45.
- BRAH, A. (1996) *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities* (Routledge, London).
- BRISTOL, M. (1985) *Carnival and theatre: plebian culture and the structure of authority in renaissance England* (Methuen, New York).
- BROWN, H. G. and HARRIS, P. J. (1964) *Bristol, England: city of a thousand years* (Burlleigh Press, Bristol).
- BROWN, R. (1993) *Group processes* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford).
- BRYSON, N. (1988) 'The gaze in the expanded field', in FOSTER, H. (ed.) *Vision and visuality* (Bay Press, Seattle) pp.87-108.
- BURGESS, J. (1996) 'Focusing on fear: the use of focus groups in a project for the Community Forest Unit, Countryside Commission', *Area* 28.2: 130-135.
- BURGESS, J. and JACKSON, P. (1992) 'Streetwork: an encounter with place', *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 16: 151-57.
- BURGESS, R. G. (1982) *Field research: a source book and manual* (Allen and Unwin, London).
- BURTON, R. E. (1991) 'Cricket, Carnival, and street culture in the Caribbean', in JARVIE, G. (ed.) *Sport, racism and ethnicity* (The Falmer Press, London) pp.7-29.
- BURTON, K. and AWAN, S. (1994) 'Bhangra bandwagon: Asian music in Britain', in BROUGHTON, S. (ed.) *World Music: the rough guide* (Penguin, London).
- BUTLER, J. (1990) *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (Routledge, New York).
- BUTLER, J. (1997) *Excitable speech: a politics of the performative* (Routledge, London).
- BYGRAVE, M. (1994) 'Movement of the people', *The Guardian* 20/8/94 pp.28-33.
- CARTER, E., DONALD, J. and SQUIRES, J. (eds.) (1993) *Space and place: theories of identity and location* (Lawrence and Wishart, London).
- CASEY, E. S. (1993) *Getting back into place* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington).
- CASHMORE, E. and TROYNA, B. (eds.) (1982) *Black youth in crisis* (Allen and Unwin, London).
- CHAMBERS, I. (1985) *Urban rhythms: pop music and popular culture* (Macmillan, London).
- CHAMBERS, I. (1994) *Migrancy, culture, identity* (Routledge, London).
- CHASTEEN, J. C. (1996) 'The prehistory of samba: Carnival dancing in Rio de Janeiro 1840-1917', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28.1: 29-47.
- CHAUDHARY, V. (1994) 'The pub from hell', *The Guardian* 1/11/94.
- CHERNOFF, J. M. (1979) *African rhythm and African sensibility* (Chicago University Press, Chicago).

- CHOW, R. (1993) 'Listening otherwise, music miniaturized: a different type of question about revolution', in DURING, S. (ed.) *The cultural studies reader* (Routledge, London) pp.382-99.
- CHRISMAN, L. (1997) 'Journeying to death: Gilroy's Black Atlantic', *Race and Class* 39 (2): 51-64.
- CLIFFORD, J. (1986a) 'On ethnographic allegory', in CLIFFORD, J. and MARCUS, G. M. (eds.) *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London) pp.98-121).
- CLIFFORD, J. (1986b) 'Introduction: partial truths', in CLIFFORD, J. and MARCUS, G. M. (eds.) *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London) pp.1-26.
- CLIFFORD, J. (1988) *The predicament of culture: twentieth century ethnography, literature, and art* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts)
- CLIFFORD, J. (1994) 'Diasporas', *Cultural anthropology* 9: 302-38.
- CLIFFORD, J. (1997) *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London).
- COHEN, A. (1982) 'A polyethnic London Carnival as a contested cultural performance', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 5.1: 23-41.
- COHEN, A. (1993) *Masquerade politics: explorations in the structure of urban cultural movements* (Oxford, Berg).
- COHEN, A. P. (1985) *The symbolic construction of community* (Tavistock, London).
- COHEN, P. (ed.) (1988) *Multi-Racist Britain* (Macmillan, Basingstoke).
- COHEN, R. (1978) 'Ethnicity: problem and focus in anthropology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7: 379-404.
- COHEN, S. (1993) 'Ethnography and popular music studies', *Popular Music* 12/2: 123-38.
- COHEN, S. (1997) 'Identity, place and the 'Liverpool sound'', in STOKES, M. (ed.) *Ethnicity, identity and music: the musical construction of place* (Berg, Oxford) pp.117-34.
- CONFINO, A. (1997) 'Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method', *The American Historical Review* 102.5: 1386-1403.
- CONNERTON, P. (1989) *How societies remember* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- CONNOR, G. (1995) *Culture, identity and the music of Notting Hill Carnival* (Mmus in ethnomusicology, SOAS, University of London, London).
- CONNOR, G. (1996) 'Introduction to the Bretton Hall Carnival Research Group', copies available from the author: Department of Music, Bretton Hall College, The University of Leeds, Bretton Hall, near Wakefield, West Yorkshire.
- COOK, I. and CRANG, M. (1995) *Doing ethnographies: concepts and techniques in modern geography* 58 (Environmental Publications, Norwich).
- COOK, I. and CRANG, P. (1996) 'The world on a plate: culinary culture, displacement and geographical knowledges', *Journal of Material Culture* 1: 131-54.
- COPLAN, D. (1997) 'Musics', *Anthropology - Issues and Perspectives II, International Social Science Journal* 154: 585-95.
- CORBIN, J. and STRAUSS, A. (eds.) (1997) *Grounded theory in practice* (Sage, London).
- COSTELLO, M. and WALLACE, D. F. (1990) *Signifying rappers: rap and race in the urban present* (Ecco Press, New York).

- COTTERILL, P. (1992) 'Interviewing women: issues of friendship, vulnerability and power', *Women's Studies International Forum* 15 (5/6): 593-606.
- COTTON, A. (1985) 'Sight and sound', in *Voices of our Jerusalem: poetry and prose in Chapeltown* No.2, September 1985.
- COULTHARD, M. and MONTGOMERY, M. (eds.) (1981) *Studies in discourse analysis* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London).
- CRANE, S. A. (1998) 'Writing the individual back into collective memory', *The American Historical Review* 102.5: 1372-85.
- CRANG, M. (1996) 'Envisioning urban histories: Bristol as palimpsest, postcards and snapshots', *Environment and Planning A* Vol. 28: 429-52.
- CRANG, M. (1997) 'Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze', *Progress in Human Geography* 21.3: 359-73.
- CRANG, P. (1994) 'It's showtime: on the workplace geographies of display in south-east England', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (6): 675-704.
- CRANG, P. (1996) 'Displacement, consumption and identity', *Environment and Planning A* 28: 47-67.
- CRESSWELL, T. (1994a) 'Putting women in their place: the Carnival at Greenham Common', *Antipode* 26.1: 35-58.
- CRESSWELL, T. (1994b) 'Writing, reading, and the problem of resistance: a reply to McDowell', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21: 420-24.
- CRESSWELL, T. (1996) *In place/out of place: geography, ideology and transgression* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London).
- CRICK, M. (1992) 'Ali and me: an essay in street-corner anthropology', in OKELY, J. and CALLAWAY, H. *Autobiography and autobiography* (Routledge, London) pp.175-92.
- CRUMP, J. (1986) 'The identity of English music: the reception of Edward Elgar, 1898-1935', in COLLS, R. and DODD, P. (eds.) *Englishness, politics and culture 1880-1929* (Croom Helm, London) pp.164-90.
- CURTIS, J. R. (1987) 'Woodie Guthrie and the dust bowl', in CARNEY, G. O. (ed.) *The sounds of people and places: readings in the geographies of American folk and popular music* (University Press of America, New York and London) pp.75-89.
- CURTIS, J. R. and ROSE, R. F. (1987) 'The Miami sound: a contemporary Latin form of place-specific music', in CARNEY, G. O. (ed.) *The sounds of people and places: readings in the geography of American popular music* (University Press of America, New York and London) pp.285-300.
- DANDO, N. and BURTON, R. (1996) 'Faces of evil', *Bristol Evening Post* 17/4/96: 1.
- DAVIS, F. (1974) *Yearning for yesterday: a sociology of nostalgia* (Free Press, New York).
- DAVIS, F. (1992) *Fashion, culture and identity* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- DAVIS, S. G. (1986) *Parades and power: street theatre in 19th Century Philadelphia* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia).
- DEAR, M. (1988) 'The postmodern challenge: reconstructing human geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* 10: 45-62.
- De CERTEAU, M. (1984) *The Practice of everyday life* (University of California Press, London).
- De COPPET, D. (ed.) (1992) *Understanding rituals* (Routledge, London).

- DELEUZE, G. and GUATTARI, F. (1988) *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Athlone, London) (First published 1987, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).
- DE NORA, T. (1997) 'Music and erotic agency: sonic resources and sexual action', *Body and Society* 3.2: 43-65.
- DENZIN, N. (1970) *The research act: a theoretical introduction to social research* (Aldine, Chicago).
- DENZIN, N. (1997) *Interpretive ethnography: ethnographic practices for the 21st century* (Sage, London).
- DEUTSCHE, R. (1991) 'Boys Town', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9: 5-30.
- DOUGLAS, M. (1966) *Purity and danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo* (Routledge, London).
- DRAKE, C. (1987) *Black folks here and there* (University of California Press, Berkeley).
- DUKE, C. (1970) *Colour and rehousing: a study of redevelopment in Leeds* (Institute of Race Relations/Special series).
- DUNAWAY, D. K. and BAUM, W. K. (eds.) *Oral history: an interdisciplinary anthology* (American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee).
- DUNCAN, J. and DUNCAN, N. (1988) '(Re)reading the landscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 117-26.
- DUNCAN, N. and SHARP, J. P. (1993) 'Confronting representations', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11: 473-86.
- DWYER, C. (1993) 'Constructions of Muslim identity and the contesting of power: the debate over Muslim schools in the United Kingdom', in JACKSON, P. and PENROSE, J. (eds.) *Constructions of race, place and nation* (UCL Press, London) pp.143-59.
- DWYER, K. (1977) 'On the dialogic of fieldwork', *Dialectical Anthropology* 2: 143-51.
- EADE, J. (ed.) (1997) *Living the global city: globalization as local process* (Routledge, London).
- EAGLETON, T. (1981) *Walter Benjamin: towards a revolutionary criticism* (Verso, London).
- ECO, U. (1984) 'The frames of comic freedom', in ECO, U., IVANOV, V. and RECTOR, M. (eds.) *Carnival* (Mouton, Berlin).
- EDENSOR, T. (1997) 'National identity and the politics of memory: remembering Bruce and Wallace in symbolic space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15.2: 175-94.
- EMBERLY, J. V. (1993) *Thresholds of difference: feminist critique, native women's writings, post-colonial theory* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto).
- ENGLAND, K. (1994) 'Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality and feminist research', *The Professional Geographer* 46 (1): 80-89.
- ERLMANN, V. (1996) 'The aesthetics of the global imagination: reflections on world music in the 1990s', *Public Culture* 8: 467-87.
- EVANS, M. (1988) 'Participant observation - the researcher as a research tool', in EYLES, J. and SMITH, D. M. (eds.) *Qualitative methods in human geography* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) pp.197-218.
- EWENS, G. (1991) *Africa o-ye! A celebration of African music* (Guinness Publishing, London).
- EYLES, J. and PEACE, W. (1990) 'Signs and symbols in Hamilton: an iconology of steel town', *Geografiska Annaler* 72B (2-3): 73-88.

- FABIAN, J. (1983) *Time and the other: how anthropology makes its object* (Columbia University Press, New York).
- FABIAN, J. (1990) *Power and performance* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison).
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. (1995) *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language* (Longman, London).
- FANON, F. (1965) *The wretched of the earth*, (Trans. by Farrington, C.) (MacGibbon and Kee, London).
- FARRAR, M. (1988) 'The politics of Black youth workers in Leeds', *Critical Social Policy* Issue 23: 94-117.
- FARRAR, M. (1994) *The Black settlement in Leeds: how do we write this history?* (Unpublished paper: copies available from author, School of Cultural Studies, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds).
- FARRAR, M. (1996a) *The Chapeltown Carnival: an interpretation of its cultural and political meanings* (Unpublished paper: copies available from author, School of Cultural Studies, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds).
- FARRAR, M. (1996b) 'Migrant spaces and settlers' time: forming and de-forming an inner city', in WESTWOOD, S. and WILLIAMS, J. (eds.) *Imagining cities: scripts, signs and memory* (Routledge, London).
- FARRAR, M. (1996c) *Black communities and processes of exclusion* (Unpublished paper: copies available from author, School of Cultural Studies, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds).
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (ed.) (1990) *Global culture: nationalism, globalization and modernity* (Sage, London).
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (1995) 'Global and local cultures', in BIRD, J., CURTIS, B., PUTNAM, T., ROBERTSON, G., TICKNER, L. (eds.) *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change* (Routledge, London) pp.169-87.
- FELD, S. (1984) 'Communication, music, and speech about music', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 6: 1-18.
- FERNANDO, S. H. (1994) *The new beats: exploring the music, culture and attitude of hip hop culture* (Harmony Books, New York).
- FISCHER, M. J. (1986) 'Ethnicity and the post-modern arts of memory', in CLIFFORD, J. and MARCUS, G. M. *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London) pp.195-233.
- FISKE, J. (1990) 'Ethnosemiotics: some personal and theoretical reflections', *Cultural Studies* 4: 85-99.
- FLETCHER, J. and BENJAMIN, A. (eds.) (1990) *Abjection, melancholia and love: the work of Julia Kristeva* (Routledge, London).
- FLINN, G. (1996) 'Living with fear in suburb of death', *Yorkshire Post* 10/4/96: 5.
- FOLCH-SERRA, M. (1990) 'Place, voice, space: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical landscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 8: 255-74.
- FOSTER, A. (1989) 'The dynamics of small groups', in ROBSON, S. (ed.) *Qualitative research in action* (Edward Arnold, London) pp.25-45.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1980) *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-77* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead).

- FOUCAULT, M. (1982) 'The subject and power', Afterword in DREYFUS, H. and RABINOW, P. *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- FOUCAULT, M. (1986) 'Of other spaces', *Diacritics* 16(1): 22-7.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1989) *The order of things* (Tavistock/Routledge, London).
- FRANKENBERG, R. (1993) *White women, race matters: the social construction of whiteness* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).
- FREY, J. H. and FONTANA, A. (1993) 'The group interview in social research', in MORGAN, D. L. (ed.) *Successful focus groups: advancing the state of the art* (Sage Publications, London) pp.20-34.
- FRIETAS, A., CHANDLER, J., HALL, C., KIM, J. W., HAMMIDI, T. (1997) 'Appearance management as border construction: least favourite clothing, group distancing, and identity...not!', *Sociological Inquiry* 67.3: 323-35.
- FRITH, S. (1988) *Music for pleasure* (Blackwell, Oxford).
- FRITH, S. (1992) 'The cultural study of popular music', in GROSSBERG, L., NELSON, C. and TREICHLER, P. (eds.) *Cultural Studies* (Routledge, London): pp.174-86.
- FRITH, S. (1996a) *Performing rites* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts).
- FRITH, S. (1996b) 'Music and identity, in HALL, S. and DU GAY (eds.) *Questions of cultural identity* (Sage Productions, London): pp.108-27.
- FRYER, P. (1984) *Staying power: the history of Black people in Britain* (Pluto Press, London).
- FUSCO, C. (1995) *English is broken here: notes on cultural fusion in the Americas* (The New Press, New York).
- FUSS, D. (1989) *Essentially speaking: feminism, nature and difference* (Routledge, London).
- FURBISHER, J. (1991) 'No-Go 1991', *The Sunday Times* 'Focus' 4/8/91: 9.
- GAME, A. and METCALFE, A. (1996) *Passionate sociology* (Sage, London).
- GARBER, M. (1992) *Vested interests: cross-dressing and cultural anxiety* (Routledge, New York).
- GARRISON, L. (1979) *Black youth, rastafarianism, and the identity crisis in Britain* (Acer Project Publication, London).
- GATES (Jnr) H. L. (1997) 'Black flash', *The Guardian* (The Week) 19/7/97: 1-2.
- GEERTZ, C. (1988) *Works and lives: the anthropologist as author* (Polity Press, Cambridge).
- GELL, A. (1975) *Metamorphosis of the Cassowaries* (Athlone Press, London).
- GIDDENS, A. (1990) *The consequences of modernity* (Polity/Blackwell, Cambridge).
- GILBERT, M. R. (1994) 'The politics of location: doing feminist research at 'home'', *The Professional Geographer* 46 (1): 90-6.
- GILMAN, S. (1985) *Difference and pathology: stereotypes of sexuality, race and madness* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca).
- GILROY, P. (1982) 'The myth of Black criminality', *Socialist Register* (Merlin Press, London).
- GILROY, P. (1987) *There ain't no Black in the Union Jack* (Hutchinson, London).
- GILROY, P. (1993) *Small acts* (Serpents Tail, London).
- GILROY, P. (1993b) *The Black Atlantic* Verso, London).

- GILROY, P. (1994) 'Sounds authentic: Black music, ethnicity and the challenge of a *Changing Same*', in LEMELLE, S., ROBIN, G. and KELLEY, D. G. (eds.) *Imagining home: class, culture and nationalism in the African diaspora* (Verso, London).
- GILROY, P. and SIM, J. (1985) 'Law and order and the state of the left', *Capital and Class* No. 25 (Spring): 15-55.
- GIROUX, H. A. (1992) *Border Crossings* (Routledge, New York).
- GIROUX, H. A. (1997) 'White squall: resistance and the pedagogy of whiteness', *Cultural Studies* 2 (3): 376-89.
- GLASER, B. G. and STRAUSS, A. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research* (Aldine de Gruyter, New York).
- GLASER, B. G. and STRAUSS, A. (1970) 'Discovery of substantive theory: a basic strategy underlying qualitative research', in FILSTEAD, W. J. (ed.) *Qualitative methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world* (Markham, Chicago) pp.288-304.
- GLISSANT, E. (1992) *Caribbean discourse: selected essays* (University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville).
- GOFFMAN, E. (1956) 'The presentation of the self in everyday life', *Edinburgh Research Monograph No. 2* (Social Sciences Research Centre, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh). Cited in CRANG, P. (1994) 'It's showtime: on the workplace geographies of display in a restaurant in south-east England', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (6): 675-704.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1967) *Interaction ritual: essays in face-to-face behaviour* (Doubleday Anchor, New York).
- GOFFMAN, E. (1981) *Forms of talk* (Blackwell, Oxford).
- GOLDKIND, V. (1970) 'Anthropologists, informants and the achievement of power in Chan Kom', *Sociologus* 20 (1): 17-41.
- GOPINATH, G. (1995) "'Bombay UK, Yuba city': Bhangra music and the engendering of diaspora', *Diaspora* 4.3: 303-320.
- GOSS, J. D. (1996) 'Focus groups as alternative research practice: experience with transmigrants in Indonesia', *Area* 28.2: 115-23.
- GREENBAUM, T. L. (1987) *The practical handbook and guide to focus group research* (Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts).
- GREGORY, S. (1993) 'Thinking empowerment through difference: race and the politics of identity', *Diaspora* 2.3: 401-10.
- GREGSON, N. and CREWE, L. (1997) 'The bargain, the knowledge and the spectacle: making sense of consumption in the space of the car boot sale', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15: 87-112.
- GRENIER, L. and GUIBAULT, J. (1997) 'Créolité and Francophone in music: socio-musical repositioning where it matters', *Cultural Studies* 11(2): 207-34.
- GROSSBERG, L. (1984) 'Another boring day in paradise: rock'n'roll and the empowerment of everyday life', *Popular Music* 4: 225-58.
- GROSSBERG, L. (1988) 'Wondering audiences, nomadic critics', *Cultural Studies* 2: 377-91.
- GROSSBERG, L. (1996) 'Identity and cultural studies: is that all there is?', in HALL, S. and DU GAY, P. (eds.) *Questions of cultural identity* (Sage, London): 87-107.
- GROSZ, E. (1989) *Sexual subversions: three French feminists* (Routledge, London).

- GROSZ, E. (1994) *Volatile bodies: towards a corporeal feminism* (Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW).
- GROSZ, E. (1995) *Space, time and perversion: essays on the politics of bodies* (Routledge, London).
- GUILBAULT, J. (1993) *Zouk: world music in the West Indies* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- GUILBAULT, J. (1997) 'Interpreting world music: a challenge in theory and practice', *Popular Music* 16.1: 31-44.
- GUTZMORE, C. (1978) 'Carnival, the state and the Black masses in the UK', *The Black Liberator* December 1978.
- GUTZMORE, C. (1992) 'The Notting Hill Carnival', *Marxism Today* August 1992: 31-33.
- GUTZMORE, C. (1993) 'Carnival, the state and the Black masses in the UK', in HARRIS, C. and JAMES, W. (eds.) *Inside Babylon: the Caribbean diaspora in Britain* (Verso, London).
- HALFACREE, H. and KITCHIN, R. M. (1996) "'Madchester rave on': placing the fragments of popular music' *Area* 28.1: 47-55.
- HALBWACHS, M. (1950) (1980) *Collective memory* (Harper and Row, New York).
- HALL, S., CRITCHER, C., JEFFERSON, T., ROBERTS, B. (1978) *Policing the crisis: mugging, the state and law and order* (Macmillan, London).
- HALL, S. (1987) 'Minimal selves', in *Identity* (Institute of Contemporary Art, Document 6: ICA/BFI, London).
- HALL, S. (1988) *New ethnicities* (Institute of Contemporary Art Black Film/British Cinema documents 7 ICA/BFI, London).
- HALL, S. (1990) 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in RUTHERFORD, J. (ed.) *Identity: community, culture, difference* (Lawrence and Wishart, London) pp.222-37.
- HALL, S. (1991a) 'The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity', in KING, A. (ed.) *Culture, globalization and the world system* (Macmillan, London) pp.19-39.
- HALL, S. (1991b) 'Myths of identity: the Walter Rodney Memorial lecture', cited in CONNOR, G. *Culture, identity and the music of Notting Hill Carnival* (Mmus in ethnomusicology, SOAS, University of London, London).
- HALL, S. (1992a) 'The question of cultural identity', in HALL, S., HELD, D., MCGREW, T. (eds.) *Modernity and its futures* (Polity Press, Oxford) pp.273-325.
- HALL, S. (1992b) 'What is this 'Black' in Black popular culture?', in RENT, G. (ed.) *Black popular culture, a project by Michelle Wallace* (Bay Press, Seattle) pp.21-33.
- HALL, S. (1992c) 'New ethnicities', in DONALD, J. and RATTANSI, A. (eds.) *Race, culture and difference* (Sage Productions, London) pp.252-59.
- HALL, S. (1995) 'Caribbean identities', *New Left Review* 2 Vol. 9: 3-14.
- HALLAWAY, G. (1976) 'I see the horrors of Shanty Town slum', *Western Daily Press* 5/9/67.
- HAND, S. (1984) 'Some words on oral histories', in DUNAWAY, D. K. and BAUM, W. K. (eds.) *Oral history: an inter-disciplinary anthology* (American Association for state and local history, Nashville, Tennessee) p.54.
- HANLON, J. (1994) 'Ghost of the poll tax', *Red Pepper* p33.
- HANNERZ, U. (1987) 'The world in creolization', *Afrika* 57(4): 546-59.
- HANNERZ, U. (1990) 'Cosmopolitans and locals in world cultures', in FEATHERSTONE, M. (ed.) *Global culture: nationalism, globalization and modernity* (Sage, London).

- HANNERZ, U. (1996) *Transnational connections: culture, people, places* (Routledge, London).
- HARAWAY, D. (1990) 'A manifesto for cyborgs: science, technology and socialist feminism in the 1980s', in NICHOLSON, L. (ed.) *Feminism/postmodernism* (Routledge, London) pp.190-233.
- HARAWAY, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and women: the reinvention of nature* (Free Association Books, London).
- HARAWAY, D. (1993) 'Shifting the subject: a conversation between K-K Bhavnani and D. Haraway', in BHAVNANI, K-K and PHOENIX, A. (eds.) *Shifting identities, shifting racisms* (Sage Publications, London).
- HARKER, D. (1985) 'Fakesong', *Popular Music Perspectives 2* (Göteborg IASPM): 346-59.
- HARNEY, S. (1996) *Nationalism and identity: culture and the imagination in a Caribbean diaspora* (Zed Books, London and New Jersey).
- HARRIS, J. and WALLACE, T. (1983) *To ride the storm: 1980 Bristol riot and the state* (Heinemann Educational, London).
- HARVEY, D. (1989) *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the conditions of cultural change* (Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- HARVEY, D. (1992) 'Postmodern morality plays', *Antipode 24*: 300-26.
- HARVEY, D. (1993) 'From space to place and back again: reflections on the condition of postmodernity', in BIRD, J. et al (eds.) *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change* (Routledge, London) pp.3-29.
- HASTRUP, K. (1992) 'Writing ethnography: state of the art', in OKELY, J. and CALLAWAY, H. *Anthropology and autobiography* (Routledge, London) pp.116-34.
- HEBDIGE, D. (1979) *Subculture: the meaning of style* (Methuen, London).
- HEBDIGE, D. (1983) 'Ska tissue': the rise and fall of two tone', in DAVIS, S. and SIMON, P. (eds.) *Reggae international* (Thames and Hudson, London).
- HEBDIGE, D. (1987) *Cut 'n' mix culture, identity and Caribbean music* (Comedia, London).
- HENDERSON, E. A. (1996) 'Black nationalism and rap music', *Journal of Black Studies 26.3*: 308-39.
- HENDRY, J. (1992) 'The paradox of friendship in the field: an analysis of a long-term Anglo-Japanese relationship', in OKELY, J. and CALLAWAY, H. *Anthropology and autobiography* (Routledge, London) pp.163-74.
- HERNANDEZ, D. P. (1996) 'Sound systems, world beat and diasporan identity in Cartagena, Colombia', *Diaspora 5.3*: 426-66.
- HERZFELD, M. (1983) 'Looking both ways: the ethnographer in the text', *Semiotica 46*: 151-66.
- HESSE, B. (1993) 'Black to front and Black again: racialization through contested times and spaces', in KEITH, M. and PILE, S. (eds.) *Place and the politics of identity* (Routledge, London) pp. 162-82.
- HEWITT, R. (1982) 'White adolescent creole and the politics of friendship', *Journal of multi-lingual and multicultural development 3.3*: 217-32.
- HEWITT, R. (1986) *White talk, Black talk: inter-racial friendship and communication amongst adolescents* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- HEWITT, R. (1989) 'Creole in the classroom: political grammars and educational vocabularies', in GRILLO, R. (ed.) *Social anthropology and the politics of language* (Sociological Review monographs, Routledge, London) pp.126-44.

- HILL, E. (1972) *The Trinidad Carnival* (University of Texas Press, Austin).
- HOBBSBAWM, E. and RANGER, T. (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of tradition* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- HOLBROOK, B. and JACKSON, P. (1996) 'Shopping around: focus group research in North London', *Area* 28.2: 136-42.
- HOLMES-SMITH, C. (1997) 'Method in the madness: exploring the boundaries of identity in hip hop performativity', *Social Identities* 3.3: 345-74.
- HOLQUIST, M. (1985) 'The Carnival of discourse: Bakhtin and simultaneity', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 12 (ii): 220-34.
- HOOKS, B. (1990) *Yearning: race, gender and cultural politics* (Between the lines, Toronto).
- HOOKS, B. (1992) *Black looks: race and representation* (Turnaround, London).
- HOOKS, B. (1994) *Outlaw culture: resisting representations* (Routledge, London).
- HOWE, S. (1988) 'Whose nation?' *New Statesman and Society* 1: 21.
- HOWKINS, A. (1995) 'Greensleeves and the idea of national music', in SAMUEL, R. (ed.) *Patriotism: the making and unmaking of British national identity* (Routledge, London) pp.89-98.
- JACKSON, P. (ed.) (1987) *Race and racism: essays in social geography* (Allen and Unwin, London).
- JACKSON, P. (1988) 'Street life: the politics of Carnival', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 213-27.
- JACKSON, P. (1989) *Maps of meaning* (Unwin Hyman, London).
- JACKSON, P. (1991) 'The crisis of representation and the politics of position', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9: 131-34.
- JACKSON, P. (1992) 'The politics of the streets - a geography of Caribana', *Political Geography* 11.2: 130-51.
- JACKSON, P. (1998) 'Constructions of 'Whiteness' in the geographical imagination', *Area* 30.2: 99-106.
- JACKSON, P. and PENROSE, J. (eds.) (1993) *Constructions of race, place and nation* (UCL Press, London).
- JACOBS, J. (1995) 'That dangerous fantasy of authenticity: a review of the JC Slaughter Falls community arts project', *Ecumene* 2: 211-14.
- JAMES, W. (1992) 'Migration, racism and identity: the Caribbean experience in Britain', *New Left Review* 193: 15-55.
- JAMES, W. (1993) 'Migration, racism and identity formation: the Caribbean experience in Britain', in HARRIS, C. and JAMES, W. (eds.) *Inside Babylon: the Caribbean experience in Britain* (Verso, London).
- JAMESON, F. (1984) 'Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism', *New Left Review* 146: 53-92.
- JAMESON, F. (1991) *Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism* (Verso, London).
- JARVIS, B. (1985) 'The truth is only known by guttersnipes', in BURGESS, J. and GOLD, J. R. (eds.) *Geography, the media and popular culture* (Croom Helm, London) pp.96-122.
- JEANS, D. N. (1983) in MEINIG, D. W. 'Geography as art', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8: 314-28.

- JEATER, D. (1992) 'Roast beef and reggae music' - the passing of whiteness', *New Formations* 18: 107-21.
- JOHNSON, P. (1996) *Straight outa Bristol* (Hodder and Stoughton, London).
- JONES, P. (Undated) *Caribbean sunshine: 24 Carnival poems* (National Poetry Foundation Tel: 01329 822218).
- JONES, S. (1988) *Black youth, white culture: the reggae tradition from JA to UK* (Macmillan, London).
- JULIEN, I. and MERCER, K. (1988) 'Introduction: de margin and de centre', *Screen*: 2-10.
- KAPFERER, B. (1991) *A celebration of demons: exorcism and the aesthetics of healing in Sri Lanka* (Berg, London).
- KASFIR, S. (1988) 'Masquerading as a cultural system', in KASFIR, S. (ed.) *West African masks and cultural systems* (Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervaren) (*Sciences Humaines* 126): 85-108.
- KATZ, C. (1992) 'All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 493-510.
- KATZ, C. (1994) 'Playing the field: questions of fieldwork in geography', *The Professional Geographer* 46 (1): 66-72.
- KEIL, C. and FELD, S. (1994) *Music grooves* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- KEITH, M. (1988) Riots as a 'social problem' in British cities', in HERBERT, D. and SMITH, D. (eds.) *Social problems in the city* (Oxford University Press, Oxford).
- KEITH, M. (1992) 'Angry writing: (re)presenting the unethical world of the ethnographer', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 550-68.
- KEITH, M. (1993) *Race, riots and policing: lore and disorder in a multi-racist society* (UCL Press, London).
- KEITH, M. and CROSS, M. (1993) 'Racism and the postmodern city', in CROSS, M. and KEITH, M. (eds.) *Racism, the city and the state* (Routledge, London) pp.1-30.
- KEITH, M. and PILE, S. (1993) (eds.) *Place and the politics of identity* (Routledge, London).
- KEITH, M. and ROGERS, A. (1991) *Rhetoric and reality in the inner city* (Mansell, London).
- KINNI-OLUSANYIN, E. (1996) 'A panoply of African dance dynamics', in ASANTE, K. W. (ed.) *African Dance: an artistic, historical and philosophical inquiry* (Africa World Press Inc., London) pp.29-38.
- KINSER, S. (1990) *Rabelais's Carnival* (University of California Press, Berkeley, LA and Oxford).
- KITZINGER, J. (1994) 'The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants', *Sociology of Health and Illness* 16: 103-26.
- KLEIN, M (1960) *Our adult world and its roots in infancy* (London, Tavistock Pamphlet, 2).
- KOHL, P. R. (1993) 'Looking through a glass onion: Rock and Roll as a modern manifestation of Carnival', *Journal of Popular Culture* 27.1 (Summer): 143-61.
- KONG, L. (1995) 'Popular music in geographical analyses', *Progress in Human Geography* 19.2: 183-98.
- KOROM, F. J. (1994) 'Memory, innovation, and emergent ethnicity: the creolization of an Indo-Trinidadian performance', *Diaspora* 3.2: 135-55.
- KRISTEVA, J. (1982) *Powers of horror: an essay on abjection* (Trans. by Roudiez, L. S.) (Columbia University Press, New York).

- KRUEGER, R. A. (1988) *Focus groups: a practical guide for applied research* (Sage, Beverley Hills, California).
- KRUSE, H. (1993) 'Subcultural identity in alternative music', *Popular Music* 12: 33-41.
- KUNDERA, M. (1973) *Life is elsewhere* (Faber and Faber, London).
- KUREISHI, H. (1989) 'England, your England', *New Statesman and Society* 21st July: pp.27-29.
- LACAN, J. (1973) *The four fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis* (Peregrine, Harmondsworth) (English translation published 1986).
- LACLAU, E. (1990) *New reflections on the revolution of our time* (Verso, London).
- LA ROSE, M. (1989) *Police Carnival* (Association for a People's Carnival, C/O New Beacon Books, London).
- LA ROSE, M. (1990) *Mas in Notting Hill: documents in the struggle for a representative and democratic Carnival* (New Beacon Books in association with the People's Carnival War Band, London).
- LAWRENCE, E. (1982) 'In the abundance of water the fool is thirsty: sociology and the Black "pathology"', CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES *The empire strikes back* (Hutchinson, London).
- LAZARUS, N. (1995) 'Is a counterculture of modernity a theory of modernity?', *Diaspora* 4.3: 323-39.
- LAZENBY, P. (1980) 'Chapelton - a special enquiry' *Yorkshire Evening Post* 28.5.80.
- LEEDS CITY COUNCIL (1994) *Department of housing services: housing strategy 1993-4* (Leeds city council, Leeds).
- LEFEBVRE, H. (1976) 'Reflections on the politics of space', *Antipode* 8 (2).
- LEFEBVRE, H. (1979) 'Space: social product and use value', in FREIBERG, J. W. *Critical Sociology: European perspectives* (Irvington, New York).
- LEFEBVRE, H. (1991) *The production of space* (Oxford, Blackwell).
- LEMELLE, S., ROBIN, G. and KELLEY, D. G. (eds.) *Imagining home: class, culture and nationalism in the African diaspora* (Verso, London) pp.231-87.
- LEVI-STRAUSS, C. (1976) *The savage mind* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London).
- LEWIS, C. (1975) 'Bristol's stock exchange streets of vice', *Bristol Evening Post* 9/12/75.
- LEWIS, C. and PILE, S. (1996) 'Woman, Body, space: Rio Carnival and the politics of performance', *Gender, Place and culture* 3.1: 23-41.
- LEY, D. (1988) 'Interpretive social research in the inner city', in EYLES, J. D. (ed.) *Research in Human Geography: introductions and investigations* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) pp.121-38.
- LINCOLN, Y. and GUBA, E. (1985) *Naturalistic inquiry* (Sage, Beverly Hills CA).
- LLOBERA, J. (1987) 'Reply to critics', *Critique of Anthropology* VII (2) Autumn: 101-18.
- LONG, N. (1992) 'From paradigm lost to paradigm regained? The case for an actor-orientated sociology development', in LONG, N. and LONG, A. (eds.) *Battlefields of knowledge: the interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* (Routledge, New York) pp.16-43.
- LONGHURST, R. (1995) 'The body and geography', *Gender, Place and Culture* Vol. 2 No. 1: 97-105.
- LONGHURST, R. (1996) 'Refocusing groups: pregnant women's geographical experiences of Hamilton, New Zealand/Aotearoa', *Area* 28.2: 143-9.

- LOTRINGER, S. (ed.) (1989) *Foucault Live (Interviews 66-84)* (Semiotext(c), New York).
- LOWE, L. (1991) 'Heterogeneity, hybridity, multiplicity', *Diaspora* 1: 24-44.
- LOWENTHAL, D. (1972) *West Indian societies* (Open University Press, London).
- LUDLAM, S. (1995) 'Carnival unites the world', *So you going to Carnival* Volume 9 (New York).
- LUKES, S. (1975) 'Political ritual and social integration', *Sociology* 9: 289-308.
- LURY, C. (1996) *Consumer culture* (Polity Press, Cambridge).
- MacALOON, J. (ed.) (1984) *Rite, drama, festival, spectacle: rehearsals towards a theory of cultural performance* (Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA).
- MADGE, C. (1993) 'Boundary disputes: comments on Sidaway', *Area* 25: 294-99.
- MAGOCSI, P. R. (1989) 'The Ukrainian national revival: a new analytical framework', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 26 (1-2): 57.
- MAGUBANE, B. (1987) *The ties that bind: African-American consciousness of Africa* (Trenton, New Jersey).
- MAHABIR, C. (1996) 'Wit and popular music: the calypso and the blues', *Popular Music* 15.1.
- MALKKI, L. (1992) 'National geographic: the rooting of peoples and the territorializing national identity among scholars and refugees', *Cultural Anthropology* 7: 24-44.
- MANNING, F. E. (1989) 'Of time and mime: a polylog on festivity', *The Drama Review* 33.1 (T121): 19-28.
- MANUEL, P. (1995) 'Music as symbol, music as simulacrum: postmodern, premodern aesthetics in subcultural popular musics', *Popular Music* 14.2: 227-39.
- MANUEL, P. (1998) 'Chutney and Indo-Trinidadian cultural identity', *Popular Music* 17.1: 21-43.
- MARCUS, G. M. (1992) 'More (critically) reflexive than thou: the current identity politics of representation', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 489-93.
- MARCUS, G. M. and FISCHER, M. (1986) *Anthropology as cultural critique: an experimental moment in the human sciences* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- MARCUS, T. (1995) 'Break beats in the blues', *Mixmag* 2 (45): 57-8.
- MARSDEN, P. (1997) 'Geographies of dissent: globalization, identity and the nation', *Political Geography* 16: 37-64.
- MARSTON, S. (1989) 'Public rituals and community power: St. Patrick's Day parades in Lowell, Massachusetts', *Political Geography Quarterly* 8: 255-69.
- MASSEY, D. (1991) 'The political place of locality studies', *Environment and Planning A* 23: 267-81.
- MASSEY, D. (1994) *Space, place and gender* (Polity Press, Cambridge).
- MASSEY, D. (1995) 'Power geometry and a progressive sense of place', in BIRD, J. (eds.) *et al* (eds.) *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change* (Routledge, London) pp.59-69.
- MASSEY, D. (1997) 'The spatial construction of youth cultures', in VALENTINE, G. and SKELTON, T. (eds.) *Cool Places: geographies of youth cultures* (Routledge, London).
- MATTERA, D. (1988) *Memory is the weapon* (Beacon, New York).
- MAY, J. (1996) 'Globalization and the politics of place: place and identity in an inner London neighbourhood', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* 21: 194-215.

- McCLINTOCK, A. (1995) *Imperial Leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial conquest* (Routledge, London).
- McDOWELL, L. (1992) 'Valid games? A response to Erica Schoenberger', *The Professional Geographer* 44: 212-14.
- McDOWELL, L. (ed.) (1998) *Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader* (Arnold, London).
- McNEILL, W. H. (1995) *Keeping together in time: dance and drill in human history* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- MEAD, G. H. (1956) *The social psychology of George Herbert Mead* (ed. by STRAUSS, A.) (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- MEINIG, D. W. (1983) 'Geography as art', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8: 314-28.
- MERCER, K. (1990) 'Welcome to the jungle: identity and diversity in postmodern politics', in RUTHERFORD, J. (ed.) *Identity, community, culture, difference* (Lawrence and Wishart, London) pp.43-71.
- MERCER, K. (1994) *Welcome to the jungle: new positions in Black cultural studies* (Routledge, London).
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (1962) *Phenomenology of perception* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London).
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (1968) *The visible and the invisible* (Northwestern University Press, Evanston).
- MEYROWITZ, J. M. (1985) *No sense of place: the impact of the electronic media on social behaviour* (Oxford University Press, Oxford).
- MERRIFIELD, A. (1993) 'Place and place: a Lefebvrian reconciliation' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* 18: 516-31.
- MIDDLETON, R. (1990) *Studying popular music* (Open University Press, Milton Keynes).
- MIDDLETON, D. and EDWARDS, D. (1990) *Collective remembering* (Sage, London).
- MILES, M. (1983) 'Towards a methodology for feminist research', in BOWLES, G. and KLEIN, R. D. (eds.) *Theories of women's studies* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London) pp.117-39.
- MILLER, C. L. (1993) 'The postmodern predicament in the footnotes of *A thousand plateaus*: nomodology, anthropology and authority', *Diacritics* 23: 6-35.
- MILLER, D. (1991) 'Absolute freedom in Trinidad', *Man* 26: 323-41.
- MILLER, D. (1994) *Modernity - an ethnographic approach* (Berg, Oxford).
- MILLER, D. (1995) *Worlds apart: modernity through the prism of the local* (Routledge, London).
- MILLER, D. (1997) *Material culture and mass consumption* (Blackwell, Oxford).
- MISCHLER, E. G. (1986) *Research interviewing: context and narrative* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- MITCHELL, K. (1997) 'Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15 (5): 533-53.
- MOORE, S. (1988) 'Getting a bit of the other: the pimps of postmodernism', in MORT, F. (ed.) *Dangerous sexualities* (Lawrence and Wishart, London).
- MORLEY, D. (1991) 'Where the global meets the local: notes from the sitting room', *Screen* 32: 1-15.

- MORLEY, D. and ROBINS, K. (1995) *Spaces of Identity: global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries* (Routledge, London).
- MORRIS, M. (1988) 'Banality in cultural studies', *Discourse X*: 3-29.
- MORRIS, J. (1985) 'ghetto', *Inkworks Newsletter* No. 16 April 1985: 13 (Copies available in the Sankore Library, The Kuumba Project, 20-22 Hepburn Road, St. Paul's, Bristol).
- MOSS, P. (1995) 'Reflections on the 'gap' as part of the politics of research design', *Antipode* 27.1: 49-70.
- MOUFFE, C. (1988) 'Radical democracy: modern or postmodern?', in ROSS, A. (ed.) *Universal abandon? The politics of postmodernism* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis) pp.31-45.
- NAGAR, R. (1997a) 'Communal places and the politics of multiple identities: the case of the Tanzanian Asians *Ecumene* 4 (1): 3-26.
- NAGAR, R. (1997b) 'The making of Hindu communal organizations, places, and identities in postcolonial Dar es Salam', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15: 707-30.
- NANCY, J-L. (1991) *The in-operative community* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).
- NAYLOR, D. (1973) *Yorkshire Evening Post* 27.6.73.
- NETTLEFORD, R. (1996) 'Introduction', in ASANTE, K. W. (ed.) *African dance: an artistic, historical and philosophical inquiry* (Africa World Press, London).
- NORA, P. (1989) 'Between history and memory: les lieux de mémoire', *Representations* 26 (Spring): 7-25.
- NOYS, B. (1995) 'Into the jungle', *Popular Music* 14.3: 321-32.
- NUNLEY, J. W. and BETTELHEIM, J. (eds.) (1988) *Caribbean festival arts* (The St. Louis Art Museum, in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle and London).
- OAKLEY, A. (1981) 'Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms', in ROBERTS, H. (ed.) *Doing feminist research* (Routledge, London).
- OLIVER, P. (1990) *Young, gifted and Black: Black music in Britain* (Open University Press, Milton Keynes).
- OOSTEN, J. (1992) 'Representing the spirits: the masks of the Alaskan Inuit, in COOTE, J. and SHELTON, A. (eds.) *Anthropology, art and aesthetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford) pp.113-34.
- OPIE, A. (1992) 'Qualitative research: appropriation of the 'other' and empowerment', *Feminist Review* 40: 52-69.
- OSPINA, H. C. (1995) *Salsa! Havana beat, Bronx beat* (Latin American Bureau, London).
- OWUSU, K. (1986) *The struggle for Black arts in Britain* (Comedia, London).
- OWUSU, K. (ed.) (1992) *Storms of the heart* (Camden Press, London).
- OWUSU, K. and ROSS, J. (1988) *Behind the masquerade* (Arts and Media Group, London).
- OKELY, J. and CALLAWAY, A. (1992) *Anthropology and autobiography* (Routledge, London).
- PANOFSKY, E. (1962) *Studies in iconology* (Harper and Row, New York).
- PERKS, R. and THOMSON, A. (eds.) (1998) *The oral history reader* (Routledge, London).
- PHILLIPS, M. and PHILLIPS, T. (1998) *Windrush: the irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain* (Harper Collins, London).
- PIETERSE, J. N. (1992) *White on Black: images of Africa and Blacks in Western popular culture* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London).

- PILE, S. (1994) 'Masculinism, the use of dualistic epistemologies, and third spaces', *Antipode* 26: 255-77.
- PILE, S. (1996) *The body and the city: psychoanalysis, space and subjectivity* (Routledge, London).
- PILE, S. and THRIFT, N. (eds.) (1995) *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation* (Routledge, London).
- POCOCK, D. (1993) 'The senses in focus', *Area* 25.1: 11-16.
- PORTELLI, A. (1981) 'The peculiarities of oral history', *History Workshop Journal* 12: 96-107.
- PORTELLI, A. (1998) 'What makes oral history different', in PERKS, R. and THOMSON, A. (eds.) *The oral history reader* (Routledge, London) pp.63-74.
- PORTEOUS, J. D. (1985) 'Smellscape', *Progress in Human Geography* 9: 356-78.
- PORTEOUS, J. D. and MASTIN, J. F. (1985) 'Soundscape', *Journal of architectural and Planning Research* 2: 169-86.
- PRATT, G. (1992) 'Spatial metaphors and speaking positions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 241-4.
- PRATT, M. L. (1986) 'Fieldwork in common places', in CLIFFORD, J. and MARCUS, G. M. (eds.) *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London).
- PRED, A. (1984) 'From here and now to there and then: some notes on diffusions, defusions and dillusions', in BILLINGE, D. J., GREGORY, D. J. and MARTIN, R. L. (eds.) *Recollections of a revolution: geography as spatial science* (Macmillan, London) pp.86-103.
- PRED, A. (1997) 'Somebody else, somewhere else: racisms, racialized spaces and the popular geographical imagination', *Antipode* 29.4: 383-416.
- PRIMUS, P. (1996) 'African Dance', in ASANTE, K. W. (ed.) *African Dance: an artistic, historical and philosophical inquiry* (Africa World Press, London) pp.3-11.
- PROBYN, E. (1993) *Sexing the self: gendered positions in cultural studies* (Routledge, London).
- PRYCE, K. (1979) *Endless Pressure* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth).
- RABINOW, P. (1977) *Reflections on fieldwork in Morocco* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London).
- RADLEY, A. (1995) 'The elusory body and social constructionist theory', *Body and society* 1: 3-24.
- RAPPORT, N. (1995) 'Migrant selves and stereotypes: personal context in a postmodern world', in PILE, S. and THRIFT, N. (eds.) *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation* (Routledge, London) pp.267-282.
- REGEV, M. (1986) 'The musical soundscape as a contested area: 'oriental music' and Israeli popular culture', *Media, Culture and Society* 8: 343-55.
- REICHER, S. D. (1984) 'The St. Paul's Riot: an explanation of the limits of crowd action in terms of a social identity model', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 14: 1-21.
- REINHARZ, S. (1983) 'Environmental analysis: a contribution to feminist research', in BOWLES, G. and KLEIN, R. D. (eds.) *Theories of women's studies* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London) pp.162-91.
- RELPH, E. (1976) *Place and placelessness* (Pion, London).
- RELPH, E. (1989) 'Geographical experience and being-in-the-world: the phenomenological origins of geography', in SEAMON, D. and MUGERAWER, R. (eds.) *Dwelling, place and*

- environment: towards a phenomenology of person and world* (Columbia University Press, New York).
- REMES, P. (1991) 'Rapping: a sociolinguistic study of oral tradition', *Anthropological Society of Oxford* 22.2: 129-49.
- REVILL, G. (1993) 'Reading Roschill: community, identity and inner city Derby', in KEITH, M. and PILE, S. (eds.) *Place and the politics of identity* (Routledge, London) pp.117-40.
- REYNOLDS, S. (1990) *Blissed out - the raptures of rock* (Serpents Tale, London).
- RICH, A. (1986) 'Notes towards a politics of location', in *Blood, bread and poetry* (W. W. Norton, New York).
- RICHARDSON, J. (1985) *The Bristol slave trade: a collective portrait* (Bristol branch of the Historical Association, Bristol).
- RICHMOND, A. H., LYON, M., HALE, S., KING, R. (1973) *Migration and race relations in an English city: a study in Bristol* (Clifford University Press, London).
- RIGHTER, H. (1900), *Standard History of New Orleans* (Chicago Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago), cited in ROACH, J. (1993) 'Carnival and the law in New Orleans', *The Drama Review* (T139): 42-75 (p.42).
- ROBERTSON, J. (1997) 'Empire of nostalgia: re-thinking 'internationalization' in Japan today', *Theory, Culture and Society* 14 (4): 97-122.
- ROBERTSON, R. (1992) *Globalization: social theory and global culture* (Sage, London).
- ROBERTSON, R. (1995) 'Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in FEATHERSTONE, M., LASH, S., and ROBERTSON, R. (eds.) *Global modernities* (Sage, London).
- ROBINS, K. (1991) 'Tradition and translation: national culture in its global context', in CORNER, J. and HARVEY, S. (eds.) *Enterprise heritage: crosscurrents of national culture* (Routledge, London).
- ROBINS, K. (1996) 'Interrupting identities: Turkey/Europe', in HALL, S. and DU GAY, P. (1996) *Questions of cultural identity* (Sage, London) pp.61-86.
- ROBINSON, D. (1985) *Christmas past in Nevis* (Nevis Historical and Conservation Society, Nevis).
- ROBINSON, D. C., BUCK, E. B., and CUTHBERT, M. (eds.) (1991) *Music at the margins: popular music and global cultural diversity* (Sage, London).
- ROBSON, B.T. (1988) *Those inner cities: reconciling the economic and social aims of urban policy* (Clarendon, Oxford).
- ROBSON, E. and WILLIS, K. (eds.) *Postgraduate fieldwork in developing areas: a rough guide* (Monograph No. 8: Developing Areas Research Group of the RGS/IBG, London).
- RODAWAY, P. (1995) 'Exploring the subject in hyper-reality', in PILE, S. and THRIFT, N. (eds.) *Mapping the subject: geographies of global transformation* (Routledge, London) pp.241-66.
- ROEDIGER, D. R. (1991) *The wages of whiteness: race and the making of the American working class* (Verso, New York).
- ROJEK, C. (1993) *Ways of escape: modern transformations in leisure and travel* (Macmillan, London).
- ROSALDO, R. (1993) *Culture and truth: the remaking of social analysis* (Routledge, London).
- ROSE, G. (1993) *Feminism and geography* (Polity Press, Cambridge).

- ROSE, G. (1994) 'The cultural politics of place: local representation and oppositional discourse in two films', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19: 46-60.
- ROSE, G. (1995a) 'Distance, surface, elsewhere: a feminist critique of the space of phallogocentric self/knowledge', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13: 761-81.
- ROSE, G. (1995b) 'The interstitial perspective: a review essay on Homi Bhabha's 'The location of culture'', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13: 365-73.
- ROSE, G. (1997) 'Performing inoperative community: space and the resistance of some community arts projects', in PILE, S. and KEITH, M. (1997) *Geographies of resistance* (Routledge, London) pp.184-202.
- ROSE, T. (1994) *Black noise: rap and Black culture in contemporary America* (Wesleyan University Press, Hanover NH).
- ROSTAS, S. (1998) 'From ritualization to performativity: the Concheros of Mexico', in HUGES-FREELAND, F. (ed.) *Ritual, performance, media* (Routledge, London) pp.84-103.
- ROWE, W. and SCHELLING, V. (1993) *Memory and modernity: popular culture in Latin America* (Verso, London).
- RUSHDIE, S. (1983) *Shame* (Cape, London).
- RUSHDIE, S. (1991) *Imaginary homelands* (Granta Books, London).
- SAID, E. W. (1982) 'Travelling theory' *Raritan 1* (Winter): 41-67.
- SAID, E. W. (1989) 'Representing the colonized: anthropology's interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry* 15.2 (Winter): 205-25.
- SAID, E. W. (1992) *Musical elaborations* (Vintage Books, London).
- SAMUEL, R. (1998) 'Perils of the transcript', in PERKS, R. and THOMSON, A. (eds.) *The oral history reader* (Routledge, London) pp.389-92.
- SAYER, A. (1989) 'On the dialogue between humanism and historical materialism in geography', in KOBAYASHI, A. and MACKENZIE, S. (eds.) *Remaking human geography* (Unwin and Hyman, London) pp.206-26.
- SCHAEFER, R. M. (1978) *The Vancouver soundscape* (A. A. Knopf, New York).
- SCHAEFER, R. M. (1992) 'A deceptive neighbourhood: the soundscape of Toronto's Lower Forest Hill', *Environment, Archaeology and Phenomenology Newsletter* 3.
- SCHATZMAN, L. and STRAUSS, A. (1973) *Field research* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ).
- SCHECHNER, R. (1993) *The future of ritual: writings on culture and performance* (Routledge, London).
- SCHECHNER, R. and APPEL, A. (eds.) (1990) *By means of performance: intercultural studies of theatre and ritual* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- SCHLESINGER, P. (1987) 'On national identity: some conceptions and misconceptions criticized', *Social Science Information* 26.2: 219-64.
- SCHILLING, C. (1993) *The body and social theory* (Sage, London).
- SCHNEIDER, J. A. (1990) 'Defining boundaries, creating contacts: Puerto Rican and Polish presentation of group identity through ethnic parades', *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18.1: 33-57.
- SCHOENBERGER, E. (1992) 'Self-criticism and self-awareness in research: a reply to Linda McDowell', *The Professional Geographer* 44: 215-18.

- SCHWARTZ, B. (1997) 'Collective memory and history: how Abraham Lincoln became a symbol of racial equality', *The Sociological Quarterly* 38.3: 69-96.
- SCOBIE, E. (1972) *Black Britannia: a history of Blacks in Britain* (Johnson, Chicago).
- SCOTT, J. W. (1992) 'Experience', in BUTLER, J. and SCOTT, J. W. (eds.) *Feminists theorize the political* (Routledge, New York).
- SHIELDS, R. (1992) 'Individuals, consumption cultures and the fate of community', in SHIELDS, R. (ed.) *Lifestyle shopping* (Routledge, London) pp.99-113.
- SHILLING, C. (1993) *The body and social theory* (Sage, London).
- SHOTTER, J. (1993) *Cultural politics of everyday life: social constructionism, rhetoric and knowing of the third kind* (Open University Press, Milton Keynes).
- SHRAGER, S. (1998) 'What is the social in oral history?', in PERKS, R. and THOMSON, A. (eds.) *The oral history reader* (Routledge, London) pp.284-99.
- SHUKLA, S. (1997) 'Building diaspora and nation: the 1991 'Cultural Festival of India'', *Cultural Studies* 11(2): 296-315.
- SIBLEY, D. (1995a) *Geographies of exclusion* (Routledge, London).
- SIBLEY, D. (1995b) 'Families and domestic routines: constructing the boundaries of childhood', in PILE, S. and THRIFT, N. (eds.) *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation* (Routledge, London) pp.123-37.
- SIDAWAY, J. D. (1992) 'In other worlds: on the politics of 1st world geographers in the 3rd world', *Area* 24.4: 403-8.
- SILVERMAN, D. (1993) *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction* (Sage, Beverly Hills).
- SLOBIN, M. (1994) 'Music in diaspora: the view from Euro-America', *Diaspora* 3.3: 243-51.
- SMALL, C. (1987) *Music of the common tongue*, cited in DIMITRIADIS, G. (1996) 'Hip hop: from live performance to mediated narrative', *Popular Music* 15.2: 179-94.
- SMITH, A. (1998) 'Bristol Cream', *The Sunday Times, Culture* (19/4/98): pp.2-3.
- SMITH, D. M. (1988) 'Towards an interpretative human geography', in EYLES, J. and SMITH, D. M. (eds.) *Qualitative methods in human geography* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) pp. 255-67.
- SMITH, S. J. (1994a) 'Bounding the borders: claiming space and making place in rural Scotland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 18: 291-308.
- SMITH, S. J. (1994b) 'Soundscape', *Area* 26.3: 232-40.
- SMITH, S. J. (1997) 'Beyond geography's visual worlds: a cultural politics of music', *Progress in Human Geography* 21.4: 502-29.
- SOJA, E. (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places* (Blackwell, Oxford).
- SOJA, E. and HOOPER, B. (1993) 'The spaces that difference makes: some notes on the geographical margins of the new cultural politics', in KEITH, M. and PILE, S. (eds.) *Place and the politics of identity* (Routledge, London) pp.183-205.
- SOLLORS, W. (ed.) (1989) *The invention of ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford).
- SOLOMOS, J. (1988) *Black youth, racism and the state* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- SOLOMOS, J. and BACK, L. (1996) *Race, politics and social change* (Routledge, London).
- SOMERS, M. R. (1992) 'Narrativity, narrative identity, and social action: rethinking English working class formation', *Social Science History* 16: 591-630.

- SOMERS, M. R. (1994) 'The narrative construction of identity: a relational and network approach', *Theory and Society* 23: 605-49.
- SPARKE, M. (1996) 'Displacing the field in fieldwork masculinity, metaphor and space'. In DUNCAN, N. *Body space* (Routledge, London) pp.213-33.
- SPIVAK, G. C. (1988) 'Can the subaltern speak?', in NELSON, C. and GROSSBERG, L. (eds.) *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (Macmillan, Basingstoke) pp.271-313.
- SPIVAK, G. C. (1996) 'Acting bits/identity talk', in ROW, D. (ed.) *Geography and Identity: living and exploring geopolitics of identity* (Critical studies in community development and architecture, Maisonneuve Press, Washington D. C.).
- SPOONER, R. (1994) *Contested representations: Black women and the St. Paul's Carnival* (MSc in Society and Space, University of Bristol, Bristol).
- SPOONER, R. (1996) 'Contested representations: Black women and the St. Paul's Carnival', *Gender, Place and Culture* 3 (2): 187-203.
- STALLYBRASS, P. and WHITE, P. (1986) *The politics and poetics of transgression* (Methuen, London).
- STERN, S. and CICALA, J. A. (eds.) (1991) *Creative ethnicity: symbols and strategies of contemporary ethnic life* (Utah State Press, Logan).
- STEWART, D. W. and SHAMDASANI, P. (1990) 'Focus groups: method of inquiry/intervention', *Small Group Research* 23.4: 459-74.
- STOKES, M. (1997) 'Place, exchange and meaning: Black Sea musicians in the West of Ireland', in STOKES, M. (ed.) *Ethnicity, identity and music: the musical construction of place* (Berg, Oxford) pp.97-115.
- STOTT, R. (1956) 'There's really no such place as Chapeltown', *Yorkshire Evening News* January 1956.
- STRATHERN, M. (1991) *Partial connections* (Rowman and Littlefield, Savage, MD).
- STRAUSS, A. L. (1983) *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- STRAW, W. (1991) 'Systems of articulation, logics of change: communities and scenes in popular music', *Cultural Studies* 5 (3): 368-88.
- STREET, J. (1993) 'Local differences? Popular music and the local state', *Popular Music* 12: 43-55.
- SYMON, P. (1997) 'Music and national identity in Scotland: a study of Jock Tamson's Bairs', *Popular Music* 16.2: 203-16.
- TAYLOR, C. (1993) 'To follow a rule', in CALHOUN, C., LIPUMA, E., and POSTONE, M. (eds.) *Bourdieu: critical perspectives* (Cambridge Polity Press) pp.45-60.
- TEDLOCK, D. (1983) *The spoken word and the work of interpretation* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia).
- TEDLOCK, D. (1991) 'From participant observation to the observation of participation', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47 (1): 69-94.
- THOMAS, H. (1995) *Dance, modernity and culture: explorations in the sociology of dance* (Routledge, London).
- THOMPSON, B. (1971) *A Portrait of Leeds* (Robert Hale, London).
- THORESBY, R. (1816) *Ducatis Leodensis* (Whittaker) (cited in FARRAR, M. (1996b) 'Migrant spaces and settlers' time: forming and de-forming an inner city', in WESTWOOD, S. and WILLIAMS, J. (eds.) *Imagining cities: scripts, signs and memory* (Routledge, London).

- THRIFT, N. (1997) 'The still point: resistance, expressive embodiment and dance', in PILE, S. and KEITH, M. (eds.) *Geographies of resistance* (Routledge, London) pp.124-51.
- TODOROV, T. (1984) *Mikhail Bakhtin: the dialogical principle* (Manchester University Press, Manchester).
- TÖLÖLYAN, K. (1996) 'Rethinking *Diasporas*: stateless power in the transnational moment', *Diaspora* 5.1: 3-35.
- TÖNNIES, F. (1955) *Community and society* (Harper and Row, New York) (First published 1887).
- TRINH, T. M. (1986-1987) 'Difference: 'a special 3rd world women issue'', *Discourse* 8: 11-38.
- TRINH, T. M (1988) 'Not like you/like you: post-colonial women and the interlocking questions of identity and difference', *Inscriptions* 3/4: 71-77.
- TUAN, Y-F. (1974) *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey).
- TURNER, V. (1969) *The ritual process* (Aldine, Chicago).
- TURNER, V. (1974) *Drama, fields and metaphors* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London).
- TURNER, V. and BRUNER, E. (eds.) (1986) *The anthropology of experience* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago).
- TYLER, S. A. (1986) 'Post-modern ethnography: from document of the occult to occult document', in CLIFFORD, J. and MARCUS, G. M. (eds.) *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (University of California Press, Berkeley and London) pp.122-40.
- URRY, J. (1995) 'How societies remember the past', (Departmental paper, Department of Sociology, University of Lancaster, Lancaster).
- VALENTINE, G. (1995) 'Creating transgressive space: the music of KD Lang', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series* 20: 474-85.
- VALENTINE, G. (1997) "'Tell me about...": using interviews as a research methodology', in FLOWERDEW, R. and MARTIN, D. (eds.) *Methods in human geography* (Longman, Harlow) pp.110-26.
- VAN MAANEN, J. (1988) *Tales of the field* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- VAN MAANEN, J. (ed.) (1995a) *Representation in ethnography* (Sage, Thousand Oaks CA).
- VAN MAANEN, J. (1995b). 'An end to innocence: the ethnography of ethnography', in VAN MAANEN, J. (ed.) *Representation in ethnography* (Sage, Thousand Oaks CA) pp.1-35.
- VISWESWARAN, K. (1994) *Fictions of feminist ethnography* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis).
- VOLOSINOV, V. N. (1973 [1929]) *Marxism and the philosophy of language* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge).
- WADE, J. (1984) 'Role boundaries and paying back: 'switching hats' in participant observation', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 15 (3): 211-24.
- WADE, P. (1998) 'Music, Blackness and national identity: three moments in Colombian history', *Popular Music* 17.1: 1-19.
- WAINWRIGHT, M. (1996) 'Random death in the life of a Leeds suburb', *The Guardian* 13/4/96: 27.
- WALLACE, A. D. (1993) *Walking, literature and English culture: the origins of the peripatetic* (Oxford University Press, Oxford).

- WARD, D. (1962) 'The pre-urban Cadaster and the urban pattern of Leeds', *Annals of the association of American geographers* 52.2: 150-66.
- WARD, A. (1993) 'Dancing in the dark: rationalism and the neglect of social dance', in THOMAS, H. (ed.) *Dance, gender and culture* (Macmillan, London).
- WARNER, K. (1982) *The Trinidad calypso* (Heinemann, London).
- WATERMAN, C. (1990) 'Our tradition is a very modern tradition: popular music and the construction of Pan-Yoruba identity', *Ethnomusicology* 34: 367-79.
- WATERMAN, S. C. (1998) 'Carnivals for élites? The cultural politics of arts festivals', *Progress in Human Geography* 22.1: 54-74.
- WATERS, M. (1995) *Globalization* (Routledge, London).
- WERBNER, P. (1996) 'Fun spaces: on identity and social empowerment among British Pakistanis', *Theory, Culture and Society* 13 (4): 53-79.
- WEST, C. (1993) *Race matters* (Beacon Press, Boston).
- WESTERN, J. (1993) 'Ambivalent attachments to place in London: 12 Barbadian families', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11: 147-70.
- WETHERELL, M. and POTTER, J. (1992) *Mapping the language of racism: discourse and the legitimation of exploitation* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York and London).
- WHEELER, E. (1991) 'Most of my heroes don't appear on no stamps: the dialogics of rap music', *Black music research journal* 11.2: 193-216.
- WILLEMS-BRAUN, B. (1994) 'Situating cultural politics: fringe festivals and the production of spaces of intersubjectivity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12: 75-104.
- WILLIAMS, A. (1909) *A tour through the West Indies, 1908-09*, cited in BETTELHEIM, J. (1988) *op.cit.* p.179 (Available only in the 'Rare Books Room' of the University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica).
- WILLIAMS, M. (1998) 'Size matters', *Juice* (April 1998): pp.16-17.
- WILLIS, S. (1990) 'I want the Black one: is there a place for Afro-American culture in commodity culture?' *New Formations* 10 (Spring): 77-97.
- WILSON, E. (1992) 'The invisible flâneur', *New Left Review* 199: 90-110.
- WILSON, P. (1973) *Crab antics and the social anthropology of English speaking negro societies of the Caribbean* (Yale University Press, New Haven).
- WITHERS, C. W. J. (1996) 'Place, memory, monument: memorizing the past in contemporary highland Scotland', *Ecumene* 3.3: 325-44.
- WOLFF, J. (1985) 'The invisible flâneurie', *Theory, Culture and Society* 2.3: 37-48.
- WOLFF, J. (1993) 'On the road again: metaphors of travel in cultural criticism', *Cultural Studies* 7: 224-39.
- WOOD, M. (1992) 'The making of an African-Caribbean Carnival: a history of the St. Paul's Carnival 1968-92', (University of Warwick, MA, September 1992).
- WULFF, H. (1988) *Twenty girls growing up: ethnicity and excitement in a South London microculture* (Stockholm Studies in Anthropology, Stockholm).
- YALLOP, D. A. (1981) *Deliver us from evil* (Macdonald Futura, London).
- YOUNG, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the politics of difference* (Princeton University Press, Princeton).
- YOUNG, R. J. C. (1995) *Colonial desire: hybridity in theory, culture and race* (Routledge, London).

YOUNGE, G. (1998) 'Jamaica is having a ball', *The Guardian G2* - 11/5/98: pp.2-3.

ZHENG, S. (1994) 'Music-making in cultural displacement: the Chinese-American odyssey', *Diaspora* 3.3: 273-288.